Home and away: The tourist, the flâneur and everyday life

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HOME AND AWAY: THE TOURIST, THE FLÂNEUR AND EVERYDAY LIFE

John Stuart Gates B.A. (Hons).
Faculty of Communications, Health and Science
Edith Cowan University

Submission date: 12 June 2002
ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the role and status of the tourist in the present day. It argues that the tourist, and the touristic experience, is emblematic of the consumption-based economy of late capitalism. It analyses tourism as a practice of, rather than opposed to, everyday life for many subjects in late-capitalist Western society. The argument is developed by comparing and contrasting the tourist with the flâneur. The flâneur is regarded as a representative subjectivity of early modernity who developed visual and spatial practices, methodologies of movement and observation, which interpreted the city. The tourist's relationship with the global spaces of the touristic environment in the present day is theorised in terms of the same practices. The thesis argues that the established notion of a traveller/tourist distinction demonstrates the same ambiguities which attend the figure of the powerful but anxious flâneur.

The thesis understands the attitudes of the so-called traveller as being compromised by the increasing commodification of the touristic spaces in the same way that Walter Benjamin (1983) describes the death of the panoptic flâneur in the metropolis. The dichotomous relationship between 'home' and 'away' is also critiqued by identifying a close relationship between the tourism and media industries. Representations produced by the media industries act to both reinforce established discursive notions of 'other' places and peoples and to bring many representations of the touristic into everyday life. The ready availability of these representations undermines the distinction between the touristic and the everyday.
DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not, to the best of my knowledge and belief:

(i) incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education;

(ii) contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text; or

(iii) contain any defamatory material.

______________________________
2.5/10/02
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I remain grateful to my first Cultural Studies tutor, Jene Lloyd Myles, for her exciting and erudite introduction to the world of academic inquiry and endeavour.

I wish to sincerely thank my doctoral supervisor, Dr Rod Giblett, for his guidance, for sharing his wide knowledge, for his patience, and for always keeping the goal in sight. I also offer my warmest thanks to my associate supervisor, Dr Dennis Wood, for his ongoing support and for comradeship which extended well beyond the official boundaries of supervision.

The majority of this work was produced with the financial support of an Australian Postgraduate Award with Stipend. I am extremely grateful to the Commonwealth of Australia and the Scholarships Committee at Edith Cowan University for making this possible.

To my partner, Janet Preston, I offer my heartfelt thanks for her constant belief, encouragement and emotional support.

I also wish to thank my parents, Geoffrey and Moira Gates, for their ongoing support and unconditional love through sometimes trying circumstances. Unfortunately, Moira did not live to see the completion of this work. I dedicate this thesis to her memory.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: MAPPING THE TOURISM LANDSCAPE

The age in which we live at the very start of the twenty-first century is alive with the constant promise of new and ever-expanding horizons in almost every technological and cultural area. This age, which is sometimes known as the 'communications' or 'information' age, is an age in which the computer and the Internet have revolutionised communications technologies and methodologies. In this environment a huge amount of information and vast numbers of representations and images swirl through cyberspace and are available to all who own or have access to the necessary technology. One logical conclusion to the developments in communications technology is that one now has no need to leave the home or the office, the television or computer, to experience or interact with spatially distant locations and populations. Whilst there is no doubt that these technologies have made much more mediated information readily available, the suggestion that all communications activities will eventually be directed through electronic channels seems either utopian or hellish, depending on one's attitude.

The current state of the diverse activities associated with the travel and tourism industries suggest that communications industry discourses which discount the benefits of, and desires for, spatial movement and predict the eventual demise of corporeal travel and face-to-face communication can, for the time being at least, be archived along with another of their earlier, slightly over-enthusiastic promises, that
of the 'paperless office'. Currently, International travel for both business and pleasure continues to expand and now accounts for over one-twelfth of world trade. International and domestic tourism provides ten percent of global employment and global Gross Domestic Product (Urry, 2000, p. 50).

Tourism, a subset of a broader travel industry, reflects the same trends as the travel industry as a whole. Rather than degenerating in the face of electronic competition, the tourism industry is booming as an ever-increasing number of people take advantage of technologies of mobility and visual representation to imagine and enable holidays away from home. More tourists than ever before are travelling both domestically and internationally, new tourism destinations and styles of attractions and activities are developing whilst established destinations expand and adapt to meet new cultural expectations. To travel, to tour, to 'go away', to take an overseas vacation, are activities which are increasingly commonplace at the start of the twenty-first century and are expected to continue to do so. Even the euphemistically termed 'events of September 11' appear to have had only a short-term effect on the desirability of overseas travel (Rhodes, 2002, p.1).

This thesis examines the role and status of the tourist in the present day. It argues that the tourist, and the touristic experience, is emblematic of the consumption-based economy of late capitalism. It analyses tourism as a practice of, rather than opposed to, everyday life for many subjects in late-capitalist Western society. The argument is developed by comparing and contrasting the tourist with
the flâneur. The flâneur is regarded as a representative subjectivity of early modernity who developed visual and spatial practices, methodologies of movement and observation, which interpreted the city. The tourists' relationship with the global spaces of the touristic environment in the present day is theorised in terms of the same practices. The thesis argues that the established notion of a traveller/tourist distinction demonstrates the same ambiguities which attend the figure of the powerful but anxious flâneur. This thesis understands the attitudes of the so-called traveller as being compromised by the increasing commodification of the touristic spaces in the same way that Walter Benjamin (1983) describes the death of the panoptic flâneur in the metropolis. The dichotomous relationship between 'home' and 'away' is also critiqued by identifying a close relationship between the tourism and media industries. Representations produced by the media industries act to both reinforce established discursive notions of 'other' places and peoples and to bring many representations of the touristic into everyday life. The ready availability of these representations undermines the distinction between the touristic and the everyday.

It is with the Western international tourist and the touristic experience in some of the supposedly 'new' tourism destinations, India and South-East Asia especially, that this thesis is concerned. The research originally aimed to examine the tourist and the tourism industry by addressing one, simple overarching research question, 'Who is a tourist?' but, as I imagine often occurs, initial investigations saw a more refined area of interest developing for a number of reasons. Firstly, finding an answer to the question proved to be neither simple nor straightforward. A number of
discussions of tourist subjectivity to date have, rather than produce an unequivocal
definition of the tourist, merely suggested a number of trajectories around which
tourism discussion can be centralised (Crick, 1989, p. 312). These trajectories vary
from commentator to commentator, and signify an interest in adding the concepts of
tourism and the tourist to the concerns of pedagogy and inquiry – a kind of cultural
‘land grab’ - to diverse fields such as sociology, management studies, business
studies, anthropology, cultural studies and leisure studies. Whilst these movements
demonstrate a generally accepted trend to multi-disciplinary studies, they also signal
attempts to claim the tourist and tourism as legitimate areas of study in a particular
field and to place them in a schema of particular interests, rather than attempting
serious and supportive research into what the characteristics of the tourist, and their
relationships with the tourism industry, may be.

Secondly, in many areas of research and endeavour the figure of the tourist is
treated with scant regard and compared unfavourably with almost every other figure
involved in human movement including explorers, scientists, anthropologists,
refugees, businessmen, nomads and the so-called traveller. Cultural theorists and
sociologists are certainly not immune to this attitude. Although Georges Van den
Abbeele (1980) is happy to identify similarities between the tourist and the theorist,
there is a remnant cultural attitude reflecting an outmoded dichotomy of the ‘high’
and ‘low’ cultural divide which much prefers the notion of travel as an activity and
as a metaphorical trope over any considerations of tourism. Janet Wolff (1993) for
example, discusses metaphors of travel, not tourism, and their use in cultural
criticism. Percy Adams (1983) notes the connection between travel literature and the
development of the novel, a connection in which tourism remains unliterary and unscripted. Judith Adler (1989a) regards travel as performed art, and Tim Edensor (2000) later figures tourism as performance, but not as art. Both James Clifford (1992) and Edward Said (1993) consider theory and culture in terms of metaphorical travel rather than tourism, although Clifford does accept Meaghan Morris' (1988) chronotype of the motel as less nostalgic and less implicated with established notions of power than his own metaphor of the hotel as the place of modern cultural encounter.

Thirdly, and of more specific interest, this distaste for the tourist is readily apparent in the attitudes of some of the users of the tourism industry's products and services. These are the loosely aligned group of tourists who insist on identification as 'independent travellers', 'backpackers', 'adventure travellers' or 'budget travellers', and those tourists who, through financial status, can enjoy the cultural status and spatial separation which 'individually tailored' adventures and explorations can provide. These identifiers are used to suggest that these people are somehow removed from the operations of the tourism industry and, more importantly, that their motivations and attitudes vary markedly from those of the 'normal' mass tourist.

Attempts to distinguish between the traveller and the tourist have been evident in literary work and political discussion ever since travel was first organised on industrial lines and the tourism industry 'invented' by Thomas Cook in 1852.
Criticism contemporary with the developments of tourism during the nineteenth century invariably underpinned anti-tourist arguments with the three major uneven power relations of modernity: class, race and gender. The traveller was presumed to be a white and male, an aristocratic or bourgeois individual, a subject of power in a Eurocentric world. The tourist, however, was a passive figure, merely one of the mass - possibly even a woman - powerless, uneducated and incapable of understanding the ‘true’ nature of travel. These attempts at distinguishing between the traveller and the tourist continue in the present day and remain based on roughly the same arguments. The traveller remains empowered to recognise authenticity, to commune with the exotic, to report their experiences, to ‘know’ a country and its population. All these activities are denied, it may be assumed, to the tourist who remains naively happy with an experience notable only for its inauthenticity, spectacle, play and excess.

This dichotomous relationship between tourist and traveller was one of which I was extremely aware of, even before embarking on my first overseas ‘adventure’, and also one of the first concepts to demand my attention when I undertook theoretical investigations and research into the tourist and tourism. My first international touristic experience occurred during the early 1970s. As a young man, the supposedly exotic and unexplored areas of South-East Asia were close to my residence in Perth, Western Australia and cheap to visit and survive. They offered the pleasures of a slow, disconnected, drift through countries about which I knew very little and learned even less, apart from some form of ‘street savvy’ which in turn, provided some form of ‘street cred’ back home.
This, and other early trips involved a direct rejection of anything to do with tourism - that was something my parents did, I was a traveller - and anyone who pre-booked anything more than the outward leg of a return airline ticket could be shamed with the epithet 'tourist'. Amazingly however, these independent and individual overseas travels displayed many similarities with tourism despite the deep-seated anxiety about anything touristic. I applied for a tourist visa, I visited a number of accepted and boldly marketed tourism attractions, I failed to develop any relationships with 'authentic others' and generally lived life in the spaces occupied by what can only be described as a moving enclave of mainly white, mainly middle class, self-appointed non-tourists. Then, with the predictability which the much reviled tourists have the sense to accept, I returned home. The realisations of this and subsequent trips made me reconsider the basis of the tourist/traveller distinction. I was now finding the activities, motivations and concerns of the so-called traveller to be in many ways as restricted and passive as those for which they continually condemned the tourist.

The tourist/traveller distinction, in the light of these experiences and further reading on the subject, became rather more complex and elusive, especially with the addition of a knowing 'post-tourist' (Feifer, 1985) to complicate tourism topology, and the development of numerous differentiated types of tourism - 'soft' adventure, cultural, heritage, 'special interest' and ecotourism to name a few - by the tourism industry. The conceptualisation of the post-tourist adds little to tourism theory
except to bring one particular tourist subjectivity into a postmodern framework and acknowledge play, pastiche and spectacle as part of the touristic experience — interests and activities for which 'modern' mass tourism is generally condemned. The introduction of such a figure into tourism theory merely ensures that the mass tourist remains on the bottom of the theorist's hierarchy as an unintelligent and passive figure. The post-tourist seeks out spectacle, play and inauthenticity and revels in the irony of their attractions, the mass tourist is exiled to them.

In the postmodern world there seems to be little reason to insist on a classificatory drive which separates tourists, travellers and post-tourists. In the practice of tourism, travel and post-tourism the perceived differences are based on self-referential attitudes. To be a traveller in the present day insists on nostalgic and outmoded notions of power and knowledge which render the whole world available as a panoptic, individualising and non-commodified experience. The post-tourist reconfigures these attitudes in terms of contemporary consumption practices yet remains powerful and knowledgeable. In the eyes of both the traveller and the post-tourist the tourist remains a passive and unknowing passive consumer caught, like the traveller, in a time warp more indicative of nineteenth century sensibilities than those of the present day. These attitudes alone fail to offer any real distinction.

Neither are the vast array of tourism attractions and activities concurrent with a particular type of tourist - or traveller. Tourists may involve themselves in a number of different tourisms. Any tourist could easily involve themselves in ecotourism,
cultural and sex tourism in the same trip, or even during the same day. Following from this multiplicity of possibilities, there is probably no realistic tourist typology based on preference of touristic attraction; there is probably no such type as a totally dedicated, uni-directional heritage tourist for example. From this, this work takes a broad option and follows Erik Cohen (1974) in understanding the tourist simply as 'a voluntary, temporary traveller in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and non-recurrent round-trip' (p. 533). This work does, however, treat all notions in the definition as relative and delimited, and also disregards Cohen’s slightly dated and ‘fuzzy’ (p. 547) classifications and phenomenologies of tourist roles and motivations (1974, 1979). Instead, as tourism roles and motivations are regarded as de-differentiated (Urry 1990), it is proposed that differences between tourists, and between tourists, travellers and post-tourists should be collapsed into the one figure of ‘the tourist’, a person who broadly satisfies Cohen’s criteria (above) and who consumes some of the many multi-faceted products and services of the tourism industry.

This understanding does not, however, insist on the complete removal of the tourist/traveller distinction from tourism theory — and it is certainly not outside the parameters of this thesis! Rather the existence of such a distinction is acknowledged and discussed because it continues to inform the subjectivity of the so-called traveller and is constantly re-argued on travellers’ electronic bulletin boards, in travellers’ haunts worldwide and even ‘back home’. Ironically, the distinction is also often invoked by the tourism industry itself to attract so-called travellers to some of its products. This thesis suggests that a perceived difference between the tourist and the
traveller certainly exists, but one which is apparent only in terms of attitudes, not in terms of tastes or typologies, nor relations between knowledge and power, nor in terms of passivity and activity, nor even in terms of management and service expectations.

The tourist exists as one of the ‘others’ of the traveller along with the sedentary person or home body and indeed with many of the residents of a tourism destination. The othering of the tourist is of paramount importance to the self-anointed traveller because, as my personal experience and research indicate, many of the services and attractions which the traveller uses, and even the spaces which they inhabit on their sojourns, are shared by the tourist. The touristic spaces, in this way, become the traveller’s battle ground of distinction and subjectification on which the tourist is viewed not only as a ‘mere’ consumer of the products and services of the tourism industry, but also as a construction which allows the power and subjectivity of the traveller to be objectified, lauded and displayed. Ironically in the value-laden subjective struggle with the tourist, it is the supposedly intelligent and interpretive traveller who, in a state of constant denial, remains blind to the everyday realities of their involvement with the tourism industry.

Failing to differentiate theoretically between tourists and travellers — and indeed post-tourists - in terms of typology or phenomenology allows many of those who may not even consider themselves tourists to be discussed as such. Much of the discussion about touristic sensibilities and attitudes centres around those who reject
the descriptor of 'tourist', the so-called independent traveller, budget traveller and backpacker. This is in no way meant to imply that the 'not-tourist' or post-tourist are, despite my argument to the contrary, of any particular interest over, or of a divergent interest to, the tourist, rather that the application of broad aspects of tourism theory to these touristic modes supports the basic contention that there are few practical differences between them.

The search for authenticity, for example, is as elusive and problematic for these people as it is for the package tourist. The world of the long-term, budget traveller is populated by tourists, tourism providers and intermediaries just as it is for the tourists who stay in five star hotels, purchase an all-inclusive package or take a short term holiday. The individual traveller shows all the massing qualities which they theoretically abhor in tourists when they congregate in the 'ghettos' of Kao San Road and Ko Phangan in Thailand, in Dharamsala and Goa in India, and in Thamel in Nepal. The archives of knowledge upon which all Western tourists draw are remarkably similar. The desire to view exotic others, to aestheticise the landscape, to extend the gaze through photography and purchasing souvenirs, and to gain kudos and distinction at home through these activities is common to all tourists.

Under these circumstances, the basic research question which this work interrogates and attempts to answer in some meaningful way has been reimagined. Rather than merely asking 'what is a tourist?' the research now extends into the social, cultural and economic arrangements which encourage corporeal movement.
Tourism is the product of the tourism industry and the tourist is, conversely, a consumer of the products and services of the tourism industry. But this truism fails to account for the complexities of the social and cultural arrangements which inform the popularity of tourism in the present day. The broadly-based tourism industry is regarded as one of the largest industries in the world today (Urry, 2000, p. 50) and it is to the development, interests and operation of the tourism industry, and the related responses to the changing social arrangements which characterise the industry, to which the thesis turns next.

The tourism industry is, like its consumers, dedifferentiated. Just as the tourist is not restricted to any particular forms of behaviour, neither does the modern tourism industry restrict itself to the provision of products and services for a particular type of tourist. The modern tourism industry is, in contemporary marketing parlance, 'consumer-driven' in its provision of the '5As' of essential tourist requirements: access, accommodation, amenities, attractions and activities (Dickman, 1989, p. 118) across a wide range of interests, budgets and locations. The tourism industry does not operate in a vacuum however. The industry's dedifferentiation is informed by the dedifferentiation of modern society in general, and is not isolated from the cultural and political constraints of everyday realities or from the many discourses which inform these realities. The expansion of tourism, especially international tourism, is a part of a globalising tendency apparent in the creation of world markets, in the continuing development of transport technologies, and, more recently, the phenomenal development of international communication and media flows.
The modern tourism industry cannot be discussed in terms of the simple, outmoded model of production capitalism and Fordist production techniques. Despite its movements in terms of reactions to social and cultural constructions, the tourism industry has always been 'prefiguratively postmodern' (Urry, 1990, p. 87) and consumer driven in an industrial relationship which identifies tourism as a modern culture industry. The concept of a culture industry was first discussed by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer (1972) in 1947, highlighting the way in which cultural production had been industrialised according to the then dominant model of mass production and mass consumption in which 'cultural production had become a routine, standardised repetitive operation that produced undemanding cultural commodities which in turn resulted in a type of consumption that was also standardised, distracted and passive' (Negus, 1997, p. 70). Although Adorno and Horkheimer's work is still important in relation to the culture industries, modes of industrial production are now regarded as directly related to consumption, regulation, identity and representation, forming a relationship which Stuart Hall (1997) refers to as 'the circuit of culture'.

The notion of the circuit of culture implicates culture in the economic activities of a society and thus critiques the Marxist notions of a base/superstructure model on which Adorno and Horkheimer's work is based suggesting rather, that there are links between the economic activities of producing and selling and the cultural aspects of advertising, lifestyle and consumption which an economically determinist outlook
fails to account for. In this figuration of the cultural and economic relationship, influences move fluidly between the elements of the circuit such that consumption is not only related to production, but also to all other elements in the circuit of culture. Production, likewise in some way influences, and is influenced by, consumption and all other elements of the cultural circuit. One of the major methodologies through which these elements are interrelated is through the activities of cultural intermediaries.

Sean Nixon (1997) suggests that the role of cultural intermediaries such as designers, advertising personnel and marketers is to make goods and services meaningful through symbolic expertise. Paul du Gay concurs, adding:

through their strategic location at the point of circulation – between production and consumption – these forms of symbolic expertise are able to affect the constitution both of processes of cultural production and of practices of cultural consumption (1997, p. 9).

The activities of cultural intermediaries connects consumers with producers through their input into research mechanisms such as focus groups, qualitative research, lifestyles research and psychographics (Nixon, 1997). In this way the identities and activities of both consumers and producers are implicated in the products of the cultural industries. Tourism imagery, for example, represents both the services of the tourism industry and the pleasures of the tourist.

The role of the cultural intermediary is particularly important in tourism in an era where holiday periods are no longer fixed to the traditional one per year and
return visits to a destination - again the traditional mode of holidaying - become less popular (Jones, 1998, p. 2). In these circumstances many future touristic experiences are unknown from a consumption viewpoint and, from a production point of view, are therefore changeable and available for discretionary purchase. Unlike products such as motor vehicles or fashion garments for example, the touristic product is ephemeral, and cannot be road tested or tried on. Similarly, unlike goods and services sold through mail order, in which the product or service remains essentially unknown and taken on trust, tourism services do not - unfortunately - come with a thirty day obligation-free trial or statutory 'cooling off' period!

The images and texts produced by the cultural intermediaries of the tourism industry are representations of the touristic experience, and it is with the consumption and production of these representations, rather than the consumption and production of actual tourism products and services, that the next chapters of this thesis is concerned. Tourism representations work to communicate messages about particular places and events; to redefine and reposition such places and products; to counter negative, and enhance positive, perceptions of products, places and peoples; and to specifically target key market segments (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998, p. 1). Tourism representations are available across a wide range of genres: brochures, guidebooks, television programming, Internet sites, press advertising, feature articles and everyday talk. Importantly, as with the tourism experience itself, these representations are not produced in a vacuum of strictly touristic concerns. Rather, the meanings of tourist representations are directly related to, and intimately
connected with, the concerns, ideologies and discourses which inform the everyday lives of potential and returned tourists.

Representation is one of the elements of the circuit of culture. It is the language of shared cultural meanings and is one of the signifying practices through which discourses are articulated and through which identities are made. This work is concerned with both the semiotic and discursive elements of representation, with how the tourist makes meanings from the representations and also with the effects and consequences of such representations, what Hall refers to as 'the poetics and politics of representation' (1997, p. 6). But it is within the discursive, the political, the way in which relationships of power are articulated through representation and the way in which tourism knowledges are produced through discourses other than those related directly to tourism, that the objects of the touristic experience are defined.

The importance of tourism representations to the tourist was brought home to me by one of the significant events which eventually lead to tourism becoming my major academic interest. For a number of reasons, I left the full-time workforce in 1993 and became what is known in Australia as a 'mature-age student'. With the Australian academic year offering extensive holidays over the Christmas period the opportunity to again be a tourist, to revisit some old haunts and extend my experience into previously unvisited areas became too much to resist. I was now armed with maturity, an introductory knowledge to cultural theory and was quite
happy to call myself a tourist. The first country on the list in the second burst of international travel was Vietnam, now at peace and deemed available and safe for western tourism, unlike its position in the 1970s. Probably partly due to the popularity of Lonely Planet's initial publication *Southeast Asia on a shoestring* (Wheeler, 1973), tourists to, and guidebooks about, South-East Asia were now proliferating at a steady rate. Lonely Planet's *Vietnam: A travel survival kit* (1993), was the guidebook of choice for Vietnam and it recommended visiting the small and historic trading port of Hoi An, on the south coast.

Lonely Planet suggested that an overnight stay - or even just a day trip from nearby Danang - would be adequate to see the sights and experience the atmosphere (Robinson & Storey, 1993, p. 327). After a stay of ten days I began to realise that the lackadaisical pace of drifter tourism (Cohen, 1978) which I had enjoyed in India and South-East Asia during the 1970s had been replaced by a type of touristic blitzkrieg which favoured spatial conquest, photography and constant movement over relaxation and interaction except, of course, for dedicated 'chill-out' periods spent with other 'independent' Western tourists. Time constraints suggested by the guidebook were closely adhered to and tourists arrived, checked out the site of the infamous massacre at nearby My Lai and the Cham monuments at My Son, and bustled out for more history and culture in Hue or relaxation on the beach at Nha Trang.
Whilst in Hoi An, I enjoyed a number of lunches at The Cau Lau Restaurant at 42 Tran Phu St. Cao lau is a delicious regional specialty soup made from pork, stock and wheat noodles. The Lonely Planet guidebook mentions the café and describes it as such:

Hoi An is the only place genuine cao lau can be made because the water used in the preparation of the authentic article must come from a particular well in town. The best cao lau in town is served at The Cau Lau Restaurant at 42 Tran Phu St, which is run by several elderly ladies. (Robinson & Storey, 1993, p. 332)

On one occasion a small group of young tourists came to have lunch at the café. After finding a table and settling in, one of the group opened his guidebook and proceeded to quote the above passage verbatim whilst his friends looked around the room checking the detail and veracity of the guidebook’s report! This activity seemed bizarre at the time, and it still continues to amuse me, but I now understand that it falls well within the parameters of normal touristic behaviour.

I now understand this group’s actions as a form of authentication, or more precisely many authentications. The information in the guide book is authenticated, as is the location and activities of the café itself. The presence of the elderly women and the availability of the dish cao lau are all authenticated through the relationship between the tourism representation and the tourist’s capacity to authenticate and accumulate knowledge. The tourist’s capacity to authenticate in this environment is directly related to a tourism representation, a guidebook, which is the product of a number of culturally mediating activities. After all these authenticities were identified the tourists themselves were, no doubt, happy to indulge in the gastronomic authenticity of a bowl of genuine cao lau.
This particular group of tourists seemed unable to react appropriately, to know the object of the representation, without recourse to the representation itself, but power in tourism representations, and indeed in tourism relationships are more complicated than this. The discussion about the operations of the cafe at 42 Tran Phu St does not occur outside relationships of power and knowledge established beyond the objects of the representation, the cafe and its management, the nominal producers of the representation, Lonely Planet Publications, and the consumers of that representation, the tourist. There are well established, more generalised power relationships which allow the particular knowledges of the guidebook, and the tourist's acceptance of these knowledges, to be authorised.

Power is not something which is exercised by a small minority over a complacent or suppressed majority, but operates in a more web-like environment. For Foucault:

By power, I do not mean “Power” as a group of institutions and mechanisms that ensure the subservience of the citizens of a given state. By power, I do not mean, either, a mode of subjugation, which, in contrast to violence, has the form of the rule. Finally, I do not have in mind a general system of domination exerted by one group over another, a system whose effects, through successive derivations, pervade the entire social body. (1978, p. 92)

Some groups do, however, have more power to speak than others, and have the authority to make representations of those others through various ways of talking about the object. Knowledge is not neutral, but is inextricably entwined with the power which allows meaningful representation. These power relations are often
uneven, but no one is totally powerless. Mainstream discussions of tourism often misrepresent the power relations in tourism. Earlier tourism theory often failed to recognise the role of the cultural intermediary — the advertiser, the writer, the photographer — and suggested that power relations were established only between hosts and guests, which were uneven possibly (Smith, 1979) or even as a form of imperialism (Nash, 1979), but bilateral none-the-less. Formulations of this type also 'take the tourist to be a rational, independent, and powerful actor who initiates the touristic trip and accordingly is responsible for its consequences on locals and the environment' (Cheong and Miller, 2000, p. 379).

This understanding doubly identifies the tourist as the possessor of power, both as a rational individual and as unproblematically more powerful than the local. These power relations are not implicit in the terms 'host' and 'guest' in that the status of the relationship between guest and host is presented as amicable and unproblematic. The economic aspect of the relationship is thus naturalised and the commodification of the touristic experience elided. This thesis interrogates this notion of a two-way relationship based on mutual friendship by naming the players in the tourism power game as locals rather than hosts, tourists rather than guests, and understanding the tourism intermediary as one of the major power brokers in the tourism industry. Representations of tourism — and of the power relations implicit in tourism — occur across a wide variety of media and genres, and this thesis deals with two print genres, the travel brochure and the guidebook, the televisual, 'new' forms of electronic Internet-based communications and the traces of power relationships connected to souvenirs, the material culture of tourism.
This discussion figures the relationship between the tourism industry, tourists and the many agents— including guidebooks, travel writers, salespersons— in the same way as Foucault (1977) identifies the power relations between, for example, the penal system, the criminal, and the agents of the criminal system such as magistrates, inspectors and guards. In this way the tourist becomes a ‘target’ of the tourism system and the trip as much as the criminal is the target of the penal system and incarceration (Cheong & Miller, 2000, p. 382). In this way the tourist gaze is produced, not only by tourists, but also by the agents of tourism in the same way that the spaces of tourism and the movements of tourists are structured and controlled by guidebooks, travel agents, signposts and sights.

Whilst the tourist and their agents hold much of the power in the arrangements of the tourism industry, especially the power to represent—and it is these activities with which this thesis is mainly concerned—the locals are not without their own power structures. Local power can be articulated in a number of ways. Locals can demonstrate a resentment of tourism in a direct way, they can refuse to be the objects of the tourist gaze, and can block the entry of tourists into specific locations. Vizinjam, for example, is a fishing village very close to the established beach resort of Kovalam in India. Although only ten minutes walk over the headland from Kovalam, it has no tourism industry and casual visitors are not welcomed. An extremely pragmatic and effective way of spatially controlling tourist numbers in
Vizinjam seems to be to continue the established practice of defecating on the headland and beach!

In Vizinjam the tourists may be getting a bit more back region in their front region (Goffmann, 1959) than they bargained for, but Dean MacCannell's (1976) related concept of staged authenticity can be understood as an articulation of local power in the touristic environment. MacCannell understands the back region of any society as generally unobtainable and unviewable. The local has at least the power to withhold from the tourist and their intermediaries the area which is constructed as the most desirable and saleable in terms of the authenticity of the experience of cultural and ethnic tourism. The tourist must be content with a type of fake back region, a staged authenticity which protects the society and its institutions from the powerful incursions of tourists seeking the authentic.

So whilst the touristic activities of this author have provided much of the drive for a study of this nature they have also influenced much of its scope. Many of the representations of tourism destinations and attractions discussed here are representations of locations which I have visited as a tourist. As such, much of the discussion is centred on tourism to South-East Asia and India, locations Australians can access quite easily, especially Perth residents who hover almost abandoned on the Western fringe of the continent, and for whom Bali signifies a tropical beach resort closer and cheaper than Queensland rather than the exotic, unspoiled paradise imagined by many European tourists. This thesis then, has a particular concern with
International tourism as opposed to domestic tourism, and the Western tourist. Much of this discussion is therefore concerned with tourism from the centres of western influence to places occupied by Others, that is non-white, non-western peoples.

The Other places and peoples of this project have been marked by the discourse of Orientalism. Any discussion of Orientalism is necessarily indebted to Edward Said's work of the same name. For Said:

Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring it, and having authority over the Orient (1978, p.3).

However, Said's discursive approach to Orientalism is not without its problems. For Said, the machinations of power are essentially monolithic and uni-directional. Revisions of his discussion suggest that there are many forms of Orientalism, there are documented historical differences between French and British Orientalism (Lowe, 1991) for example, and, in a more contemporary frame, as the world becomes marked by many forms of global corporeal movement the manifestations of Orientalism also move and adapt.

Whilst there are overarching ways of knowing the Orient, the 'East' can also be site-specific in terms of its style of operation. The East is, quite simply, elsewhere, devoid of actual geographic parameters, but the pertinent qualities of Easternness vary. Orientalist representations of India and South-East Asia may rely on the
representation of locals as 'exotic others' and worthy of the tourist gaze, for example, whilst the locals of Africa and the Caribbean remain largely unrepresented, taking a back seat to the exoticism of wildlife or the physical and recreational pleasures associated with azure seas. What few representations there are of these people are concerned to portray them as merely as smiling, subservient tourism providers, rather than as exoticised attractions. The Middle East, in contrast, is populated by 'colourful' men and South-East Asia by smiling, available young women (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998, p. 228).

Orientalism can also be ambiguous and figure the Orient as desirable and distasteful at the same time. The desire for the Orient in a touristic sense is often a desire to view historical monuments, exotic landscapes and primitive others. All of these 'authentic' tourism attractions are ostensibly located in the past and disconnected from present day social conditions. The desire to seek this past is moderated by the need to face the physical realities of day-to-day life in the present. For the tourist the present holds the less attractive and challenging characteristics – and many of the established Orientalist myths - of these societies and environments: dirt, unsafe water, an ever-present possibility of inconvenient disease, harrowing transport experiences, dishonest traders and tourism intermediaries, and inefficient and corrupt administrative practices. Surviving these challenges is far from incidental to the tourist however. Personal survival through the management of such risks empowers the structures of the tourist industry (Lash & Urry, 1990, p. 255) and also the tourist. Ironically the tourist's return narratives reiterate and further engrain the Orientalist discourse in the home environment and the circuit of culture -
Orientalist risks which the tourism industry has, to a certain extent, helped them circumvent.

The multiple and heterogeneous aspects of Orientalist discourse has been entwined within the discourses of tourism, travel and exploration since the Enlightenment. Richard Burton writing in 1852, for example, identifies the Nairs of Kerala as 'rather a fair and comely race, with neat features, clean limbs, and decidedly a high caste look' and generally praises their political arrangements, but also describes them as jealous, vindictive, licentious and debauched (1998, p. 221). This mixture of mistrust and admiration, desire and distaste is continued in present day travel writing. Lonely Planet's *India* guidebook is specific:

> India is far from the easiest country in the world to travel around. It can be hard going, the poverty will get you down, Indian bureaucracy would try the patience of a saint, and the most experienced travellers find their tempers frayed at some point in India. Yet it's all worth it. (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 20)

The above quotation begs the question, why is it all worth it? There are many trials and tribulations involved in tourism, and if tourism was a spurious activity, a mere break from the rigours of work, it would seem that any impediments to the leisurely appreciation of landscapes and architecture would render the journey palpably not worth it. Tourism has often been discussed as a subset of leisure and leisure is understood as an activity – or ‘non-activity’ – dichotomous to an everyday life centred around work. Without wishing to undervalue the role paid of work in today's society, and accepting that work is necessary for most people to take their
places in a consumer society, it is contended that the organisation of present day Western society is based more on regimes of consumption rather than of production. Everyday life is, in these cultural arrangements, a life of consumption and tourism is a form of consumption: of tourism services, of financial services, of products, of others, of images, of landscapes, of sites, of sights and especially of signs, certainly not all meaningless and certainly not all frivolous and disconnected from the everyday.

Everyday life is a slippery and elusive concept in Cultural Studies and in many ways displays the same polarising aspects which inform the traveller/tourist distinction. In dichotomous terms, everyday life is the life of the manipulated mass consumer, inert and passive (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1991) or everyday life is creative and dynamic, offering a productive consumption, an inspired popularity, which is a tactical struggle against the strategic power of the capitalist system, 'the politics of the weak' (de Certeau, 1984, p. xix). But everyday life, in many ways, does not lend itself to any form of definition. It is understood here in a post-modern spirit of 'un-definedness', of change, variety, spontaneity and heterogeneity. Everyday life is not a status, it is a process (Silverstone, 1992, p. 162), a way of making sense of the world we inhabit, it is 'modes of operation or schemata of action' (de Certeau, 1984, p. xvii) through which consumers produce their own signifying practices, and through which consumption becomes a form of production – the production of everyday life.
The social arrangements of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century are informed by global movement of products, consumers, information, images and signs. The domestic spaces of home are not free from the influences of the outside world. Consider the hypothetical interior of a suburban apartment, deep in the metropolitan centre of any Western country: the refrigerator door displays postcards from Thailand secured with a Kiwi-shaped fridge-magnet from New Zealand. Hand-carved elephants purchased by friends whilst on holiday in India stampede across the top of the television set. A young woman, recently home from a holiday in Vietnam, is wearing a Tin Tin t-shirt and sitting in a faux zebra skin chair. She takes a break from checking her e-mail and perusing an Internet-based travel site to watch a celebrity chef present a cooking programme on location in Singapore.

This young woman enjoys a sense of the everyday which is fluid, not fixed, which is cosmopolitan, not urban, and which is global, not national. The cosmopolitan outlook of the middle-class West accounts for 'extensive patterns of mobility, a stance of openness to other and a willingness to take risks, and an ability to reflect upon and judge aesthetically between the different natures, places and societies' (Lash & Urry, 1994, p. 256), but it allows more than that. It also allows an introspective gaze which includes touristic experiences and touristic signs in the identity-forming processes and into the ways in which meanings are constructed in and from the surrounding objects and peoples of the domestic, home or 'normal' environment in an era in which tourism is constantly increasing in popularity and regularity. In this environment, the distinction between home and away slips away in
a bricolage of touristic materials and communications and the defining capacity of these traces of touristic activity make the touristic act ‘all worth it’.

This thesis takes the notion that tourism is a part of everyday life in modern society one step further, and suggests that the tourist is an archetypal figure of western social formations in the early twenty-first century. This is neither a particularly new or startling position. Dean MacCannell suggested the tourist as a ‘one of the best models available for modern-man-in-general’ (1979, p. 1) as early as 1979. This thesis does not claim the Eurocentric universality inherent in MacCannell’s position and restricts the tourist to a figure typical of contemporary western societies. This stance acknowledges many of the inequalities in the supposedly globalised environment of today, and also maintains that many attitudes and opinions prevalent at the beginnings of the modern period still resonate throughout the spaces of ‘new’ tourism and through much of the media which support the tourism trade. As the tourism industry continues to expand tourists, almost naturally, must be travelling further and more often and, in a cultural environment often predicated on movement as a signifying factor, the tourist is at least implicated in the social formation. The argument to support the claim that the tourist is representative rather than merely implicated involves a step backwards to a discussion of one of the archetypal figures of the nineteenth century - the flâneur.

The flâneur developed new ways of moving through and observing the then new metropolises of modern Europe, with a poetic genesis in the arcades of early
nineteenth century Paris. The connections between the flâneur and the tourist are not particularly new either (see Urry, 1990 for example), but the position and status of the flâneur is ambiguous. Early figurations of the flâneur as essentially male, powerful and knowing (Baudelaire, 1964) are giving way to a deconstructed flâneur who demonstrates some of the anxieties and uncertainties of modern life (Tester, 1984). The tourist, especially when couched in the mythic characteristics of the traveller, has a very similar history in cultural theory. Both flâneur and traveller can be portrayed as essentially all knowing and powerful, intimately associated with the media industries, experiencing life visually, and claiming a particular set of knowledges which support a claim to special status. Likewise both figures can be understood as living a life which is full of anxiety and risk - from unknown and unfamiliar places, from dirt and contagion, from the trials of the public spaces and from the attentions of the 'other'.

The most outstanding and awkward claim for the traveller, and the one which is hopefully deconstructed throughout this thesis, is the claim to be, like the flâneur, in the crowd but not of the crowd, to be implicated but aloof from the populations of the touristic spaces. The increasing rationalisation and commodification of everyday life in the metropolis eventually led to the death of the all-powerful, panoptic flâneur (Benjamin, 1983, p. 54). This thesis contends that the traveller meets a similar end in the face of the continuing commodification of the touristic spaces and the omnipresence of media representations which allow all the opportunity for flânerie and tourism. In these circumstances it is the anxious - not the powerful - flâneur
who becomes representative of early modernity and the tourist – not the traveller – who stands as representative of the social formations of the late modern period.

This thesis makes some attempt to extend the speaking voice beyond that of extant literature and personal experience. One of the other voices is the results of a short period of ethnographic fieldwork performed in Kovalam, Kerala, in December 1998 to January 1999. Whilst regarding the information gleaned in this exercise as important and relevant to the thesis, the ethnographic fieldwork does not form, nor was it ever intended to be, a major component of what is, in general terms, essentially, a piece of theoretical work. The Kovalam Fieldwork Project (KFP) is a qualitative inquiry into the subjectivity, motivations and expectations of tourists and travellers. Kovalam was chosen for this exercise because of its stage of development as a tourism resort. Kovalam has developed from the unknown beach paradise beloved of the independent traveller into an established charter-flight destination from Europe. As such, it is visited by independent travellers and tourists, and offers an ideal location to speak to correspondents with diverse viewpoints.

The survey consists of interviews with forty-six Western visitors to Kovalam and takes the form of a repertoire analysis. Jonathon Potter and Margaret Wetherall define interpretive repertoires as 'recurrently used systems of terms used for characterising and evaluating actions, events and other phenomena' (1987, p. 149) and Joke Hermes discussing women’s magazines, continues, 'for readers, repertoires have the form of cash and carry knowledge: repertoires are available knowledge that
readers will refer to in everyday talk because they are used, repertoires change over
time’ (1995, p. 26). The repertoire of the tourist can be understood then as the way
in which the touristic is discussed and understood in terms of everyday life. This
understanding presumes that the experience of tourism is, like the souvenir, brought
back into everyday life through communication and narrative and forms a realistic
element of that life.

Other voices come from an even less controlled environment than that of the
KFP. These are the voices and texts available on the Lonely Planet Thorn Tree
bulletin board (www.lonelyplanet.com/thorn). The Thorn Tree offers a number of
bulletin boards on which anyone can exchange or elicit travel information. Many of
these correspondents are at home or in the workplace yet still contribute to
discussions about tourism. Touristic status for these people then, is not something
which is strictly related to the confines of the times and places of corporeal travel,
but also tumbles over into other areas of life. In this non-corporeal travel, much of
the discussion relies on identification as a particular type of tourist and questions and
recommendations are often couched in terms of ‘not too touristy’ or ‘real travel’.
Although displaying a variety of attitudes to, and experiences of, both tourism and
the communications environment of cyberspace, the voices from this area are
regarded as offering support to the ongoing desirability of corporeal travel as well as
documenting evidence of the articulations of the traveller/tourist distinction as a
measure of social status and prestige.
Following from this introduction, Chapter Two attempts to provide a meaningful definition of the tourist. A review of what can be broadly termed 'tourism theory' reveals little other than to indicate that approaches to the subject have produced a number of hierarchic and classificatory schemes which suggest that tourists are subjected to the same dividing practices which inform many of the activities and attitudes of 'home'. The traveller/tourist distinction, one of the tropes of subjective identification in terms of tourism, is identified and reassessed. In keeping with a general understanding that we currently live in a postmodern world characterised by dedifferentiation – amongst many other things – the traveller/tourist distinction is acknowledged in terms of social and personal distinction but is dedifferentiated spatially, temporally, and in terms of actual touristic experience.

Chapter Three identifies the tourist as a representative figure of Western life at the start of the twenty-first century. This chapter compares and contrasts the tourist with one of the emblematic figures of the nineteenth century and the experience of modernity, the flâneur. The similarities between the tourist and the flâneur, and between tourism and flânerie, provide the overall framework for this thesis. The flâneur claimed a set of knowledges predicated on new ways of seeing and moving through the new metropolises of modernity. The so-called traveller also claims particular knowledges of, and uses the same spatial and visual techniques in, the global arenas defined by the contemporary tourism industry. The status of both the flâneur and the traveller are deconstructed to show some underlying anxieties in both characterisations and suggests that it is the anxious versions, rather than the
unequivocally powerful versions of both constructions, which are emblematic of their times and social arrangements.

Chapter Four discusses tourism as an industry and, as such, understands tourism as one of the developments of modernity. Following Adorno and Horkheimer's discussion of popular music (1972), tourism is identified as a culture industry. The pessimism and presumed audience passivity which inform Adorno and Horkheimer's views on media production and culture industries in general are not, however, reproduced in this work. Rather, the dimensions of the tourism industry and their cultural implications—and Adorno and Horkheimer's critique—are updated in terms of postmodern cultural paradigms. In this way, the tourist is regarded as active and placed as a producer and as a consumer of much which circulates in the touristic space, and the tourism industry itself is figured as predicated on the representation of cultural goods and services.

Chapter Five discusses the travel brochure. It identifies the travel brochure as one of the major promotional tools of the tourism industry and analyses the heritage and background of the representational tropes which characterise the cultural implications of travel brochures. Using brochures promoting 'small group' travel in South-East Asia—mainly to Vietnam but with a few cross border incursions into China and Thailand—this chapter is concerned with representations of tourist destinations, both in terms of the local communities and the physical and political environments which they inhabit. The analysis also demonstrates how the brochures
aim of encouraging small group travel into South-East Asia acts as a way of extending Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) notion of class habitus beyond the Western metropolis, and also demonstrates the way in which the identity-forming characteristics of habitus are understood in terms of an individuality which informs activities both during the touristic experience and also in the domestic spaces of home.

Chapter Six considers the representations most likely to be actually taken on tour, those made in the guidebook. This chapter identifies the guidebook as a modern genre and discusses some of the modes of production and representation which distinguish it from the older, more established genre of the travelogue. Again, as with the travel brochure, a number of established representational tropes are identified in the *India* guidebook published by Lonely Planet Publications (Cannon et al., 1999), a well-established, modern travel press. Using Michel Foucault's *Archaeology of knowledge* (1978) as a guide to the guidebook, this chapter discusses the discursive regularities of the guidebook, especially in relation to the formation of objects and the enunciative modalities.

Chapter Seven marks the return home in this journey, with the material culture of tourism — the souvenir — stashed away in the baggage. The descriptor 'souvenir' covers a wide range of goods and attract a number of aesthetic judgements, but the souvenir is defined here through its use-value. Souvenirs act as a physical marker that a journey has occurred and through the souvenir remnants of the touristic
experience enter the everyday of its owner. The souvenir is not complete within itself however, and completion is only assured through an attached supplementary personal narrative (Stewart, 1993, p. 136). This attached narrative offers the opportunity to highlight some of the identity-forming activities associated with tourism and facilitates the provision of an essentially touristic recollection and explanation of one's own life.

Chapter Eight discusses a range of televisual programming which is related to tourism. The tourism experience is presented through a variety of televisual genres, some of which bear a close relationship with older, printed-genre representations such as travelogues, brochures and magazines, whilst others such as cooking and current affairs programmes are relatively new and media specific. The integration of the various modes of tourism representation into the televisual is one of the most powerful ways in which the touristic enters the everyday and, consequently, the most fertile ground from which notions of tourism as being related only to the extraordinary can be effectively critiqued. The way in which specific tourism programming and the touristic elements of non-touristic programming are presented on television suggests that the understanding of tourism, the desires of the tourist, and many of the tropes which inform the touristic imagination are well established on television and hence in the everyday lives of many Western viewers.

Chapter Nine outlines the relationships between the newer electronic forms of communication, the tourist and the tourism industry. The tourism industry has
always been in the vanguard of new information technology usage due to the spatially diverse nature of the centres of production and consumption of services and the logistical and administrative requirements which such separation necessitates.

Now both tourism and information technology are two of the largest and fastest growing industries in the world today (Sheldon, 1997). The development of the World Wide Web has also allowed a global flow of tourism information from tourist to tourist as well as through the more traditional information brokers such as travel agents and airline companies. Using these forms of electronic communication now forms part of the everyday life of many past, present and potential tourists. A discussion centring on the Lonely Planet bulletin board, the Thorn Tree (available at www.lonelyplanet.com/thom), suggests that whilst the Internet has been theorised as offering many opportunities for new forms of publicness, communities and identities, many travel chatroom and bulletin board users keep their feet and personalities firmly on terra firma, using cyberspace only as an adjunct to and facilitator of corporeal travel.

Chapter Ten considers tourism in the light of the recent occurrences euphemistically referred to as 'the events of September 11'. After September 11 there was a sudden – and hardly surprising - downturn in all international corporeal movement whether business or tourism related. Whilst early tourism organisation predictions suggested a lengthy period before tourism would return to the levels of pre-September popularity, recent indicators suggest a remarkable resilience on behalf of the tourist population. Some of this resilience is undoubtedly due to the efforts of the tourism industry and national organisations in managing the newly perceived
risks, but it also points to the overwhelming desirability of tourism and its place in the everyday life of modern Western subjects.

Tourism in the early twenty-first century then is understood as a cultural activity, and the tourism industry as a culture industry. The industry is informed by, and uses in its own information strategies, the products and consumables of other culture industries, which are discussed here mainly in terms of the communications industries across a number of media. Through aspects of representation, production, consumption, identity and regulation the tourism industry is firmly implicated in the circuit of culture and the tourist, sometimes regarded as powerless and passive, emerges as an important flâneurial player in a late modernity in which movement figures as one of the major identifying characteristics. Tourism is so implicated in the lives of many Western peoples that tourism itself has lost the sparkle of the extraordinary, but only to establish new – and reiterate old - knowledges within the dimensions of the everyday and to allow the tourist to be figured as emblematic of Western society in the early twenty-first century.
CHAPTER TWO
FINDING THE TOURIST: DOWN SOME BEATEN TRACKS

To provide an exact definition of the tourist, and to outline their characteristic attitudes, motivations and values remains perplexingly problematic at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The figure of the tourist emerged in the literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as an identifiable type as the popularity and possibility of travel increased. During the course of the nineteenth century however the typecast tourist underwent a startling metamorphosis as the popularity of tourism, predicated on the industrialisation and democratisation of travel, forced a social wedge between the established tourist and a newer tourist. This troublesome and disdainful relationship – existing in the mind of the establishment traveller at least – lives on and is now generally understood as the tourist/traveller distinction. In this distinction the tourist and the traveller occupy dichotomous positions in relation to motivations for, benefits from – and almost everything and anything else regarding - the tourism experience.

Academic interest in tourism and tourists began in earnest during the 1970s, and developed into the 1980s as sociologists and anthropologists began attempts to classify and taxonomise tourists in meaningful and measurable ways. Methodologies and motivations varied, but a variety of taxonomies based on motivation and phenomenology have been produced and a wide range of tourist types have been
identified. Many of these tourist classifications have failed to provide any meaningful tools for identifying and understanding the tourist.

Later commentators attempt to discuss the tourist in a postmodern cultural framework. The tourist is seen as a consumer of the wide variety of products and services provided by the tourism industry, as a consumer of other peoples, societies and landscapes via the powerful articulation of tourist gazes, and as a figure concerned with play and spectacle. In the present day, as the tourist becomes increasingly ubiquitous, and the spaces and activities associated with the touristic become more widespread and varied, notions of a particular touristic sensibility, or appositely, of a meaningful and stringent typology of tourist phenomenology, motivation, or attitudes, become even harder to substantiate. The tourist looms constantly larger in the contemporary cultural environment however, as a recognisable figure in contemporary literature, as a consumer of the products and services of the tourism industry and its associates and, most importantly, in the imaginations of much of Western society.

Today, the tourist/traveller distinction remains one of the major conceptual apparatuses through which the tourist is identified. This distinction is often used by tourists who prefer to identify themselves as travellers in order to distance themselves from the motivations of other tourists and from the strategies of the tourism industry. These tourists fall into the roughly aligned groups of backpackers, 'budget' and 'independent' travellers, and also includes a group of tourists for whom
financial status alone affords a spatial separation and distinction from the mass of other tourists. The tourism industry is aware of the traveller/tourist distinction and its regular articulation, and often uses it as a baseline motivator in the representation of some of its destinations and attractions.

The stereotype of the tourist is instantly recognisable. Cohen asks:

Who does not know a tourist? Tourism is so widespread and ubiquitous in our day that there are scarcely people left in the world who would not recognise a tourist immediately. Indeed the stereotype of the tourist, as the slightly funny, quaintly dressed, camera-toting foreigner, ignorant, passive, shallow and gullible is so deep-seated that it tends to dominate not only the popular imagery but also some serious writing on the subject. (1974, p. 527).

Twenty eight years after Cohen wrote these words this unflattering image of the tourist as cartoon character persists. So, from where did this image emerge, and what are the cultural arrangements which render the figure of the tourist as one available for ridicule?

Use of the word 'tourist' is essentially modern, and the contemporary tourist in the broadest sense is understood as a modern subjective position produced in relation to the increasing industrialisation, urbanisation and wealth of modern western societies which, amongst many other significant changes, included the industrialisation and democratisation of corporeal movement for pleasure. The first use of the word is probably around 1800, early in the modern period, when Samuel Pegge suggested 'A Traveller is nowadays called a Tour-ist' (cited in Buzard, 1993, p.1). The synonymic suggestion of this description infers that tourists and travellers
share the same activities and attitudes. This notion of covalence is still occasionally invoked in the present today, but a more general understanding of the tourist is as the amusing but pathetic stereotype suggested by Cohen, who exists in a binary opposition to the remarkable and all-knowing traveller.

This more condemning assessment of the tourist is certainly apparent in the imaginations and subjective assignments of some present day commentators and sectors of the travelling public and has antecedents as least as old as Pegge’s less humiliating comparison. Some of the movements and changes in the understanding of the tourist can be traced from the works of William Wordsworth.

Wordsworth published his poem *The Brothers* in 1799. In ‘The Brothers’, the tourist:

needs must live,
A profitable life: some glance along,
Rapid and gay, as if the earth were air,
And they were butterflies to wheel about
Long as the summer lasted: some as wise,
Perched on the forehead of a jutting crag,
Pencil in hand and book upon the knee,
Will look and scribble and scribble and look,
Until a man might travel twelve stout miles,
Or reap an acre of his neighbour’s corn.

(1975, p. 75)

The antics of the tourist, described here by a watching local, render the tourist a slightly amusing and ineffectual figure. Not only does the tourist adopt a slightly ridiculous physical posture in order to indulge in the meaningless act of scribbling, but the very acts of touring and writing, of moving spatially and recording an
aesthetic response, are unfavourably compared with physical labour and necessary movement to the market. Despite the amusement, this tourist is indulging in activities for which Wordsworth has much sympathy. This is the solitary, male, romantic figure who, like Wordsworth, was wont to 'scribble and scribble and look' and who will eventually symbolise a touristic type who Wordsworth privileges above all others.

Eleven years later, in Wordsworth's only 'best selling' work, Guide to The Lakes, first published in 1810, the tourist begins to retreat from the gesture of the slightly ridiculous. The first chapter of Guide to The Lakes, 'Directions and information for the tourist', is addressed to 'the minds of persons of taste, and feeling for landscape, who might be inclined to explore the district of the Lakes with that degree of attention to which its beauty may fairly lay claim' (Wordsworth, 1977, p. 1). This figure of the tourist is without the approbation attached to the tourist discussed in The Brothers, yet essentially doing the same things. Importantly at this stage the tourist is nowadays called a traveller or a tourist by Wordsworth, and they have similar desires and ambitions:

A leisurely Traveller might have much pleasure in looking into Yewdale and Tilberthwaite, returning to his Inn from the head of the Yewdale by a mountain track which has the farm of the Tarn Hows, a little on the right: by this road is seen much the best view of Coniston Lake from the south. (1977, p. 8)

'An Enterprising Tourist' likewise, 'might go to the Vale of the Duddon, over Wain Scar ... and to the rocks where the river issues from a narrow pass into the broad Vale. The stream is very interesting for the space of a mile above this point' (p. 8).
Whether named tourist or traveller, the readers to whom Guide to the Lakes is addressed are advised not only where to look, but also how to look. The aesthetic of the landscape is derived from writers and painters such as William Gilpin (1792) and points to combinations of beauty and grandeur which describe the aesthetic hierarchy of the sublime, the picturesque and the beautiful, an aesthetic which must be learned to appreciate landscape to its fullest. Wordsworth offers much advice and warns against some of the more common pitfalls in the application of the landscape aesthetic. In relation to lakes in general, for example, Wordsworth suggests:

In fact, a notion of grandeur, as connected with magnitude, has seduced persons of taste into a general mistake upon this subject. It is much more desirable, for the purposes of pleasure, that lakes should be numerous, and small or middle-sized, than large, not only for communication by walks and rides, but for variety, and for recurrence of similar appearances. (1977, p. 34)

The notion that the appreciation of landscape has to be learned is enough to put the aesthetics of tourism beyond some, an opinion which Wordsworth continued to forcibly and frankly pursue.

Over thirty years later, in 1844, Wordsworth was corresponding with the Morning Post in opposition to the development of the Kendal and Windermere railway. Wordsworth now identifies two different types of tourist: the ‘Summer Tourist’, who offers no challenge to the beauty and ‘character of seclusion and retirement’ (1977a, p. 148) which the Lakes District afford, and other tourists. These other tourists are identified initially by their mode of transport, the railway against which Wordsworth is vigorously campaigning. The railway threatens to disturb the
tranquillity and solitude so revered by the tourist through sheer impact of numbers, and these tourists become 'swarms of pleasure-hunters, most of them thinking that they do not fly fast enough through the country which they have come to see' (p. 163).

But there are other even more serious concerns which form a separation of tourist types predicated on class. Wordsworth outlines his argument in his second letter to the Morning Post:

The perception of what has acquired the name of picturesque and romantic scenery is so far from being intuitive, that it can be produced only by a slow and gradual process of culture; and to show, as a consequence, that the humbler ranks of society are not, and cannot be, in a state to gain material benefit from a more speedy access than they now have to this beautiful region. (1977a, p. 157)

Wordsworth also condescendingly suggests alternative activities for the 'humbler ranks' which offer them an educational opportunity as well as keeping the Lakes district spatially free for the more discerning classes:

Instead of tempting artisans and labourers, and the humbler classes of shopkeepers, to ramble at a distance, let us rather look with lovely sympathy upon persons in that condition, when, upon a holiday, or on the Sunday, after having attended divine worship, they make little excursions with their wives and children among neighbouring fields, whither the whole of each family might stroll, or be conveyed at much less cost than would be required to take a single individual of the number to the shores of Windermere by the cheapest conveyance. It is in some such way as this only, that persons who must labour daily with their hands for bread in large towns, or are subject to confinement during the week, can be trained to a profitable intercourse with nature where she is the most distinguished by the majesty and sublimity of her forms. (p. 152)
Whilst Wordsworth's concerns were particularly with the English tourist in England, and the effects that the democratisation of travel and the appearance of the uncultivated tourist was having on his beloved Lakes District, international tourism, especially to parts of Europe and the Holy Land, was also experiencing unparalleled popularity. The end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 made the prospect of Continental touring feasible and safe. Accessibility became less problematic through the expanding use of steam power - to the coast on locomotives and across the English Channel on steam boats - and the later rise of companies such as Thomas Cook & Son to facilitate the complex administrative demands of such a journey.

The democratisation of international tourism produced the same cries of dismay which Wordsworth had voiced in relation to increasing tourism in the Lakes district. Concerns about the activities of young, well-to-do Englishmen abroad had been registered in the eighteenth century - Lady Montagu, for example, complained in 1758 that 'the folly of British boys and stupidity and knavery of governors have gained us the glorious title of Golden Asses all over Italy' (cited in Buzard, 1993, p. 99) - but it was in the nineteenth century that the supposed inappropriate attitudes and behaviour of specific types of international tourists became more regularly and effectively marked. This emerging division in international tourism extended the demarcation between tourist and traveller, and between genuine and spurious cultural experience, with the genuine experience constructed 'on a foundation of denunciation, evasion, and putative transcendence of merely “touristic” purposes and behaviour' (1993, p. 81).
Much of the distaste for the new style of international tourist was predicated on notions of class and gender, and these same characteristics continue to inform the tourist debate in the present day. In 1865 Charles Lever, British vice-consul at La Spezia, began a sustained attack upon Thomas Cook and his activities through Blackwood's magazine. Under the pen name Cornelius O'Dowd, Lever registered his displeasure by observing 'that some enterprising and unscrupulous man has devised the project of conducting some forty or fifty persons, irrespective of age or sex, from London to Naples and back for a fixed sum' (cited in Buzard, 1993, p. 60), thus identifying the desirable and empowered tourist as the Grand Tourist of old—essentially financially independent, young, and male.

Although the majority of Cook's tourists were female (Swinglehurst, 1982, p.43), and women continue to travel in large numbers, either independently or as part of a family or other group, the discourse of tourism remains heavily gendered either through direct approbation, as above, or through an error of exclusion, as in most modern accounts. In this way, just as women such as Mary Kingsley were effectively written out of the exploration discourse (Pratt, 1992), so too have women been excluded from any subsequent discussion of more recent forms of international movement such as tourism.

But it was class, and the associated, naturalised and presumed ignorance and unsuitability of the 'common' tourist which was the major problem with the influx of
tourists into spaces regarded as the exclusive domain of the gentry. During the 1860s

_The Times_ doubted the efficacy of democratised travel, and suggested:

The world is not to be altogether reformed by cheap tours, nor is the inherent vulgarity of the British Philistine going to be eradicated by sending him with a through ticket and a bundle of hotel coupons to Egypt and the Holy Land. (cited in Buzard, 1993, p. 60)

Charles Lever also left his readership in no doubt about the character and motivation of these new tourists:

These devil's dust tourists have spread over Europe injuring our credit and damaging our character. Their gross ignorance is the very smallest of our sins. It is their overbearing insolence, their purse strong insistence, their absurd pretensions to be in a place abroad that they have never dreamed of aspiring to at home – all these claims suggesting to the foreigner that he is in the presence of a very distinguished and exalted representative of Great Britain. (cited in Swinglehurst, 1982, p. 48)

Tourism and travel now certainly mean different things. As well as being separated roughly along class grounds – the aristocracy and bourgeoisie travel, the petty bourgeoisie and a few lucky workers tour – the notion of travel is articulated as being related to, of benefit to, and an essential and normal part of life for some classes, whilst tourism indicates spatial movements into incomprehensible areas of lives and cultures which are totally unrelated to the tourist's life 'at home'. Travellers from the upper classes certainly represented 'the Establishment' as far as international travel was concerned, and they clung to the educative, scientific and communicative notions associated with the well established Grand Tour (see Adler, 1989). The new, modern tourist invaded the spaces in which these activities occurred, and the new international spatial proximity reflected the same relations between tourists and travellers reported by Wordsworth in the Lakes district.
The democratisation of travel meant the end of travel for some. Paul Fussell periodises modes of corporeal movement: 'before tourism there was travel, and before travel there was exploration. Each is roughly assignable to its own age in modern history: exploration belongs to the Renaissance, travel to the bourgeois age, tourism to our proletarian moment' (1980, p. 38). However travel, for Fussell at least, took a while to die. Fussell nostaligically laments the passing of a time in which 'true travel' was possible as he aims to 'imply the context of travel writing from 1918-1939, to suggest what it felt like to be young and clever and literate in the final age of travel' (p. vii). In his attempt to raise the travel writing of the period to canonical literary status, Fussell also promotes his favourite writers of the period: Norman Douglas, Robert Byron, D.H. Lawrence, Christopher Isherwood and others, to the status of exemplary traveller.

These writers, apart from being 'young, clever and literate', are also all male, thus reinforcing the already established notions of travel being a gendered activity. The majority of Fussell's travellers are discussed, however, as not being travellers at all but as living in exile, driven into other countries by either the dreary qualities of the British weather or, like Norman Douglas, the moral suppression of the British law. These writers are not exiled in any political sense at all, rather they are expatriates or travellers - tourists even - because their spatial movement is essentially voluntary, but they do help to define part of a 'Euro-American exile trope [which] depends upon discourses of upper- and middle-class travel from the
nineteenth century' (Kaplan, 1996, p. 50). The desire for exile is contrived for aesthetic reasons then, but an understanding of literary production and travel as work (Fussell, 1980, p.39), allows Fussell the opportunity to extricate his canonical candidates from any consideration of the touristic.

This is something Fussell demonstrates with alacrity in his condemnation of the tourist:

what distinguishes the tourist is the motives, few of which are ever openly revealed: to raise social status at home and to allay social anxiety; to realise fantasies of erotic freedom; and most important, to derive secret pleasure from posing momentarily as a member of a social class superior to one's own, to play the role of a "shopper" and spender whose life becomes significant and exciting only when one is exercising power by choosing what to buy. (1980, p. 42)

Identification of these characteristics alone, however, offers far from conclusive grounds to distinguish between the tourist and the traveller. In many ways these actually report the desires and habits of both tourist and traveller. The raising of the social status of the traveller may not have occurred through travel, but social status definitely made travel desirable for the upper classes. Travel for these classes at least afforded opportunities for the improvement of taste through connoisseurship and the articulation of aesthetic judgement (Adler, 1989, p. 22).

These appreciations and judgements are understood to be beyond the intellectual and aesthetic grasp of the mere tourist and act, as such, as a form of social demarcation. Social anxiety is also allayed for both the returned traveller and his family. The tour is completed, the callow youth returns a man, ready to take on
the responsibilities and demands of a mercantile and active England which require
the attentions of a cool-headed and powerful man.

Shopping and the closely connected activity of collecting souvenirs are also not
restricted to any particular type of corporeal movement. In fact ‘bringing things
home’ has a history longer than either the tourist or traveller, and was well
established in medieval and Renaissance periods of exploration and mercantile
adventure. One of the most famous episodes of collecting was performed by Lord
Elgin who, over a period of twenty years starting in 1801, pillaged and ‘souvenired’
many antiquities from Athens. The first 65 cases arrived in England in 1804,
followed later by one of the Caryatids as well as a corner of the Erechtheum, part of
the frieze of the Parthenon, many inscriptions and hundreds more vases and minor
sculptures (‘The stripping of the Parthenon’, p.2).

Erotic freedom is hardly the exclusive domain of the tourist either! According
to Fussell one of his own important travellers, Norman Douglas, a homosexual, was
motivated specifically by a desire to avoid facing trial for offending the moral
righteousness of post-war British society, preferring instead the lotus-eating
possibilities of warmer, less restrictive climates. Sexual licence was as established a
part of so-called travel as it ever was of tourism and is well documented by
travellers. Gustave Flaubert’s account of his experiences with the dancer Kuchuk
Hanem (Flaubert, 1980, p. 116) and his boastful description of other sexual
encounters - ‘he treated us to a morning of nymphets. I fucked three women, four
shots in all, three before lunch and one after dessert' (p. 124) - suggest a concern
with erotic freedom was associated with all class of tourists.

Not satisfied with his attempts to identify the difference between tourist and
traveller in terms of motivations however, Fussell also attempts to define the
difference spatially. For Fussell the traveller goes to places, 'places are odd and call
for interpretation. They are the venue of the traveller'. The tourist, however, is
satisfied with the 'pseudo-places' which 'entice by their familiarity and call for
instant recognition' (1980, p. 43). Under this methodology 'Kermanshah, in Iran, is
a place; the Costa del Sol is a pseudo-place .... Bougainville is a place; the
Polynesian Cultural Centre, on Oahu, is a pseudo-place' (p. 43). Strangely however
the bulk of discussion regarding the traveller/tourist distinction from Wordsworth to
the present day is predicated on the understanding that the tourist and the traveller
actually share spaces, and it is this spatial proximity which makes the distinction
necessary. In the global environment of late modernity it would appear that the
general ease of accessibility to most places would ensure that the co-presence of so-called traveller and tourist is increasingly more evident.

Eventually Fussell, like Wordsworth before him, blames the development of
new modes of transport for the rise of tourism and the death of 'real travel'. For
Wordsworth it was train travel which brought the reviled tourist into the Lakes
District. For Fussell, it was the entry of aircraft into the tourism industry and the
subsequent demise of passenger ships which allows Fussell to pinpoint the demise of
travel to April 1978, "when passenger ship travel in the Pacific disappeared" (1980, p. 41). Travel by passenger ship - and hence real travel - is now unavailable and hence inherently nostalgic and romantic:

Recently I planned a trip to the Orient and the South Pacific, hoping that in place so remote and, I dreamed, backward, something like travel might still be possible. I saw myself lolling at the rail unshaven in a dirty white linen suit as the crummy little ship approached Bora Bora or Fiji in a damp heat which made one wonder whether death by yaws or dengue fever might be an attractive alternative. (p. 41)

In contrast to this rather bizarre and extremely nostalgic imagining of what real travel is, or was, tourism is now aircraft-based and anything to do with aircraft - the airport, the craft itself - is identified as a "non-place" which transports the tourist to a pseudo-place. The pseudo-place is probably, in Turner and Ash's terms, in the 'pleasure periphery', a sun belt within four hours flying time of the industrialised centres of the modern world (1975 p. 11). The aircraft 'when linked with rising affluence, has led to a whole new tribe - the Mass Tourists. The barbarians of our Age of Leisure. The Golden Horde' (p. 11). These mass tourists are passive and childlike, and occupy a strictly controlled touristic environment in which the tourist:

is surrounded ... by surrogate parents; the travel agent, the courier, the guide, the hotel manager and his [sic] service staff all relieve the tourist of responsibility and protect him from harsh reality. Their solicitude restricts his activities to the beach and a list of approved "sights" (natural or historical). (p. 90)

The tourist, then is somehow not real, or at least satisfied with attractions and places which are not real. Daniel Boorstin understands the 'pseudo' nature of the
touristic experience as relating to particular activities rather than particular spaces. For Boorstin, the tourist is content with superficial experiences, 'pseudo-events' which 'offer an elaborately contrived indirect experience, an artificial product to be consumed in the very places where the real thing is as free as air' (1961, p.99). In Boorstin's estimation, the pseudo-event is a signifying factor of modern American life, with its genesis in the development of the communications industries, or what Boorstin calls 'the Graphic Revolution' (p. 13).

Boorstin's considerations of the pseudo-event and the role of the communications industry at least offers a chance for the tourist to be redefined in terms other than in comparison with the traveller, and brings the first sheen of contemporary cultural thought into the debate. Firstly, Boorstin's understanding of the major role played by the communications industry in the development of modernity - and the tourism industry - begins to make room for tourism and the touristic experience within the parameters of everyday life. Secondly, the notion of the pseudo-event pre-empts broad postmodernist theories which consider subjectivities as being developed through consumption, play and performance, and more specifically foreshadows Jean Baudrillard's understanding of the postmodern condition as made up of simulacra (1994).

Boorstin's modernist trajectory towards the identification of the pseudo-event as a major component of the tourist experience is, however, undermined by an undeniably nostalgic desire for a Golden Age of pre-modern travel and supports
rather than critiques the conservative commentary which imagines the traveller/tourist distinction. As the essay's title, "The lost art of travel", suggests, travel of past periods has 'been the universal catalyst. It has made men think faster, imagine larger, want more passionately. The returning traveller brings home disturbing ideas', whilst the democratisation and industrialisation of travel, 'has carried many more people to distant places. But the experience of going there, the experience of being there, and what it brought back from there are all very different. The experience has become diluted, contrived, prefabricated' (1961, p. 79). For Boorstin, the pseudo-event is essentially a fake rather than characteristic of a set of social conditions. Some sectors of the population unproblematically accept the pseudo-event as real, others do not. The ones who can discriminate between the pseudo-event and the real are - of course - unlikely to ever be mere tourists. For Baudrillard however, the simulacrum offers no choice between the pseudo- and the real.

The possibility of a relationship between the tourist and an experience even approximating the real, and any attempt to display any difference from the stereotyped mass tourist, is actively derided. In order to maintain the distinction between the two Fussell (1980) 'invents' the figure of the anti-tourist, and later Maxine Feifer (1985) introduces the figure of the 'post-tourist' (also see Urry, 1990). The anti-tourist is neither tourist nor traveller. Fussell warns that 'the anti-tourist is not to be confused with the traveller: his motive is not inquiry but self-protection and vanity', and 'he' is separated from the tourist by adopting a number of techniques to 'assert 'his' difference from all those tourists' (1980, p. 47). These techniques
include *not* carrying a camera, staying in 'unlikely' hotels, learning the local language, eating the local food and 'sedulously avoiding the standard sights' (p. 48).

The anti-tourist suffers from a 'tourist angst' which is delineated along class lines:

This is to say that the working class finds nothing shameful about tourism. It is the middle class that has read and heard just enough to sense that being a tourist is somehow offensive and scorned by an imagined upper class which it hopes to emulate and, if possible, be mistaken for. (p. 49).

This upper class also, apparently only imagined by the anti-tourist but somehow real in Fussell's account, are quite happy with tourism: 'the upper class, unruffled by contempt from any source, happily enrolls in Lundblad tours or makes its way up the Nile in tight groups being lectured at by a tour guide artfully disguised as an Oxbridge archaeologist' (Fussell, 1980, p. 49). We are all essentially tourists then, differentiated along class lines, and enjoying touristic experiences as a mere simulation of the 'real' experience of travel:

Tourism simulates travel, sometimes quite closely .... but it is different in crucial ways. It is not self-directed but externally directed. You go not where you want to go but where the industry has decreed you shall go. Tourism soothes you by comfort and familiarity and shields you from the shocks of novelty and oddity. It confirms your prior view of the world instead of shaking it up. Tourism requires that you see conventional things, and that you see them in a conventional way. (p. 651)

Urry (1990) discusses the 'post tourist' in terms of an attempt to understand developments in contemporary tourism which cannot be explained simply in terms of the modern phenomenon of mass tourism. The post-tourist is capable of touring from home via representations available through mass media. S/he delights in the
many choices available during the actual experience of a tourism predicated on physical movement and change, and understands tourism as 'a whole series of games with multiple texts and no single, authentic tourist experience' (1990, p. 100). The post-tourist is essentially bound up with notions of a postmodern cultural environment in which we live today and involves a:

dissolving of the boundaries, not only between high and low cultures, but also between different cultural forms such as tourism, art, education, photography, television, music, sport, shopping and architecture. In addition, the era of mass communications has transformed the tourist gaze and many of the features of postmodernism have already been partly prefigured in existing tourism practices (p. 82).

In this dedifferentiation of the postmodern cultural experience, the innate postmodern characteristics of even the modern tourism experience, and the understanding of postmodernism as a cultural paradigm which exists in varying degrees in various places, and which exists in association with other cultural elements such as modernism (Urry, 1990, p. 86), identifying differences between the tourist and the post-tourist becomes a little elusive. Although Urry states 'it should be noted that many tourist practices, even in the past, prefigure some ... postmodern characteristics ... tourism has always involved spectacle' (p. 86), for example, the mass tourist, it seems, remains firmly anchored in the modern, whilst the post-tourist remains, similarly, essentially fixed in the postmodern despite their contemporary coexistence.
Even here then the tourist is unable to gain any sympathetic attention. The plain, old fashioned mass tourist has to be content with a social location which figures them as passive and inferior, satisfied with the spurious and inauthentic products of the tourism industry whilst the post-tourist is allowed the freedom to enjoy the very same activities. The post-tourist identifies and revels in the simulated and the inauthentic, the mere tourist is exiled to them. Similarly, whilst postmodern notions of play and pleasure provide a satisfactory basis for the rejection of authenticity as a basis for all tourism, it fails to account for the existence of some form of search for the authentic in postmodern tourism, and also for the opportunities for spectacle and pleasure in the modern, rather than postmodern, tourist environments.

Despite what at times appears to be an overwhelming distaste for tourism and the tourist, and continuing confusion and lack of specificity regarding what a tourist may be, academic interest in tourism and the tourist has grown in the latter part of the twentieth century. The first definition of the tourist developed in business terms was prompted by the rapid development of international tourism and the necessity to quantify the industry’s activities. The inaugural U.N. Conference on International Travel and Tourism was held in Rome in 1963 and this conference defined tourists as:

- temporary visitors staying at least twenty-four hours in the country visited and the purpose of whose journey can be classified under one of the following headings:
  1) Leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study, religion, sport);
  2) business, family, mission, meeting.

(cited in Cohen, 1974, p.530)
The tourist it seemed was here to stay and, following the United Nation's recognition of tourism as a business in its own right, sociologists and anthropologists began inquiry into the tourist as a recognisable social type.

The United Nation's definition, however, was of little use to tourist researchers from outside the tourism industry. It does little to separate the tourist from many others who move spatially, and 'does not help us much towards producing a base point for our definition of the tourist role' (Cohen, 1974, p. 531). Erik Cohen suggests, contrary to the UN Committee and - for totally different reasons - the established class-based antagonisms, that the tourist is a subset of the larger phenomenon of traveller, and can be defined as 'a voluntary, temporary traveller, travelling in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and non-recurrent round trip' (1974, p. 533).

Erik Cohen's definition of the tourist was the product of a period of intense scrutiny of the tourist. The results of this period were generally expressed in a series of typologies and definitions which eventually revealed more about the methodologies of social scientists and the parameters of the discourses under which they operated than about the objects of their studies. The construction of these typologies also often displayed hierarchies which continued to demonstrate the lack of credibility attached to the mass tourist. A sociologist, Cohen (1972) developed one of the first typologies of the international tourist which was based on the notion of strangeness or strangerhood as a major tourist motivation. This typology
identifies four types of tourist: organised mass tourist, individual mass tourist, explorer and drifter, who are delimited against the criterion of desiring to experience, and actively seeking, strangeness or difference. In this taxonomy, the drifter is almost exclusively interested in experiencing difference, whilst the organised mass tourist— as passive and disinterested as ever— displays no interest in the cultures of the destination.

Later, Cohen also considers tourists in terms of phenomenology and provides a five part typology of touristic experiences: recreational, diversionary, experiential, experimental and existential, which 'span the spectrum between the experience of the tourist as the traveller in pursuit of "mere" pleasure in the strange and the novel, to that of the modern pilgrim in quest of meaning at somebody else's centre' (Cohen, 1979, p. 183). Here, although Cohen is at pains to distance himself from the 'high' cultural attitudes which inform much of the traveller/tourist debate (1979, p. 184), the distinction still generally remains. Whilst there is some usefulness in 'recreational travel', it is restricted to the recuperative pleasures of entertainment in the same way as Cohen— in a noticeably outmoded manner— relegates other forms of mass entertainment such as cinema, theatre and television to mere recreation (p. 184). A diversionary mode of travel fares even worse, offering only 'a meaningless pleasure for centre-less persons' (p. 186). Meaningful relations in the touristic experience are reserved for those who are actively engaged in a search for authenticity through the lives of others.
The field of anthropology has also produced typologies of tourists in keeping with an area of inquiry which has until recently been primarily concerned with primitive cultures and is characterised by contact with them. Valene Smith for example, typifies international tourists on a continuum of three characteristics: adaptations to local norms, goals and numbers (1989, p. 9). The continuum begins with the explorer, who fully accepts local norms, is small in number and is on a quest for new knowledges, and travels through the elite, off-beat, unusual, incipient mass, and mass tourist, to the charter tourist. The charter tourist is apparent in large numbers, regards the actual destination as unimportant, and doesn’t adapt to local norms at all. Explorers are, according to Smith, not really tourists at all but are:

almost akin to anthropologists living as active participant-observers among ‘their’ people. They easily accommodate to local norms in housing, food, and lifestyle, bolstered by an amazing array of Western technology including ‘walkie-talkies’, dehydrated foods, portable chemical toilets, oxygen tanks and medicine. (p. 12)

Smith’s statement is perplexing for two reasons. Firstly, unless the statement is implicitly and intentionally ironic, the anthropologist and the explorer, as understood by Smith, seem to do little in terms of praxis which even approximates the ‘local norms’, except in terms of the necessary functions of breathing, defecating and eating! Secondly, and more importantly, the comparison between the anthropologist and the explorer suggests more about the perceived status of the anthropologist than it does about any type of tourist. Anthropologists are distinct from tourists yet their position also provides a valid point of reference in what is essentially a hierarchy, rather than a typology, of tourists. The uneven power relations between anthropologist and subject explicit in the relationship between the anthropologist and
the locals - 'their people' - is implicit in the relationship between anthropologist and tourist.

The ethnographic authority of the anthropologist which Smith so easily claims, and the relationship between anthropologist and tourist have, however, come under much scrutiny. Malcolm Crick suggests that the anthropologist is entwined in a self-serving system which seriously undermines the possibilities of reaching any degree of objective understanding of the other, a situation similar to that of the tourist (1985, p. 76). Hertzfeld paints the ethnographer as an incompetent, 'semiotically if not linguistically maladroit and chronically gauche, they both misunderstand what they are told and, in addition, annoy their informants who become little inclined to reveal themselves' (cited in Errington & Gewertz, 1989, p. 38). Whilst this may be true, the most serious criticism is in relation to the final product of the ethnographic endeavour - ethnographic writing. Vincent Crapanzano compares the ethnographer to the messenger-god Hermes:

The ethnographer is a little like Hermes: a messenger who, given the methodologies for uncovering the masked, the latent, the unconscious, may even obtain his message through stealth. He presents languages, cultures and societies in all their opacity, their foreignness, their meaninglessness; then like the magician, the hermeneut, Hermes himself, he clarifies the opaque, renders the foreign familiar, and gives meaning to the meaningless. He decodes the message. He interprets. (1986, p. 51)

The interpretive element of the ethnographer's activities are underpinned by a need to make the account convincing:
It treats of the foreign, the strange, the unfamiliar, the exotic, the unknown—that, in short, which challenges belief. The ethnographer must make use of all the persuasive devices at his [sic] disposal to convince his readers of the truth of his message, but, as though these rhetorical strategies were cunning tricks, he gives them scant recognition. His texts assume a truth that speaks for itself—a whole truth that needs no rhetorical support. His words are transparent. (Crpanzano, 1986, p. 52. italics in original)

Mary Louise Pratt in a similar vein identifies ‘a well-established habit among ethnographers of defining ethnographic writing over and against older, less specialised genres, such as travel books, personal memoirs, journalism, and accounts by missionaries, settlers, colonial officials, and the like’. In the field this attitude translates to a disregard for any other visitor who appears in the ethnographer’s space: ‘in almost any ethnography dull-looking figures called “mere travellers” or “casual observers” show up from time to time, only to have their superficial perceptions either corrected or corroborated by the serious scientist’ (Pratt, 1986, p. 25).

The taxonomic drive of sociologists and anthropologists does little to ameliorate the fundamental uncertainty of what a tourist actually is. Crick understands that an array of definitions and taxonomies exist, but ‘typically, though, these taxonomies are incommensurable, leave out obvious distinctions, and separate phenomena which are clearly fuzzy or overlapping’ (1989, p.312). In addition ... no one’s taxonomy has yet compelled use by others’ (p. 313). It is possible that the drive to produce a taxonomy of tourist types is misguided in a cultural environment which acknowledges the existence of multiple, diffused and decentred subjectivities. Whilst the tourism industry classifies its products in many ways, price being an obvious marker, but also in terms of types of product - eco-, adventure, heritage,
cultural and ethnic to name a few - it seems unlikely that there are tourists who partake in only one type of tourism and can, hence claim a fixed position as ecotourist or heritage tourist.

Tourists are more likely to enjoy a number of tourism types and fulfil a number of tourist roles. In this way ecotourism, ethnic tourism and some of the more liminal aspects of tourism, such as beach going and excess drinking, may all occur during the same holiday, just as one holiday may be an independently organised experience, whilst the next may take advantage of some of the benefits of organised mass tourism or charter travel. One electronic correspondent to the Lonely Planet Thorn Tree demonstrates this:

Well, back on the Thom Tree after a years absence! After slugging through a year in England being a working person, I need a break and am therefore flying out to Goa for a 2 week break (no jokes about part time tourists please, I just want a break and am not travelling). I really want to just go and relax somewhere nice and quiet, relax under a tree, go for long walks, and just enjoy being there. Not interested in the party scene, nor the charter holiday thing.

This passage could also provide possible evidence for the existence of the post-tourist if the playful self-reflexivity wasn't subsumed under the presumptions of a distinction between traveller and tourist. This so-called and self-appointed traveller demonstrates a power relationship which makes the tourism experience available in travellers terms which rejects notions of the extrovert and collective in favour of the introspective and individual but, more importantly, the inquiry demonstrates the continuing existence of the traveller/tourist distinction. The tourist experience it seems, is still worthy of ridicule, even if you do it yourself! Even if sharing facilities
and spaces with tourists, the traveller still retains a subjectivity which marks them as somehow different.

Dean MacCannell’s famous inquiries into tourism discuss the tourist in terms outside the restrictions of the traveller/tourist distinction. By doing so, he proposes a much less negative understanding of the tourist. Presenting a two-layered approach to tourists, MacCannell understands tourists as firstly, actual persons, ‘sightseers, mainly middle-class, who are at this moment deployed throughout the entire world in search of experience’ and, secondly, as ‘one of the best models available for modern man in general’ (1976, p. 1). A tourist then, for MacCannell, is an essentially modern subject, subject to a sociological structure which ‘is a totalising idea, a modern mentality that sets modern society in opposition both to its own past and to those societies of the present that are premodern or un(der)developed’ (p.8). According to MacCannell the tourist, rather than passively engaging with the spurious, is actively involved in a search for authentic sights and sites in which the tourist is ‘a kind of contemporary pilgrim, seeking authenticity in other ‘times’ and other ‘places’ away from that person’s everyday life’ (Urry, 1990, p.8).

MacCannell’s understanding of the experience of everyday life in modernity is a position derived from Georg Simmel (1964), and apparent in other commentators on modernity (Baudelaire, 1964; Benjamin; 1983; Berman, 1983), who understand modernity as a metropolitan psychology, or subjectivity, predicated on ‘the rapid crowding of changing images, the sharp discontinuity in the grasp of a single glance,
and the unexpectedness of on-rushing impressions’ (Simmel, 1964, p.410), producing a structured alienation of the modern subject and their work from the economic and productive activities of modern industry. Drawing on the sociology of religion, and motivating and developing Erving Goffmann’s (1959) conceptualisation of front and back regions of social interaction, MacCannell proposes a series of six stages of authenticity, where the final stage corresponds with Goffmann’s ‘back region’, an area of genuine social performance which is closed to outsiders (MacCannell, 1979, pp. 92-3). The tourist’s search for authenticity, like the pilgrim’s is, therefore, certain to be unsuccessful.

However, MacCannell’s attempts to ‘balance the ledger’ with regard to tourist motivations and activities is not without its problems. To figure the tourist’s motivation as a search for an unobtainable authentic experience, with an eventual acceptance of a ‘staged’ or ‘inauthentic’ authenticity, in which representation is accepted as reality, does little to free the tourist from the charges of passivity and gullibility levelled by more conservative commentators such as Boorstin and Fussell. The search for problematic authenticities may well remain a motivation for the tourist to travel away from home, but it is not the only, overarching reason.

The panoply of tourist attractions is certainly not without its well-established, and openly accepted, contrived facilities. A visit to Disneyland, for example, could be viewed as a totally inauthentic activity, or even as the site of a particular authenticity of the modern, whilst much of the international tourism which
MacCannell discusses is often interspersed with liminal activities. A tourist may visit sites of ethnic and cultural interest during the day, for example, yet spend the evening in shops and bars. The nature of the authentic/inauthentic debate can also be seen as spurious (Crick, 1989) as it requires a notion of the authentic which is static. Cultures, even indigenous ones, which could possibly form the basis of the tourism of the authentic, undergo continual change, developing internally or externally through acculturation, in some cases at the direct instigation of tourists and the tourism industry.

The authentic, when considered in this framework, is unobtainable, not because, as MacCannell understands, it is actively hidden, but because the authentic operates as a signifier of self, rather than as an identifiable social characteristic. Jennifer Craik explains this in the following terms:

Tourists revel in the otherness of destinations, peoples and activities because they offer the illusion of otherness, of difference and counterpoint to the everyday. At the same time the advantages, comforts and benefits of home are reinforced through the exposure to difference. This is a different argument from that which proposes that tourism is a quest for authenticity, or the search for deep and meaningful cross-cultural communication, self-discovery, origins, cultural forms ‘untainted’ by ‘civilisation’ and so on. Rather, it is an ego-centric pursuit, involving a fascination with self-indulgence and self-delusion through simulacra: approximations and analogues of ‘the real’. (1999, p. 114).

Another major theoretical problem with MacCannell’s account of the tourist is his distillation of the concept of ‘modern man-in-general’ from the tourist as ‘a mainly middle-class sightseer’. Caren Kaplan summarises this theoretical leap thus:
The crux of the discourse of the tourist as a model of modernity constitutes the transformation of middle-class, Euro-American perspectives into universals. Only a group that has the privilege to ignore alternative points of view can entertain the cultural myopia demonstrated in the cultural production of this kind of travel discourse. (1996, p. 62).

John Urry does not follow MacCannell quite to the extent of understanding the tourist as the model of modern man in general, but does consider ‘acting as a tourist is one of the defining characteristics of being modern’ because ‘tourism is a leisure activity which presupposes its opposite, namely regulated and organised work. It is one manifestation of how work and leisure are organised as separate and regulated spheres of social practice in modern societies’ (1990, pp.3-4). Urry’s tourist has its beginnings with the development of tourist facilities for the working class of northern England in the nineteenth century, but his contemporary tourist holds more middle class values: ‘not to “go away” is like not possessing a car or a nice house. It is a marker of status in modern societies’ (p. 4). Modern tourism, like modernity itself, seems to be an essentially bourgeois pre-occupation.

What Urry’s tourists do when they go away is gaze. The visual is discussed by many cultural theorists as the most important sense in modern societies (Foucault, 1976, for example) and Urry motivates this notion to understand the tourist as operating a number of tourist gazes constructed through signs and representations which are understood through their oppositional relationships with non-touristic sights and practices. The objects of these tourist gazes are consumed through a series of dichotomies: the romantic/collective, authentic/inauthentic, and historical/modern
In his formulation of the tourist, Urry discusses all the dedifferentiations of the postmodern without departing from his decidedly modernist insistence on tourism being a part of leisure and therefore in a dichotomous relation with work. As many forms of cultural activity become less distinct, it is also true that the distinction between work and leisure is equally de-differentiated. Tourism can, to some extent involve work, especially unpaid work. A tourist may, for example, use their leisure time to perform a function of work, planting trees on an eco-project or learning new techniques and methodologies in yoga or alternative healing to take back to their home alternative healing practices, for example. This also to some extent critiques the overarching notion that the touristic experience is essentially visual. In these forms of tourism the intellectual and the physical become equally important, and the romantic gaze upon landscapes, and the search for the exotic are rewritten.

Whilst there may be, as Urry claims, many and varied forms of the gaze, the gaze is not restricted to the touristic sphere. The touristic gaze in its many forms is postulated as being dichotomous to what can only be called the 'non-tourist' gaze in the same way as the historical/modern gaze is understood as forming a dichotomous relationship. In this way all that is touristic is separated out from everyday life to exist somehow in a relational 'non-relationship' with the everyday. The touristic gaze may indeed fall upon spectacles, activities which are not associated with the
strict notions of the home and of work, but the notion of the touristic is implicated in the understandings of the home. In other words, the relationship between the touristic and the everyday, especially if understood in terms of the dedifferentiated nature of the postmodern experience, is complementary rather than dichotomous.

Without wishing to deny the importance of the tourist gaze, a rise in other new ‘postmodern’ forms of tourism allows other sensory experiences into the touristic panoply. ‘Food tourism’ is now an option offered as an adjunct to, or as a major component of, more established tourism activities. In this case, the exotics of taste are added to the exotics of vision. Companies such as Discover Provence, for example, suggest you ‘experience the cuisine, aromas and colours of classic Provence’, and Calaga Pty offer the opportunity to ‘enjoy authentic local foods, culinary styles and a cultural exchange with real Italians’ (Gourmet Traveller, Sept 2000, p. 180). Another recent form of tourism is loosely referred to as ‘adventure tourism’. Adventure tourism features ‘extreme sports’ such as bungee jumping and canyoning, and is essentially a physical experience predicated on the production of adrenalin, rather than the passive nature of consumption of the visual.

Despite the confusion and uncertainty which surrounds any attempt to define the tourist, the modes of tourism experience, and the attempts of theorists to empower the concept of the tourist with some contemporary credibility, the word ‘tourist’ still enjoys an unproblematic, everyday usage in a disparaging sense. This is when the ‘tourist’ is used in a dichotomous relationship with the ‘traveller’ and, as
such, becomes the 'other' of the traveller. Interestingly, this distinction is much more vital to the traveller than any distinction that could be drawn from the differences between one who travels and one who stays at home. Whilst the review of tourism literature above demonstrates that this separation is certainly not new, the nature of the distinction remains of interest because of its regular, everyday usage and because of the well-established understanding of the concepts involved. The following discussion relies on the responses of the Kovalam Fieldwork Project (KFP) and the ongoing discussions of the topic which are regularly aired through the Lonely Planet Thorn Tree (www.lonelyplanet.au/thorn), an internet-based bulletin board which operates as an information exchange mainly used by so-called 'independent' and 'budget' travellers.

Kovalam is an Indian beach resort where the traveller and the tourist share the same places and where the traveller/tourist distinction is articulated as a mode of distinction which overrides the spatial sameness. All respondents to the KFP where asked 'what is the difference between a tourist and a traveller?' Whilst a variety of opinions and attitudes were expressed, all respondents understood the question and demonstrated an awareness that the distinction is a regular part of the Western cultural lexicon. In the confines of the Kovalam beach resort environment the question was generally answered in terms of a distinction between package and non-package tourists. The term 'traveller' was only used by younger tourists on an extended stay on the subcontinent. The differences between the package and the non-package tourist reflected the well-established notions which are historically associated with the distinction. The general opinion of non-package tourists,
package tourists were only in Kovalam, or indeed India, to enjoy the ludic elements of the tourism experience; sun, sand, sea, sex, cheap and available seafood, and overindulgence in alcohol.

Whilst non-package tourists were happy to admit that these activities formed a powerful attraction for people hoping to escape the confines of a Northern winter, their own reasons for being in Kovalam were different. The attractions to non-package tourists, although generally described as 'cultural' were based on a narrow range of spiritual and health-related facilities and activities available in Kerala such as yoga, massage and ayurvedic medical practices. Some of these tourists were mainly interested in receiving treatment for serious medical disorders, others demonstrated an interest in achieving a general sense of enhanced well-being and yet others, such as alternative medical practitioners, were interested in these activities as an educational and career-enhancement project.

Package tourists recognised that non-package tourists operated the traveller/tourist distinction, but they themselves did not recognise it. The repertoire of the package tourist suggested rather that all tourists were essentially the same, despite the views of the non-package tourists, who were described as 'self-important', 'snobs', or 'just kidding themselves'. The package tourist showed interest in tourist attractions beyond the beach. Most demonstrated at least a general interest in and desire to visit nearby attractions in and around Trivandrum and Kanniyakumari. Others suggested more particular interests in bird watching, wildlife...
and photography. In terms of these activities they were much more active than most non-package tourists who, perhaps bound by regular attendance at various schools and courses, generally took only one other ex-beach excursion. Despite the claims by non-package tourists to be interested in culture, cultural tourism of a non-religious/spiritual nature - such as visits to coir-producing village on the backwaters or learning to cook South Indian food - was not common.

In relation to the KFP, brandings as package or non-package tourists are not on-going. Some tourists discussed histories of tourism in both the packaged and non-packaged modes and non-package tourists were ready to admit that some of their on-ground activities were in some ways packaged. The distinction between the package and non-package tourist seems, in this particular case, to be motivated and expressed by the non-package tourist and based on the need to share the touristic spaces of Kovalam, yet deny any form of familiarity or relationship with tourists.

The attitudes expressed on the Lonely Planet Thorn Tree are, however, much more forceful than those encountered during the KFP and demonstrate attempts to outline views which extend beyond the immediate spatiality of any tourism destination. The majority of correspondents on this site are actually located at home – or more correctly for many, in front of a computer at work – and are not currently partaking in any form of tourism, yet are still able to identify themselves as independent or budget travellers. Again, as with the KFP, the distinction between tourist and traveller is motivated by the traveller rather than the tourist, and again,
much of the discussion is spatial. Much of the information revolves around places to stay, eat, and see, questions relating to these topics are often discussed in terms of a presumed necessary rejection of any places which are 'too touristy'.

'Too touristy' refers particularly to places which are occupied by persons identified as tourists. These tourists are, as in Kovalam, essentially package tourists, and the traveller/tourist distinction is motivated against them for historically well-established reasons by a class of supposed traveller which also reflects the subjective classificatory drives of the bourgeoisie. The 'traveller' even in the global environment of the early twenty-first century remains intelligent, active, knowledgeable and able to identify and enjoy the authentic. To be a tourist indicates a subjectivity of passivity and crassness.

Whilst this distinction is insisted on primarily because of the spatial closeness of the tourist and the traveller in many circumstances, the traveller's insistence on the distinction also highlights another aspect of similarity between the two parties; the extent to which they are both implicated in the machinations of the tourism industry. To stay out of the tourism space is more of a dream than any form of attainable reality for most of the so-called travellers. It is the development of tourism on an industrial scale which has made more and more areas of the world available for travellers and tourists alike.
Old discriminations still exist, and the difference between the tourist and the traveller remains predicated on subjective notions of class, race and gender even in the postmodern world. In this circumstance, as well the tourist being a subset of a wider classification of traveller as Cohen (1974) suggests, a specific, self-anointed type of traveller can also be understood as a subset of a wider classification of tourist. The traveller is a tourist who claims to be removed from the machinations of the tourism industry and from the mass of other tourists. In this way, the traveller claims to hold a privileged status and representational authority — and a heroism — similar to that claimed by the flâneur in the cities of early modernity. However, like the heroic flâneur in the developing metropolis, the traveller approaches mythic status in a world more and more open for tourism and the flânerie associated with the traveller’s notions of international tourism is much more widespread and practiced by tourists of all classes and genders.
CHAPTER THREE

FLÂNEURS AND TOURISTS: REPRESENTATIVES OF MODERN
SUBJECTIVITY

The flâneur, the man in the street, the idle observer, is often understood as one of the representative figures of modernity (Baudelaire, 1964; Mazlish, 1994). He was a figure not only produced by the new spatial and social conditions of modernity but one who also demonstrated the power to understand and interpret those conditions. This power was related to his panoptic gaze and, through the visual nature of this power, the flâneur can be cast as a forerunner of the tourist (Urry, 1990, p. 138). The figure of the tourist is receiving increasing coverage in cultural studies (Jokinen & Veijola, 1999), and it has been suggested that the tourist also acts as a representative figure of the current era (MacCannell, 1976) just as the flâneur is considered to be representative of the early modern period. In this figuration the tourist generally adopts the same position of power as the flâneur and demonstrates the same panoptic gaze.

The flâneur, can however, be interpreted as an ambiguous figure whose relationship with modernity demonstrates a wavering between an uninvolved and impassive figure of power and a figure who is explicitly implicated in the struggles and contradictions of modernity (Benjamin, 1983). If the relationship between the flâneur and the tourist is to be considered seriously, then the tourist must be subject to the same critique and demonstrate similar ambiguity. Whilst the flâneur may well be a representative figure of modernity, it is a figure as fraught with contradiction as
is the tourist. The traveller/tourist distinction demonstrates the same ambiguity in the understandings of the tourist as the ambiguities apparent in the figure of the flâneur. The tourist can be seen as a member of the mass from which the traveller distances himself just as the flâneur does from the metropolitan masses of early modernity. The traveller, however, is implicated in the commodification and anxieties of modernity as surely as the flâneur ever was. It is certainly the often misrepresented tourist then, not the self-appointed powerful traveller, who offers a possible representative subjectivity of the late modern period.

Modernity presents itself in a manner that defies any overriding definitive qualification of what it actually means to society. The modern, on the one hand, can be viewed as a dominating, monolithic juggernaut of bourgeois, male power and of progress, democracy and reason and, on the other, as an experience which 'pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish' (Berman, 1983, p. 15). One of the major symbols of modernity, the city, and 'its archetypal occupant and observer' the flâneur (Wilson, 1992, p. 93) must also be considered in terms of this ambiguity. The city can be read as a public, masculine place which rejects the feminine and private, or as a transgressive location in which the bourgeois separation of interests is critiqued. So too the flâneur can be coded as essentially male and empowered, interpreter of the public spaces, hero of that particular time and place and master of all that falls under his panoptic gaze or, alternatively, as a representation of the ambiguity, alienation and isolation that characterises the fragmentary nature of modern, urban experience.
Walter Benjamin (1983), in a gesture of modernist irony which effaces his own flânerie, theorises the flâneur specifically as the hero of the early to mid-nineteenth century Parisian arcades who revelled in, but was also destroyed by, the changing conditions of his city. If the fragmentary experiences of modern city life are allowed to resonate with more endurance, however, the flâneur can be accorded a meaningful existence throughout modernity, and his movements and observations extended beyond the streetscapes and arcades of Paris into the global spaces of the contemporary world where, transfigured into the tourist, the characteristic attitudes and activities of the flâneur can continue to be understood as a representative subjectivity.

In order to achieve this, the empowered and heroic flâneur as celebrated by Baudelaire, despite his brilliance will be condemned — as Benjamin (1983) suggests — to die a tragic death on the streets of Haussmann's redesigned Paris, and will be replaced by another flâneur who more readily demonstrates the ambiguous qualities of the modern experience. Moreover, this characterisation of the flâneur will survive movements through time and space and practice flânerie throughout the established tourism areas of the contemporary world. This version of the flâneur is not aloof and removed from the modern experience, but is deeply implicated in it, especially through his relationship with the increasingly commodified nature of modern life, his mostly visual mode of experience, his understanding and aestheticisation of the
global touristic spaces of late modernity, and the gendered nature of the touristic discourse.

Modernity is a problematic concept in cultural studies. For Rita Felski there are 'conflicting estimations of the nature and value of the modern' (1995, p.15). Eric Hobsbawm characterises the modern as a period of 'dual revolution'; stemming from the Industrial Revolution in England and the political French Revolution (1977, p. xv). Michel Foucault acknowledges 'modernity is often spoken of as an epoch ... situated on a calendar', but he rejects the periodising drive, and discusses it more in terms of an attitude, 'a mode of relating to contemporary reality ... a way of thinking and feeling ... of acting and behaving' (1984, p. 39).

This attitude of modernity was allied to other movements. Modernity linked the radical changes in science and technology with the industrialisation of production and an ever-expanding, world-wide capitalist market. Modernism described an aesthetic of artistic production which stressed the contemporary sense of ambiguity and isolation and formed an alliance with modernité, which stressed the aestheticisation of everyday life in an ephemeral and transitory cultural environment. 'The maelstrom of modern life was fed by many sources' (Berman, 1983, p. 16), and modernity acts as an overarching term for it, but one which fails to unequivocally rationalise the constituent parts of the modern experience. Modernity 'embraces a multi-dimensional array of historical phenomena that ... cannot be synthesised into
an overarching *zeitgeist* (Felski, 1995, p. 18), but however elusive the modern may be, to be modern certainly involved living in an environment in which:

all fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and men are at last forced to face ...the real conditions of their lives and their relations with their fellow men. (Marx & Engels, 1971, p. 39).

There is, however, one crucial factor in the cultural, economic and political climate of modernity, the centralisation of economic production and the marketplace which produced a massive social movement into a centralised demographic - the modern city. The hectic advances of industrial capitalism saw the city change from a nation's centre of strategic planning and political power to a centre of commerce and the major symbol of the changing world view. The metropolis, like the modernity it represents, demonstrates an inherent ambiguity - it is at once the centrepiece of the bourgeoisie's constantly expanding empire and also a site of turbulence and crisis.

Rural workers flooded into the city to escape the economic pressures of a dwindling agricultural economy, to chase opportunities in the developing factories of the new industrial age, or to work in the warehouses and shops that vied for a part of the retail activity which the burgeoning consumption-based economy provided. This new urban mass was created as a direct result of modernisation and the mass of population not only witnessed the metamorphosis of the city but were also often physically implicated in it, employed on the urban redevelopment schemes which defined the new spatial arrangements of the metropolis (Berman, 1983, p. 150). This
geographic movement also signified a change in social relations that was predicated on a move from known, homogenous and familial environments to ones which were unfamiliar and alienating, yet potentially liberating.

Older parts of the city degenerated, or were redeveloped, as the public activities of the metropolis became centred in the arcades and, later, the department stores, whilst the private realm of the bourgeoisie - family and domestic activity - was increasingly removed to the suburban, peripheral areas. The city of the active, public sphere, the movement of the masses, the exotic new buildings, the spaces of the arcades which afforded the freedom of strolling and the spectacle of commodities on display became the 'natural' habitat of one who was produced by capitalism and the new era - the flâneur.

The flâneur was attracted to the spectacle of all metropolitan life, but it was in the new spaces of urban modernity, the arcades, that the flâneur was most at home. The arcades were developed by the bourgeoisie and, as such, represented their interests. The first arcades were built in Paris at the end of the eighteenth century and were modelled on the Palais Royal. Although the Palais Royal was owned by an aristocrat, the Duc d'Orleans, after 1789 its coffee-houses and salons provided the physical location in which the political demands of the third estate were drafted and were linked to what Jurgen Habermas theorised as the bourgeois public sphere (1979). It was also an 'economically self-sufficient world, with its endless galleries,
gardens, courtyards, avenues, fountains, cafes, theatres, gambling saloons, clubs, brothels, shops and apartments' (Geist, 1983, p. 60).

As well as providing an area for the newly confident bourgeois public to convene and discuss their interests, the arcades were also an early method of organising retail trade. Technological advances in production produced a corresponding need to develop retail trade methodologies to enhance turnover and promotion of goods. The arcades themselves were developed by the new class of capital investor who had made their money from mercantile and monetary speculation, and were developed on property that had been purchased cheaply after its confiscation from the aristocracy and the Church (Geist, 1983, p. 62).

The arcades also acted as a sanctuary for pedestrians, distancing them from the increasing volume and speed of transport using the inadequate and essentially mediaeval road system. New building technologies incorporating iron girders and glass roofing allowed light into the arcade and protected them from the weather, affording an environment in which the stroller enjoyed the freedom and time to inspect the luxury goods on display. As early as 1817 the whole of one of the great arcades, the Passage des Panoramas, was illuminated by gas-light and other arcades followed, allowing the visual spectacle of population and commodity to continue at all times.
The arcades did not, however, represent the zenith of retail activity and organisation. Retailing, like other modern activities, was in a state of constant change. Arcades had reached their peak of popularity by about 1840. The period 1820-1840 saw twenty new arcades constructed in Paris and also saw the development of arcades in other cities with a wealthy and active bourgeois sphere. After 1840 new developments, new rationalisations, and new fashions saw the arcade begin to fade. The only arcade of any significance constructed in Paris after 1840 was the Passage Jouffroy, completed in 1845 (Geist, 1983, p. 68).

Although arcades were described in a street guide as late as 1852 as a rather recent invention of industrial luxury (Benjamin, 1983, p. 36), their place in modern retailing was already being taken by the department store. The allure of the arcades was not lost on all however, as the mere existence of a street guide suggests:

The arcade became old-fashioned. However, the new phenomenon of tourism, brought into being and to France by Baedeker and Thomas Cook, created a new public for the arcades. The Parisian arcades, for example, are mentioned in every mid-century description of Paris. Indeed, at no other time were the arcades described in greater detail. (Geist, 1983, p. 70)

The rise of the department store roughly coincided with other spatial developments in Paris. In the mid-nineteenth century Napoleon III and his Prefect of Paris, Baron von Haussmann, embarked on a sustained period of urban development that imposed a metaphorical human physiology on the spatiality of Paris (Sennett, 1994, p. 331). Wide boulevards became the arteries of the city through which traffic easily flowed; much of the city centre was given over to parkland and squares to act
as lungs and allow the city to breathe; the heart of Paris pumped with cultural and mercantile activity due to the provision of marketplaces, libraries and an opera house.

The wrecking of the old *quartiers* of Paris destroyed established neighbourhoods, so the redevelopment brought not only new spatial organisation but also new social relations. ‘The Napoleon-Haussmann boulevards created new bases – economic, social, aesthetic – for bringing enormous numbers of people together (Berman, 1983, p. 151). The strongest way in which the population of Paris was bound together was in a visual sense. The new boulevards made the city navigable and open, the population could see and be seen, as it emerged from the clusters of isolated cells which were the old *quartiers* onto the panoramic streetscapes and into the cafes. Although the re-design of Paris was intended to afford new parameters of surveillance and physical regulation over the city, it also ‘helped to make the new Paris an enticing spectacle, a visual and sensual feast’ (1993, p. 151). The combined spectacles of people and commodities provided the definitive modern experience – spectacles to which the *flâneur* turned his perambulating, voyeuristic attentions.

The traditional starting point for discussions of the *flâneur* and *flânerie* is with Charles Baudelaire’s (1964) eulogy to Constantin Guys, ‘The painter of modern life’. Guys, ‘a delightfully gifted but essentially minor artist’ (Mayne, 1964, p. xiv), is represented by Baudelaire as a major figure in modernity and as ‘the perfect *flâneur*’ (Baudelaire, 1964, p. 9). Guys the *flâneur* searched for an aesthetic of the everyday,
a meaning in the representation of the present (1964, p.1), that places him firmly in
developing metropolitan Paris and places Paris at the centre of the modern world -
'the world – even the world of artists – is full of people who can go to the Louvre'
(p.1) - and despite Guys being 'by nature a great traveller and cosmopolitan' (p. 6), it
is in Paris that 'the eternal beauty and harmony of life becomes apparent' (p. 11).

The flâneur experiences life and self-consciously assigns meaning to life in the
crowd, the bustling humanity of the metropolis which ‘is his element, as the air is
that of the birds and water of fishes. His passion and his profession are to become
one flesh with the crowd' (Baudelaire, 1964, p. 9). Yet the flâneur remains distant
from the crowd even whilst engaging with it. He is a man of the crowd, but not in
the crowd (Tester, 1984, p. 3, emphasis mine) whose interest in the crowd, and in the
spectacle of commodification which drew the crowds, was detached from the general
social order. This flâneur is the hero of modernity. He alone has the knowledge of
the city, he goes ‘botanising on the asphalt’ (Benjamin, 1983, p. 36) employing
scientific observational methods sharpened by the Enlightenment. He is a
‘perambulating panopticon’ who is ‘aristocratic critic and judge’ (Mazlish, 1984, p.
50) and master of the masculinised public spaces of modernity.

The powers which the flâneur possesses are the power of the masculine gaze
and the power to make meanings in the new metropolitan environment. He takes
‘visual possession of the city’ (Wilson, 1992, p. 98) and is free to move through the
urban space, delighting in the liberatory animosity of the crowd and indulging in the
visual spectacle of the metropolis — the streets, the shops, the fashions — and refining his aesthetic taste in salons and cafes ‘frequented by actors, writers ... and painters’ (Wilson, p. 94). The flâneur enjoys the freedom of the city, and holds the city in his possession, because the city, in the binary predications of bourgeois power is coded as public and necessarily male.

The flâneur then is also necessarily male and has unequivocal access to the public spaces. He knows the city and interprets all that the metropolis and modernity represent because his deployment of the male gaze subjugates everything which falls under it. The meanings the flâneur constructs from the urban experience are aestheticised and displayed through his writing and painting. The flâneur’s version of modernity — the definitive modern experience — is the masculine experience of the public sphere. Women were effectively — or at least ideologically - excluded from the processes of historical and social change because of the constant identification of the modern with the public.

Women artists of the modern era, for example, despite a bohemian lifestyle which may have signified otherwise, and who were involved in the aesthetisisation of the everyday experience as were flâneurs, were nevertheless generally engaged in representing the private sphere. Janet Wolff notes this marginalisation in the work and public recognition of the artist Gwen John, especially in relation to the work of her more famous brother Augustus. Whilst Augustus often worked outdoors, Gwen’s work was predominantly located indoors and ‘her subjects were invariably
self-portraits and portraits of women sitters in her own room in Paris’ (Wolff, 1985, p. 115). Although Wolff sees elements of John’s personal ‘preference for the solitary and private’ (1985, p. 118) in choice of subject, access to the street could be an anxious activity for women. At times she attempted to sketch outdoors, for example, but ‘had to retreat to her room, feeling herself harassed by rodeurs’ (p. 118).

One way of avoiding this unwelcome attention, and allowing a spectatorship of the public which was limited to males, was masquerade. George Sand ‘was famous for wearing male dress on occasion in order to roam the streets in freedom’ (Wolff, 1985, p. 105) and others such as George Eliot, whilst not taking the masquerade to such physical lengths, adopted masculine pseudonyms under which to publish their work and enter the masculinist world of aestheticised cultural commodity production. This masquerade was also evident in the political sphere where ‘a kind of cross-class dressing’ (Green, 1994, p. 85) - rather than cross-gender dressing - was adopted by the bourgeois suffragette in order to reach working class women and to allow her ‘to command the spaces which she attempts to navigate’ (1994, p. 84). The spaces of the public domain were not spaces which the bourgeois woman held legitimate reasons to occupy.

The original characterisation of the flâneur as male and masterful is historically precise and represents an aesthetic and urban response to a particular set of social conditions. The death, as well as the life of the flâneur is played out on the streets of Paris during the Second Empire. The changing face of nineteenth century
Paris saw the flâneur blossom like a flower between the paving stones only to die under the narcotic effect of the commodities that had overrun the city, or under the wheels of a speeding carriage that rendered the streets unsafe for the slow strolling associated with flânerie.

The life of the Parisian flâneur then, is contained in a fleeting particular moment of modernity. For the flâneur to persist as a representative of modernity he must forestall his death, forgo his heroism and adapt to the ongoing changes associated with modern life. He must move not only through the new and the transgressive spaces of the city but also through other spaces and times. He must be represented as a creature who is involved and revelled in the changed experiences of modernity, whose gaze is not so specific and introverted, and to allow Baudelaire’s words, ‘his interest is the whole world; he wants to know, understand and appreciate everything that happens on the surface of our globe’ (1964, p.7), to operate free of spatial and temporal specificity.

Nevertheless, Benjamin kills his flâneur off, and identifies four reasons for his death: increased rationalisation of the city; increased speed of movement through the city; the replacement of the flâneur’s favourite haunt – the arcades – by the department stores; and the flâneur’s inability to resist the temptations of the commodified marketplace into which he is eventually drawn, thereby disrupting his position as the impartial, uninvolved spectator.
The city's administrative rationalisation is exemplified to Benjamin by the definition of house location by numbers: 'Benjamin was in no doubt that house-numbering was a measure intended to pin down to a single place and meaning every face in the city' (Tester, 1994, p. 14), thus compromising the flâneur's intuition which allowed him alone the understanding of the city and placing the gaze of the flâneur in second place to the developing panoptic command of the State. The imposition of time schedules compromised the flâneur's capacity to indulge in idle strolling and protests against such schedules - some quaintly involving walking turtles through the arcades (Benjamin, 1983, p. 54) - became meaningless when department stores replaced arcades and the gentle art of flânerie was forced out onto the streets in competition with the ever-increasing vehicular traffic.

Just as the speed of the circulation of traffic increased through modernity so did the speed of the circulation of commodities. The spectacle of commodity culture which the flâneur once claimed to merely observe eventually seduced him: 'the flâneur is someone abandoned in the crowd. In this he shares the situation of the commodity ... the intoxication to which the flâneur surrenders is the intoxication of the commodity around which surges the stream of consumers' (Benjamin, 1983, p. 55). The scale of commercial activity in the metropolis turned everybody, in some way, into a flâneur. Goods no longer came to the buyers, 'instead it was the buyers who have taken themselves to the products: and not, in this case, to buy, but merely to “see” the things' (Bowlby, 1985, p. 1). Although the flâneur supposedly stands outside the capitalist economy, merely acting as a spectator, he is inextricably drawn

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into the capitalist mode of production. His financial insecurity often forced him into paid employment, particularly journalism, where the sketches and feuilletons which he produces are direct influences on the aesthetics of modernity: 'he goes to the marketplace as a flâneur, supposedly to take a look at it, but in reality to find a buyer' (Benjamin, 1983, p. 34).

In the crowd, the flâneur experiences the fragmentary nature of the urban experience. He is at the centre of the modern universe without being connected to it, his gaze does not bring the city into his possession but serves only to isolate him from its meanings. Just as an early literary example of the flâneur, M. Bonhomme, 'stops ... to examine the workings of a marine telegraph, although he understands nothing about them' (cited in Wilson, 1992, p. 94), so too is the flâneur unable to draw any stability from the myriad forms of patriarchal power that surround him. He is a marginal figure, disempowered by the labyrinth of commodities which form the spectacle of the modern city. These are, however, all characteristic responses to the effects of modernity and, rather than necessarily destroying the flâneur, they change his relationship with the city from one of mastery to one of representation (Mazlish, 1984).

As the figure of the all-powerful flâneur gives way to a representation of one who is alienated and isolated, so too his environment and its coding, that of the city as an unambiguous public, and therefore, masculine, place must give way to a more ambivalent theorisation of its spaces. The metropolis can be reinterpreted as a
transgressive, rather than settled environment, in which the city/public dynamic can be questioned.

Although the developments of the industrial period often served to intensify the public/private divide, inscribed on the urban areas in the separation of areas for work and living — in the separation of shops and factories from the growing dormitory suburbs for example — there were areas in the city where this separation was contested (Wilson, 1992, p. 90). These areas include the favourite haunts of the flâneur: arcades, art galleries and salons. These areas were 'interieurs' (Benjamin, 1983, p. 54), and, as such oppose the open, public nature of the streets. They were 'in a zone neither quite public or quite private' that generally allowed public access but which 'endeavored to create the atmosphere of the salon or the public house' (Wilson, p. 96). In this metropolitan environment there are other figures who can be seen as products of the new environment which the city established. With the possibilities of the city to be understood as a transgressive, feminised space there are possibilities for women to adopt a more active representational role regarding the city.

The commodification of the economy and centralisation of commodity production brought women as well as men into the city. For many of these women — the working class and socially deprived for example — the ideological separation of the public and private spheres was not even physically available to them. The British Census of 1851 suggests that there were many women active in the public sphere at
that time (Poovey, 1988, p. 14) - street vendors, prostitutes and beggars for example - so to suggest that women were invisible in the public sphere is unrealistic. Their presence was, in fact, recognised and regarded as a 'problem' which produced 'any number of moralising and regulatory discourses' (Wilson, 1992, p. 90) from the male-dominated local authorities.

Women in the city, and their role in modernity, was intrinsically linked to the consumption-based economy and their representations were figured either as commodities themselves or as consumers of commodities in the roles of the prostitute and the shopper. The actual presence of these women contests notions of their invisibility in the city, but they represent two separate cases, each allowed into particular tactical spaces, neither free to report 'having wandered eastward, soon losing my way in a labyrinth of grimy streets and black, grassless squares' (Wilde, 1985, p. 73), as a freer, masculine Dorian Gray could. The bourgeois woman was almost certainly restricted to the department stores and smart hotels, the prostitute to the arcades and 'grimy streets', but not on the same terms as men (Wilson, 1992, p. 105).

The prostitute then can also be understood as a dominant metaphor for the new, nineteenth-century urban environments as 'prostitution comes to symbolise commodification, mass production and the rise of the masses' (Wilson, 1992, p. 105). She – for the prostitute is as rigidly gendered as the flâneur – populates the city because the mass of inhabitants allow her trade (Benjamin, 1983, p. 57) and the
prostitute herself becomes a mass-produced commodity that represents ‘the eroticisation of life in the metropolis’ (Wilson, p. 106).

She is a marginal woman, represented by Baudelaire with an ambivalent attitude of admiration and disgust. In his poem *Le crépuscule du soir* (1961, pp. 101-2), the ‘light and life’ of prostitution is compared to a worm in man’s food (Wolff, 1994, p. 57), celebrating not only the excitement of the city but also nostalgically lamenting a loss of feminine ‘naturalness’. The prostitute not only occupies the streets in a different way to men, but also primarily for men as an eroticised commodity. As such, the prostitute may not interrogate the masculinity of the metropolis as much as support it, as well as the binary nature of the bourgeois ideology which insists on a distinction between Madonna and whore. Although notions of class should not be stereotypically applied to the prostitute’s position, or the transgression of the demarcation between the virtuous and the ‘fallen’ woman be romanticised (Wilson, 1992, p. 105), it is the relationship between the ‘normal’ middle class women and the spectacle - the relation between women and shopping – that places them in the mainstream of modernity.

The innovation of gas – and later, electric - lighting first drew women out of the home, out of the safety and the sanctity of the private sphere, and onto the streets and into the arcades. It was the development of department stores, however, which provided both the next step in retail rationalisation and a major role for women in modernity. The department stores, along with hotels and salons do not however,
necessarily constitute a public place. Rather, they figure in the history of modernity
as places where the ambiguities of the modern experience can be expressed through a
female presence, rather than as a female invasion of the public sphere. The
environment of the department store allows the luxury of looking, and it is this act
(or non-act) that aligns the female shopper with the flâneur.

The department store utilised many of the newly-developed building materials
such as steel and glass and also introduced new shopping customs: 'they offered free
inspection of goods, the possibility of exchange, reduced prices for slow-moving
items and they demanded - the real sensation in Paris - cash payment' (Geist, 1983,
p. 52). By 1862 the first of the gigantic department stores, the Bon Marché, was
completed. The Bon Marché, constructed as a skin of glass on a skeleton of iron,
covered a whole city block with continuous show windows and countless light-wells,
galleries and levels (1983, p.52). The department store sold all types of goods, not
just luxury items – as was the case in the arcades – and became a space for the
masses, not merely the privileged classes. It became a more rationalised place with
fixed prices, employed assistants, surveillance and methodic control over shop-lifting
and customer behaviour.

Department stores were at the leading edge of consumer culture. It was here
that the goods were removed from their processes of production and the social
meanings of the goods as signs was established. The female shopper, unlike the
flâneur, was a consumer of both the spectacle and the offered commodities and it is
this active involvement in consumption which places women in the vanguard of modernity. Bourgeois ideology identifies this active consumption as the seduction of the weaker sex, women yielding to the powerful male subject and rendering themselves passive, but increasing commodity consumption can also be 'advocated unequivocally as a means towards the easing of their domestic lot and a token of growing emancipation' (Bowlby, 1985, p. 20). Despite the freedom of the commercialised spaces of the department stores, freedom in political areas and in aesthetic production remained elusive for women.

Just as the department store allowed women access to an experience similar to flânerie, the spatial experiences of flânerie were not restricted to the denizens of the city of Paris either. Benjamin stresses the importance of Edgar Allen Poe's story 'The man in the crowd', which is set in London, in the development of literary representations of flânerie whilst ironically insisting on a historical specificity which places the flâneur in Paris. (Tester, 1994, p. 16). Baudelaire's heroic flâneur, Guys, suffers the same ambiguity, placed unequivocally in Paris by Baudelaire, but also responsible for some cross-channel flânerie: 'I knew that for some time he had been on the staff of an English illustrated journal' (Baudelaire, 1964, p. 6). Indeed, the frontispiece of the Phaidon Press edition of The painter of modern life and other essays is taken from Guy's work In the Row, Hyde Park. Robert Musil's novel The man without qualities locates a flâneur in Vienna and discusses flânerie in terms of global urban existence (Tester, p. 10). Dana Brand goes further, placing the origins of flânerie in seventeenth century England (1991, p. 4) and Oscar Wilde's (1985) fin de siecle flâneur, Lord Henry Wooton, restricts his flânerie to the streets of London.
Literary evidence then, allows the flâneur a spatial and temporal freedom which extends beyond the restrictions of Paris and the arcades.

The flâneur's movements can be broadened even further than the cities of early modernity. Commodification also eventually turned the flâneur's introverted gaze outwards to view the whole world. Flâneurs from North America were attracted to the spectacle of the major European cities and recorded their observations in journalistic writings similar to their European-based counterparts (Brand, 1991, p. 9). One difference in this North American writing is that it necessarily involved travel, the resultant writings therefore stressed this element of travel rather than the interpretation of one's own home environment.

The European flâneur also developed a taste for travel, and this travel was directly related to the modern society's close relationship with commodities. The changing nature of the modern metropolis was not only predicated on the changing social structures brought about by a changing agricultural environment and developing industrialisation, but also by the expansion of the European nations' empires. Products of empire—cotton for example—helped to fuel the process of industrialisation, but many went directly into the marketplace as exotic commodities. Dorian Gray's fluctuating and accumulative narcissistic interests in gemstones, imported textiles and other exotica (Wilde, 1985) would have been impossible without this mercantile expansion.
However, this commodification of empire began well before Gray's *flânerie* at *fin de siècle*. The relationship between the British Empire and commodities, for example, was displayed for all to see half a century earlier, at the Crystal Palace exhibition in 1851. The initial Crystal Palace exhibition and the Universal Expositions which followed it were department stores *par excellence*. Industrial developments in glass and metal manufacture and artificial lighting allowed commodities from around the world to be displayed in a way which made the exhibition appear to be 'places of culture, fantasy ... which the customer visits more for pleasure than necessity' (Bowlby, 1985, p. 6). The individual exhibition spaces, in which imports from specific areas were displayed showed the same elements of fantasy and spectacle through their presentation as simulated 'native villages' or bazaars (Levell, 2000). The involvement of Cook & Son in carrying tourists to such spectacles (Swinglehurst, 1982) shows the early connections between tourism, visual pleasure and empire.

For the many and varied visitors to such exhibitions, the meaning of empire - and of the specific countries in the empire - was constructed in terms of the displayed commodities. For a *flâneur* to have an understanding of the modern city he needed to have an understanding of empire, and that involved travelling. The *flâneur* needed to address himself to 'the issues and practices of popular imperialism through their own direct experience and tactile encounter with representative Others' (Shields, 1994, p. 75). Travelling was certainly not a uniquely modern experience, but the empire offered more opportunities for the *flâneur*: 'the *flâneur* closes the gap
in the cultural formation of empire between the citizen and the State, brings the two together in the social imaginary in a collusive project of possession (Shields, p. 75). The *flâneur* possesses the empire in the same way as he possesses the streets - through an aesthetic response to visual stimuli which makes meanings out of the everyday experience.

The construction of the *flâneur* as the holder of a panoptic gaze within which the city is constructed has been critiqued, but the mastery of a European, and essentially masculine, gaze over a foreign landscape also remained important to the way in which a knowledge of such landscapes is constructed. The rhetorical gesture of ‘monarch of all I survey’ (Pratt, 1992, p. 204) was employed by nineteenth century explorers and fiction writers alike (Spurr, 1993, p. 17). Through this gesture the landscape was aestheticised, then invested with meaning, and then described in a manner that subordinates it to the power of the speaker (Pratt, 1992, p. 204).

The field of exploration, both geographic and scientific, was regarded as an essentially male domain. The ‘monarch of all that I survey’ attitude was ideologically restricted to the male, although, as Mary Louise Pratt succinctly points out, females were actually implicated in much practical exploratory and scientific activity. Mary Kingsley, for example, performed important scientific work in the swamps of West Africa in the late nineteenth century. Whilst the swamps can in some ways be understood as fascinating, yet dangerous, female places problematic for the male explorative eye (Giblett, 1996), this form of spatially segregated criticism is not
available for other female explorers such as Gertrude Bell. Bell, an Arabist, archaeologist and spy, produced much knowledge about the Middle East which informed England's decidedly masculinist early twentieth century political intrigues in the area and which provided much of the information which eventually allowed a male - Lawrence of Arabia - to rise to exalted hero status (Wallach, 1998).

Pratt's major example of the 'monarch of all I survey' attitude - Richard Burton's description of his 'discovery' of Lake Tanganyika - is remarkable not only for its descriptive quality, but also for the way in which Burton's aestheticisation and presumed mastery of the scene parallel Baudelaire's descriptions of urban, flânerie. Burton describes the scene as if he were describing a painting. He is, like Constantin Guys, 'both the viewer there to judge and appreciate it, and ... the painter who produces it for others' (Pratt, 1994, p. 205). The irony which exists in the relationship between the flâneur and the city, a self-appointed mastery which dissolves into alienation with actual contact with the city, is also apparent at Lake Tanganyika. Burton was so ill he had to be carried to the lake and 'his companion John Speke ... had been blinded by fever and was therefore ... unable in a literal way to discover anything' (1994, p. 204). Nevertheless, the empire was imagined as a space similar to the public spaces of the modern metropolis, a masculine sphere only available to, and understood and aestheticised by, men.

For others, however, the spaces of empire were imagined as far from masculine. Many established French writers -and flâneurs - travelled in the Orient
during the early modern period. These travels through an Orient then the basis of the French Empire were through an area which had already been discovered, but required a specific aesthetic imprint to be placed on it. Gerard de Nerval, for example, ‘wanders informally through its riches and its cultural (and principally feminine) ambience’ (Said, 1985, p. 182) in the same way that the flâneur wandered through Paris. The Orient was a feminised and commodified space like the transgressive spaces of the modern metropolis. The Orient, for these writers and travellers, ‘was ... lived in, exploited aesthetically and imaginatively’ (Said, p. 181) in a way that ‘meant exciting spectacle instead of humdrum routine’ (p. 185).

The Oriental woman became the greatest symbol of this spectacle, with the exotic excitements of ‘Oriental sex’ eventually becoming as standardised a commodity as any in mass culture (Said, 1985, p. 190). The status of woman as described by Baudelaire, ‘she is a divinity, a star ... a kind of idol, stupid perhaps, but dazzling, bewitching’, and whose beauty is commodified, with ‘everything that adorns woman, everything that serves to show off her beauty, is part of herself’ (1964, p. 30), could well serve as a contemporary description of the Orient. Despite a ready acceptance of notions of the exotic in relation to the Orient and empire, flânerie acted to bring the experience of empire into the everyday of modern life by turning it into a spectacle of commodities.

But the spaces of empire however imagined, whether masculine, feminine or transgressive, continued to be described and aestheticised by men. British and
French Orientalisms differ (Lowe, 1991), but the empowering qualities of representation, description and aestheticisation were not lost on the modern British colonialists and merchants either. John Thomson provides an example of a British petty bourgeois who was implicated in the colonial project, in the representation and aestheticisation of the spaces of Empire, and therefore in *flânerie*. Thomson, like any literate person of the mid-nineteenth century, was well aware of the existence of the 'East' through earlier travel accounts which painted the South-East Asian region as an exotic place of abundance and wealth tempered only, or possibly further enhanced, by mysterious jungle and savage tribes. In 1862, Thomson travelled to Singapore and opened a photographic studio in Beach Road.

Here, he undertook portrait commissions and also 'built up a good stock of landscapes and landmarks, and portraits of Orientals, that Western residents and visitors bought as souvenirs' (Balmer, 1993, p. xxvii). Although primarily regarded as a photographer he was also deeply implicated in another representational mode, that of travel writing. Contemporary travel accounts were extremely popular during the 1860s and 70s and Thomson produced a number of them, including *The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China and China* (1875), for an enthusiastic public. *The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China and China* was reviewed in the *Illustrated London News* on 16 January, 1875. The review reported that 'Mr Thomson spent ten years in the Far East, keeping his mind, as well as his eyes and photographic lens, ever wide open to its scenes and manners, of which he sets before us a lively and truthful series of views' (cited in Balmer, 1993, p. ix).
With obvious commercial interests, Thomson's *flâneural* sensibility led him into modes of description and representation through which the Orient was rendered in a manner acceptable to the bourgeois and colonial interests of Britain. Through a mixture of aestheticisation and taxonomy, Thomson produces knowledges of the Orient which reinforce the power of the coloniser and also underline his own personal *flâneural* activities as a disseminator of knowledge. Penang, for example, is described as picturesque and, in keeping with the British colonial effort, 'not many years ago was an impenetrable jungle, but now is a perfect garden of cultivation' (Thomson, 1993, p.3).

The observation of the multi-racial population of Penang also offers Thomson many opportunities for ethnographic and *flâneural* commentary. Through this commentary Thomson assures the British of their superiority as well as imprinting his own visual order upon that knowledge. The Klings, Indians from Madras, for example, are discussed in terms of livestock, 'dark, sharp and active, without a trace of calf on their straight limbs, yet able to run for a whole day' (Thomson, 1993, p.10). The Malays easily fall under an established trope of tropical simplicity and listlessness. Thomson observes that they 'do as little work as possible' (1993, p.18), and 'the occupation of collecting turtle-eggs is one pre-eminently suited to the Malay, for in them they have genuine marketable items deposited at their feet, without any trouble at all, free of charge' (p.24).
As modernity progressed, the physical experience of empire became available to more people, an experience which was predicated on the knowledges developed by early modern writers from Flaubert to Thompson and others both before and afterwards. The increasing availability was based on two major factors; the increasing speed of life produced by continuing developments in transport and communication (Carey, 1992), which produced a type of shrinking in the dimensions of time and space (Harvey, 1989), and associated with these technological advances, a movement in lifestyle from work-based to leisure-based motivations (Rojek, 1995).

In these circumstances the gazes of the flâneur, the scientist, the explorer and the early visitor are all transposed onto the gaze of the tourist. The metropolitan experience of modernity in all its ambiguity - of visual empowerment yet of fragmentary and anxious experience - spreads to become symptomatic of the touristic experience.

So flânerie, now no longer the exclusive domain of a passing type of the Parisian metropolis, becomes a recognisable activity performed by tourists in many spaces of the globe, spaces already discovered, charted and explained certainly, but still allowing the personal imprimatur of explanation. Here some tourists attempt to separate themselves from the masses in the same way as the heroic flâneur claims to be both within, yet distant from, the metropolitan crowds. These so-called travellers; mainly petty bourgeois, owners of an inherently masculinist discourse about travel, and supposedly actively engaged with the locals of the touristic space, take it upon themselves to form and reinforce knowledges about the touristic space. In the same way which the flâneur aestheticised the spaces of metropolitan Paris, the modern-day
traveller aestheticises the touristic sphere through almost all forms of representation available: photography, travel writing, keeping journals, publishing on the internet, and making film and video and claims the specific authority to do so.

Through these forms of representation the traveller not only aestheticises the touristic sphere but also — again like the flâneur — claims a particular knowledge of that space. The identification and acknowledgement of authenticity is very much the self-appointed role of this type of traveller rather than the mere tourist, for whom authenticity is supposedly either unimportant or unobtainable. The traveller also claims to go further than the tourist, stepping out into the margins of the touristic sphere to seek authenticity, in the same way as the flâneur approaches the transgressive areas of the metropolis. The traveller constructs the knowledge of these areas as his alone. They are far from the eyes of the passive and controlled tourist who, even if trespassing into these spaces, would presumably be unable to identify the inherent authenticity. The mastery of these areas is, of course, more a phantasm of power than a reality. In reality, the marginal touristic spaces are as mainstream as many more established touristic spaces. In Thailand for example, the Kao San Road and the bungalows on Ko Phanghan, haunts of the traveller, are as implicated in mainstream tourism as Silom Road and the beach resorts at Pattaya.

The relationship between the new spaces of international tourism and the gender politics of the tourism discourse are also strikingly similar to the relationship between the flâneur and the metropolis. These touristic spaces are imagined as being
spaces for males, just like the spaces of the metropolis and the Orient had been imagined previously. The experience of Cook & Son however, would suggest otherwise. The package tour and its assortment of allied services produced an environment which actually saw Cook & Son catering to more women than men. (Lash & Urry, 1994, p. 263). Whilst the whole of the Orient has a history of being feminised to some degree, the right to traverse the spaces is still constructed as belonging to men. There is a certain ambiguity here too though. Many of the established touristic spaces actually offer sanctuary from the authenticities available in the 'great outdoors'.

The spatiality of the ocean liner and the established hotel offered sanctuary to both male and female tourists during the halcyon days of Cook & Son, a space away from the teeming masses and safe from threat and anxiety. In the same way the so-called traveller's hotels and cafes offer sanctuary to the modern-day traveller. However, this sanctuary is not only from the mass of racial 'others' in the street, but also from the dreaded tourists. The spaces which offer this sanctuary are similar to the salons and galleries which were the favourite haunts of the flâneur, neither public nor private, incapable of being coded either masculine or feminine, but safe. It is not the public spaces of the touristic environment which are the home of the traveller, but rather these in-between spaces - the interieurs - which bear the mark of the travellers' authority.
The public areas of the touristic spaces remain imagined as being for masculine eyes though, especially in countries such as India and Morocco, where the role of the female is more certainly connected to the private spaces than in many Western nations. Western women travellers, especially single women, are discursively disposed to acknowledge an amount of risk and danger in accessing these spaces. Sexual harassment is rife in India for example, and masquerade is often represented as an element of the modern day female tourist's repertoire of activities like the artist, suffragette, explorer and scientist before them:

if you don't want to be subject to what is euphemistically known as 'Eve teasing' (harassment in various forms including public groping) then pay attention to the local norms of dress and behaviour. Dressing modestly helps. This means not wearing sleeveless tops, shorts or even jeans. Loose clothing that covers your legs and shoulders is best. The salwar kameez or traditional Punjabi shirt and pyjama combination is becoming increasingly popular among western women travellers because it's practical, cheap and, most of all, it's considered respectable attire. (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 122)

Whether or not this cross-cultural masquerade is effective at combating 'Eve teasing' is a moot point. Many Indian women are the subject of sexual harassment even when wearing a sari or salwar kameez. What is more likely to attract the Indian male gaze is that 'on the whole, a woman travelling alone is still very unusual in all but the most touristed areas' (Cannon et al., p. 122). Many middle class Indian women would not dream of going shopping – let alone catch a train or eat in a restaurant – unaccompanied.

Despite the regularity of this form of masquerade providing an obvious physical implication of women in the touristic spaces, the traveller, like the flâneur, never-the-less likes to represent himself as the master of such spaces and, whilst this
involves him in identifying and representing the authentic, it also involves him in attempts to disassociate himself from the mere tourist, to be, again like the flâneur, in the crowd, but not of the crowd. The geographic and physical confines of the touristic space contain much of interest to the so-called traveller and this necessitates a separation from the crowd of tourists. Whilst the tourist may stare dumbly and passively at the Taj Mahal for example - regarding it merely as spectacle - the meanings of Islam, of Empire, of conquest - and even of love - are not lost on the traveller. The traveller moves knowledgeably through the touristic - not the travelistic - space, but the touristic space is as well defined as the spaces of the city.

In the contemporary touristic space there are a number of anxieties involved in maintaining this distance. These anxieties are remarkably similar to the conflicts which eventually forced Baudelaire’s heroic flâneur to his death and symbolise, in modern day terms, the end of the traveller and his absorption into the crowd of tourists. This movement is caused by the increasing commodification and rationalisation of the global tourism spaces, the speed at which this contemporary global tourism spaces can be reached from the established Western centres, and the reshaping of many of the so-called travellers imagined ‘special’ places by the more established tourism developments and practices.

The places in which the traveller can claim spatial separation from the tourist are becoming harder and harder to find. The search for this separation keeps the traveller on the move, at once satisfying his supposed exploratory zeal but also
showing his desperate anxiety in the face of the crowd. In this way Krabi replaces Phuket, Varkala replaces Kovalam, and Gokarna replaces Goa as acknowledged traveller’s areas. But the traveller must enter the crowd at the Taj Mahal, on the trek to the Everest Base Camp, at the burning ghats in Varanasi and many other popular and important tourist attractions. Here, there is no physical difference between the tourist and the traveller. Each have their cameras pointed. These are not places which require the representational practices of the visiting traveller. These places are already represented and known throughout the world. The traveller stands aloof from the crowd only in their own imaginations, the representations which the traveller makes here hold no particular veracity, they are mere copies of many which have been made before and surprisingly similar to the apparently uninteresting ones made by the uninformed tourist.

These aestheticised and personalised souvenirs have all been made before through the continuing commercialisation of tourism, the commodification of the touristic space and the plethora of images available in the modern mediascape. The touristic space doesn’t need to be accessed to see these many representations, but it certainly can be, and in a more efficient and rationalised manner than ever before. To visit the East, one no longer needs to have extensive time away from work as the average holiday period of between two and four weeks is adequate. Many so-called travellers are there for a longer haul than this of course, and this temporal dimension still provides some of the imagined differences between the tourist and the traveller, but importantly changes in transport technologies make this spaces more available
for tourism. India, for example, is accessible by air from both England and Australia in under twenty four hours.

These arrangements are also more rationalised through the use of Centralised Reservation Systems and through ongoing coordination and management of global cooperation and alliances between tourism providers. But rationalisation is not restricted to international carriers. Local travel providers and agencies develop and administer travel routes and offer inclusive package tours to certain areas. Short trips to locations once 'out of the way' become just another commodified tourism attraction. Prices become more fixed as shops and souvenir stalls develop and spread. Entrepreneurs from distant towns develop tourism facilities. Hotels with room registers are built on the sites of loosely administered beachside shacks.

In these environments the traveller, Heroic in their own imagination, must necessarily die like the flâneur. Rob Shields suggests that the flâneur never actually existed, 'in truth, it must be acknowledged that nineteenth century visitors and travelogues do not appear to reference flânerie other than as an urban myth' (1994, p. 62), and possibly the traveller and his associated heroisms and interpretive skills enjoys the same status. Nevertheless, in the global environment of the contemporary tourism industry there is little opportunity for individuals to stand outside the mass without being implicated in it. This situation renders the misrepresented and maligned tourist as a representative figure of everyday life in the western societies of late modernity just as the figure of an anxious and implicated flâneur can serve as a
representative of the early modern period, both of whom are implicated in modern industrial capitalism, the *flâneur* in the site of production and consumption of the arcades and the tourist in the various sites of the culture industry.
CHAPTER FOUR

TOURISM AS A CULTURE INDUSTRY

The varied and diverse activities of tourists are quite generally and simply described as tourism. The use of the word 'tourism' does, however, also signify the operations of an industry and in some cases is defined as such. The Collins Concise Dictionary for example, defines tourism as 'tourist travel, esp[ecially] when regarded as an industry' (1988, p. 1251). The development of tourism in an industrial sense began in the mid-nineteenth century, closely following the rationalisation and industrialisation of production practices in the manufacturing sector. The contemporary developments in manufacturing not only produced technological advances but also produced new social relationships which enabled the expansion of travel in general and the development of tourism as an industry. The tourism industry industrialised and commodified a number of pre-, or proto- touristic travel practices and re-presented them in terms of these new technologies and social conditions. The industrialisation of tourism also followed the changes in commodity production methodologies in that it also involved the centralisation of administrative and financial operations which involved many distant and diverse providers and consumers.

The industrialisation of tourism was not the 'invention' of tourism, as such and tourism, likewise, was not totally a development of modern, industrial society. The emergence of a recognised tourism industry changed, reorganised and rationalised a
number of practices relating to human movement. Modern tourism is theorised here as having antecedents in a number of established pre-modern practices involving geographic movement including pilgrimage (Shepard 1967; Ousby 1990), imperialism (Nash 1989), and the Grand Tour (Urry, 1989). Some tourism activities are also related to the democratisation of some aristocratic practices, particularly the Grand Tour, but including sea-bathing and the use of rural spas (Pimlott, 1947), and the developing role of sightseeing (Adler, 1989) and its relationship with newly-emerging Romantic understandings of nature.

This chapter does not, however, aim to identify a particular mode of pre-touristic travel which most nearly approximates the activities of the modern tourism industry. Rather, it aims to outline the precedents from which modern tourism has emerged, to identify the characteristics of these early travel modes which survive in modern tourism and to consider the cultural arrangements which have affected – and been reflected in – developments in tourism. This understanding suggests that the tourism industry is, like being a tourist, implicated in the cultural production and consumption patterns of modern life rather than a calculated flight from it.

The tourism industry is primarily and significantly involved in the commodification of services rather than goods. Services are, in comparison to the 'concreteness' of manufactured commodities, ephemeral and, especially where spatial movement is involved, often impossible to predict or inspect. This distanisation from the product had the effect of placing the tourism industry not only
as service providers but also places tourism industry operatives – as well as more recognised fields such as advertising professionals - as cultural intermediaries involved in the representation of their products; the sites and sights of the tourism environment. The importance of representation in the production of the tourism service suggests that the tourism industry can be understood as involving cultural as well as economic production. Tourism then, becomes as implicated in the production of modern-day culture as manufacturing and the so-called culture industries themselves.

The cultural industries and their relationships with manufacturing production techniques have been discussed in a very gloomy frame by Adorno and Horkheimer (1972) for example, but much of the pessimism which informs The dialectic of enlightenment – and the work of the Frankfurt School in general - is missing from this account of the tourism industry, as are Adorno and Horkheimer’s elitist concerns with the homogeneity and vulgarity of mass taste. The historical and cultural differences can be succinctly summarised economically as a movement from fixed accumulation methodologies, or Fordism, to post-Fordist flexible accumulation techniques, and culturally as a move from a unproblematic ‘production of culture’ perspective, in which cultural consumption is necessarily passive and uninvolved, to one in which the ‘circuit of culture’ (Hall, 1997) is more prominent and relationships between the various sectors of the cultural circuit are more related and responsive.
The industrialisation of tourism was not the ‘invention’ of tourism, the genesis of travel, or even the beginning of travel for pleasure purposes. Rich Romans had maintained seaside villas and had undertaken arduous annual journeys to visit them before the birth of Christ (Feifer, 1986). Mercantile trade had always been predicated on travel, and pilgrimage was a well established form of corporeal movement during the middle ages. Travel for cultural and educative purposes — the beginning of the Grand Tour — was common from the Renaissance onwards. All of these forms of movement and communication were the exclusive domain of the upper classes. Lower class personnel such as servants and tutors were invariably only implicated at the behest of their masters. Developments which characterise the tourism industry then, reflect Adorno and Horkheimer’s understanding of the industrialisation of the culture industry in terms of ‘amusement and all the elements of the culture industry existed long before the latter came into existence. Now they are taken over from above and brought up to date’ (1972, p. 107).

One of the predecessors of tourism is pilgrimage. Pilgrimage involves a journey to a shrine or sacred place, or can also be understood as a quest or long search made for exalted or sentimental reasons. Religious pilgrimage is still an established part of some cultures. Muslims, for example, still regard a pilgrimage to Mecca as the highlight of their life, and many Southern Indian Hindus make a pilgrimage to Sabarimala in Kerala. The Sabarimala pilgrimage is prescribed to take 41 days and:

it symbolises the struggle of the individual soul in its onward journey to the abode of bliss. The path of the spiritual aspirant is always long, arduous and hazardous. And so is the pilgrimage to Sabarimala, what with the observance
of severe austerities and trekking up forested mountains, risking attack from wild animals. (Vaidyanathan, 1992, p. 73)

The dangers and austerities of the Sabarimala pilgrimage are still real. Apart from producing injury, privation and disease due to lack of accommodation and sanitation, in 1999 this pilgrimage resulted in 53 deaths from a landslide caused by temporary overpopulation of a hilltop ('Landslide tragedy', 1999).

Pilgrimage for Westerners, in the religious sense, is generally associated with medieval Christianity, but religious pilgrimage does still exist in the present day, albeit generally without the physical hardship associated with the medieval or Sabarimala pilgrimages. A visit to Jerusalem or Bethlehem, for example, can be an explicitly religious event and hence a pilgrimage. A specific journey of this type which is still taken by supplicants is a pilgrimage to Lourdes, where spiritual manifestation, in accordance with more medieval beliefs, still results in the restitution of the flesh. The almost compulsory use of the tourism infrastructure to facilitate this pilgrimage in the present day in no way detracts from the religious function of the journey.

The understanding of tourism as a type of pilgrimage relies on the secularisation of what was once a strictly religious act. The physical similarities between modern tourism and medieval pilgrimage are succinctly catalogued by Ian Ousby:

They [the pilgrims] went in groups under the supervision of guides like Harry Bailey, the innkeeper of the Tabard in Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales. They
stopped at intermediate points, in the form of inns, hostels or subsidiary shrines, which were as well-defined as the motorway restaurants and minor sights where modern tour operators arrange for their parties to break the journey. Along the route and at their final destination, they could buy relics, predecessors of the souvenir. And, that final goal, the religious shrine, had at least some of the attributes of the professionally displayed tourist attraction. It was in the charge of a sacrist, or custodian, and it was sometimes accompanied by explanatory markers of a sort familiar to any modern tourist. (1990, pp. 8-9)

Paul Shepard (1967) also identifies the similarities between pilgrimage and modern tourism but describes them in terms of more transcendental phenomena: 'The mode of the pilgrimage, the concept of the hidden paradise, the hope of renewal, the re-enactment of great travels, the quest for strange knowledge were inherited by secular tourism' (p. 128). In the modern age tourism can be seen as a quest for the secular equivalent of rebirth: 'it is functionally and symbolically equivalent to other institutions which humans use to embellish and add meaning to their lives' (Graburn, 1989, p. 22). Nelson Graburn continues by proposing a binary opposition between an everyday life of work and tourism which parallels an opposition between the profane and the sacred. 'For Westerners who value individualism, self-reliance and the work ethic, tourism is the best kind of life for it is sacred in the sense of being exciting, renewing and self-fulfilling' (1989, p. 28, italics in original).

Dean MacCannell continues the identification of similarities between tourism and pilgrimage. MacCannell describes tourism as a ritualised journey, like pilgrimage, with ordered stops:
If one goes to Europe, one must see Paris; if one goes to Paris, one must see Notre Dame, the Eiffel Tower, the Louvre; if one goes to the Louvre, one must see the Venus de Milo and, of course, the Mona Lisa. There are quite literally millions of tourists who have spent their savings to make the pilgrimage to see these sights. (1976, p. 43)

The reasons for the journey are not religious however, even though many of the attractions - churches, cathedrals, temples and wats which have always been popular tourism sights - bear the imprint of religious construction. Likewise, the area known as the 'Holy Land' for example, is itself an important tourism, as well as pilgrimage, destination. In some cases, such as the Kumb Mela - a Hindu festival held bi-annually at interchangeable locations in India - the spectacle of pilgrims and the activities associated with the pilgrimage produces the touristic attraction. *Vogue Entertainment and Travel*, for example, suggests one should 'take part in an Indian holy festival and you'll find yourself among a clamouring colourful throng of pilgrims, gurus, snake-charmers, musicians and even the odd stray cow' (‘Pilgrimage to India,’ 1999).

For MacCannell (1976), the journey of modern tourism is a secular search for moral and social authenticity in other times and places, hence the touristic attraction to events such as the supposed timelessness and exoticism of the Kumb Mela. The quest for the sacred artefact and the sacred experience of the medieval pilgrimage is replaced by a search for an authentic souvenir and an authentic experience, an authenticity which is supposedly unobtainable in the face of the increasingly alienated, or profane, existence available in the modern world of work and consumption. ‘Sightseers are motivated by a desire to see life as it is really lived, even to get in with the natives’ (MacCannell, 1976, p. 94), but for MacCannell this
much sought after authenticity is never obtainable, even in locations which are ‘marked’ or ‘sacralised’ as such. There is, however, one major difference between the pilgrimage and the secular tour, a difference predicated on the movement of the location of knowledges from the custody of the Church to the secular institutions: ‘Religious travel had been to the centres of religion or to the souls to be saved; now, secular travel was from the centres of learning and power to places where man was to find nothing but himself’ (Fabian, 1983, p.6).

Whilst Fabian refers directly to bourgeois travel of the eighteenth century and the ways and locations in which the secular knowledges of the contemporary traveller were constructed, the centre/periphery relationship to which Fabian alludes is also applicable to power relations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the time of tourism. Dennison Nash negotiates the extension of eighteenth-century travel to modern tourism by discussing tourism as a form of imperialism. Imperialism, for Nash, is:

the expansion of a society’s interests abroad. These interests - whether economic, political, military, or some other - are imposed on or adopted by an alien society, and evolving intersocietal transactions, marked by the ebb and flow of power, are established. (1979, p.38)

Applying this centre/periphery model in these terms, the centre from which tourism is generated, and where the interests of tourism are established, is the metropolis of the developed, Western world and the peripheral areas in which the tourism sites and infrastructures are developed are in the so-called ‘Third World’, or
'developing' and 'emerging' nations, consisting mainly of the West's ex-imperial and colonial possessions. The transactions between the tourist and the tourism infrastructure, and the native peoples of the tourism area are marked by a disparity of power. Noticeably, this conceptualisation of tourism-as-imperialism does not rely on the negation of all native power by the dominating, central force:

A formulation of the imperialistic process at the present state of our knowledge does not require the acceptance of a particular interest (e.g., the economic) as crucial, nor does it require the notion of the unwanted imposition of some interest on an alien society. (Nash, 1979, p.38)

The implicit understanding that tourism may be desired by what Nash refers to as an 'alien society' in no way compromises the understanding that the relationship is marked by a disparity of power. In the 60s especially, international agencies and the governments of some emerging nations regarded the establishment of an international tourism system involving movement from the developed to the developing nations as a panacea for economic troubles and a way to establish new international understandings (Crick, 1989, p. 318). The 'new international relationships' to be gained through tourism were often driven by powerful organisations such as the World Bank, United Nations and Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development which are based in the West, and demanded the imposition of Western structures of organisation and accountability on the delivery areas of these new international tourism ventures which are essentially in the developing world.
However, it is the Grand Tour which is the most discussed early form of secular international tourism. The Grand Tour demonstrated qualities similar to the pilgrimage, in that it was to the centres of culture, but also demonstrates many concepts and activities which are still apparent in today's tourism industry. John Pimlott noted that the present-day English concept of the continental holiday 'in its various forms shows unmistakable traces of its descent from the Grand Tour' (1947, p.65), and the expectations of the contemporary bourgeois tourist still reflect many of the same interests, albeit in an expanded, global environment. Young and aristocratic English males had been sent to the Continent to complete their education as early as Elizabeth I's reign. These travels abroad also afforded 'opportunities to engage Europe's foremost dancing, music, fencing, or riding masters with whom they were forced to speak in a foreign tongue' (Adler, 1989, p. 9). The aim of these travels was to provide training in gentlemanly discourse and to 'develop the international contacts, judicious political judgement, adeptness at foreign languages and skill in oratory deemed desirable in a Prince's counsellor' (1989, p.9). This form of education and communication became known as The Grand Tour around 1670 (Pimlott, 1947, p.68). It had a set geography, aimed to satisfy set cultural criteria and was understood as 'that circuit of Western Europe undertaken by the wealthy in society for culture, education, health and pleasure' (Towner, 1996, p. 96).

The Grand Tour's desirability and popularity developed as a direct result of the growing popularity of Renaissance practices in England. The Tour, as well as the more dynastic elements, was also undertaken to view the classical antiquities so revered by the humanist movement and to experience first-hand the reinterpretated
attractions of the classical inspiration. The new philosophies espousing rationality
and reason also encouraged travel as a scientific quest for factual evidence and
knowledge. A specific ‘travel culture’ emerged from these activities and became
part of the established cultural processes of a British aristocracy which was
beginning to identify itself with a common European cultural elite. In 1776 Samuel
Johnson considered:

A man who has not been in Italy, is always conscious of an inferiority, from his
not having seen what it is expected a man should see. The grand object of
travelling is to see the shores of the Mediterranean ... All our religion, almost
all our law, almost all our arts, almost all that sets us above savages, has come
to us from the shores of the Mediterranean. (Boswell, 1953, p. 742)

As the Grand Tour evolved, the emphasis moved from education towards
health and pleasure. By the eighteenth century the Grand Tour was fashionable
among all whom could afford it, not only those for which a distinguished diplomatic
or legal career seemed possible. Rather than arrive home prepared for noble
government service, it appeared to Adam Smith, in stark contrast to Johnson, that the
Grand Tourists, now ‘commonly returned home more conceited, more unprincipled,
more dissipated, and more incapable of any serious application, either to study or to
business’ (cited in Pimlott, 1947, p.69). For some tourists, of course, the step from
education to pleasure was neither as direct nor as precipitous as Smith suggests. The
‘middle ground’ of the Grand Tourist’s interests comprised a wide cultural amalgam
of art and architecture, a developing taste for European landscape design and for
travel literature. Health was attended to through visits to spas, a habit already
established in the life of the elite at home, and the enjoyment of the warmer, less
severe climate of the Mediterranean regions.
As the motivations for the Grand Tour moved from education to pleasure, the major activities of discourse and scientific observation were replaced by a desire to collect unmediated, personally verified experiences, a move which highlights what Adler (1989) refers to as "the ascendancy of the eye over the ear" (1989, p.11). In the earlier days of the Grand Tour the visual methodologies employed were essentially for the purpose of collecting and analysing scientific data in an empirical and classificatory manner, "the "eye" cultivated in this initial period of sightseeing was deliberately disciplined to emotionally detached, objective accurate vision" (1989, p.18). The countryside, under this regime, was of interest only in terms of agricultural productivity and military intelligence. Even "natural curiosities" such as waterfalls and volcanoes, whilst offering some sense of spectacle, attracted interest mainly in a scientific sense of examination and measurement (Towner, 1996, p.126).

By the late eighteenth century, however, the Romantic movement produced a new way of looking at landscape. This developing aesthetic led to a re-evaluation of some of the established routes of the Grand Tour. The Rhine, for example, changed from being merely being an effective route from Germany to the Low Countries into a romantic attraction in its own right. The established geography of the Tour also changed. A Swiss 'sub-tour' became popular as Alpine scenery began to be viewed as 'majestic' and imbued with the sublime characteristics of the developing romantic landscape aesthetic, rather than understood basically as difficult terrain to traverse.

The changes which the Grand Tour experienced over a period of two centuries can
be summarised then as a change from a ‘classical tour’ to a ‘romantic tour’. Some attractions, such as classical ruins, remained on the itinerary but the mode of appreciation changed, whilst others were deleted from the schedule to make way for more natural attractions.

These geographic amendments to the Grand Tour reflected changes in the social and philosophical formation of British society, but whilst the Grand Tour and travel in general remained firmly established as a social and cultural fact for young men from well-positioned families, changes in modes of economic production began to produce complementary changes in the social and cultural environment in advanced - and now rapidly industrialising - Western nations. Industrialisation involved a massive reorganisation of production methodologies which, in turn, produced far-reaching changes in the ways that non-work time was organised and was spent. These changes lead to transformations in the methodology and availability of travel for pleasure.

The industrialisation of tourism began its development in the same areas where the industrialised production of goods and commodities was most established and had its genesis - the Midlands and North-East of England. New methods of production in the textile and mining industries resulted in the development of large urban centres and a proportionate depopulation of the countryside. The established rhythms of agrarian life tied to seasonal agricultural activities such as harvesting and planting, and recognising traditional local holidays and religious feasts, were
destroyed as clock-time became the established mode of administering and measuring production in industry. Whereas the older work practices interspersed irregular periods of hard and constant work with periods of leisure and carnival, the demands of large machinery offered no respite from the drudgery of hard work. ‘Time-sense was a necessity of technological conditioning and time-measurement a means of labour exploitation’ (Thompson, 1993, p. 382).

The owners of industry were generally unsympathetic to the idea of official holidays, and allowances in terms of days off varied from place to place and from factory to factory, but organised leisure time through the granting of official holidays and regulating working hours allowed a method through which the taking of unauthorised holidays could be controlled. This move to organised leisure was predicated on notions of health and efficiency, not on any philanthropy of factory owners! The urban environments of the industrial centres – as the factories themselves - were unhealthy and unpleasant, and drunkenness and absenteeism were rife. These two conditions – idleness and pollution - formed the bases of bourgeois metaphors of moral degeneration (Rojek, 1993, p. 32), and attendance to these matters, including the provision of rationalised leisure activities, provided ‘part of the phalanx of nineteenth century regulatory mechanisms formed to create an obedient, able-bodied, law-abiding and docile class of “working people”’(1993, p. 33).

The steam engines which provided the power to run the factories also provided the power to provide the holidaying working class with the opportunity to escape the
cities and mill towns for holidays and pleasure. There was, according to Pimlott, 'no factor more important than the improvements in transport which increased the mobility of the working classes and enabled them at holiday times to leave the confined and enervating environment of the towns' (1947, p. 87). Whilst the development of a comprehensive railway system is most often regarded as the most important factor in the increasing popularity of working class mobility for leisure, the beginnings of pleasure excursions are more precisely connected with the use of the steam engine in maritime settings. Pleasure steamers plded the Clyde in the first decade of the nineteenth century and by 1815 excursions were running from London to Gravesend and Margate. However, this in no way undervalues the importance of the railways. According to Pimlott, 'the development of the pleasure steamer began the era of cheap travel for the masses, and the process which was thus begun for towns with access to the sea-coast by water was to be immensely accelerated by the railway' (1947, p. 78). As well as enabling regular timetables and less variable passage times on inland and coastal waters the steamship also allowed for more reliable open water operations, allowing more controlled Channel crossings and enhancing the possibilities for international excursions.

Technological innovations in transportation play an important role in the development of tourism, and continue to do so in all phases of tourism development (Prideaux, 2000), but these changes are not the sole determining factor in the development of the tourism industry. Raymond Williams, in his discussion of the media industries understands:

The basic assumption of technological determinism is that a new technology - a printing press or a communications satellite - 'emerges' from technological
Williams continues to point out that the availability of new technologies rely on 'selection, investment and development ... within existing social and economic relations', not upon an uncontrolled and non negotiable 'emergence' (1989, p. 120). This viewpoint, like much work originating in the area of media studies, is transferable to the tourism industry. John Urry, for example, discusses organisational innovations in the tourism industry in much the same terms as Williams' discussion of the media industry. Some of his examples of new technologies which illustrate the importance of organisational innovation include:

The early railways where the new railway companies did not, at first, realise the potential leisure and holiday possibilities of the new technology; the railways and steamships in the late nineteenth century which required the innovation of Thomas Cook's voucher system to develop international market potential; the jet engine which required the innovation of the inclusive holiday organised by tour operators to be fully successful; and Concorde which was a superior technology but where no corresponding innovation occurred within the travel industry. (1991, p. 88)

Thomas Cook, the person most regularly associated with the industrial organisation and democratisation of tourism, linked the development of tourism to the use of the railways for leisure in precisely the manner outlined by Urry (1991). The impetus for Cook's first excursion stemmed from his - and many others - interest in conquering one of the working class's degenerate habits - the 'demon drink'. As Cook walked along the railway line from Leicester to Harborough to attend a temperance meeting during 1841 he pondered whether 'the newly developed power of railways and locomotion could be made subservient to the promotion of
temperance' (cited in Feifer, 1986, p.167). A later temperance meeting at Loughborough was attended by at least the 570 people from Leicester who accepted Cook's offer of a reduced group fare of one shilling for the return journey. Cook's arrangements for this excursion took advantage of the excess capacity of the railway, but included more than transportation. He also provided a brass band to farewell the excursionists, and food, dancing and cricket between speeches. Cook took the centralised administrative function for a number of diverse activities and, in modern-day terminology, the 'event' of the temperance meeting was thus 'managed' and 'packaged'.

In 1845 Cook turned professional, organising his first pleasure tour, an excursion fare from Leicester to Caernarvon, Snowdon and Liverpool. Even at this early stage Cook visited hotels to assess their facilities and compiled a guide containing recommendations for shopping and describing places of historical interest. Cook & Son launched their overseas activities by organising tours from Leicester to the Paris Exhibition in 1855. After this, Cook & Son tours visited Brussels and Cologne. In 1867 they extended their activities beyond Europe to the U.S.A., to the Holy Land by 1869, and then further afield to India and the Far East.

The status as the father of modern tourism that is claimed for Cook does not rely on the fact that he was the first to organise excursions. The use of railways, and the negotiation of cheaper excursion fares, for large scale movements of people on a non-profit basis had been pioneered by Mechanics' Institutes and similar
organisations slightly earlier than Cook’s initial excursions. What Cook & Son did to start the development of tourism as an industry was to professionalise the administrative activities associated with these movements. When Cook & Son began to organise international excursions for his burgeoning clientele of working and middle class people he was, as with previous domestic excursions, not entirely alone. The Paris Exhibition of 1855, which incorporated the full spectacle of the products of modernity, provided opportunity for the Manchester Society of Arts and others, including Cook & Son, to organise international excursions. The tour arranged for artisans by the Manchester Society of Arts had the support and cooperation of British and French railways and the Foreign Office. It was organised on a non-profit basis and was noticeably cheaper than Cook & Son’s. Cook & Son tours, in contrast, were organised for profit and for any member of the public who wished to take advantage of his services, as ‘he did on a larger scale and on a commercial basis what they did occasionally for philanthropic reasons’ (Pimlott, 1947, p. 192).

Cook’s new administrative innovations account for the majority of administrative services we now regard as imperative in the all-inclusive tour. He provided a coupon for transport and accommodation requirements which allowed one-off payment in advance for diverse service provision which were in British currency and recognised and accepted by Cook’s approved establishments throughout the world. He introduced Circular Notes - the forerunner of traveller’s cheques – exchangeable at hotels, banks and ticket agents. He also arranged for luggage to travel in advance and unaccompanied and, in terms of all-inclusiveness, he introduced ‘Independent Inclusive Travel’ with an all-inclusive tariff and pre-
arranged itinerary organised in advance (Lash & Urry, 1994, pp. 263-4). The elimination of these tedious, annoying and possibly risky functions from the tourist’s personal obligations attracted a wider range of the population to travel. All classes, even the upper classes, eventually used Cook & Son’s services and the most significant change in the social arrangements of travel was the capacity for single women to use Cook & Son tours and to travel unchaperoned.

Through the end of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century the tourism industry continued to develop. Social arrangements continued to change, the gradual provision of more paid, and more extensive, leave periods in the large industries allowed workers the opportunity to enjoy the mass-produced fruits of their labour. The tourism industry integrated new developments in transport, such as the private car, the motor coach and the cruise ship, into its activities and domestic and international tourism steadily grew on the back of these technologies. The most significant development in modern tourism occurred after World War Two when air transport became widely available for civilian purposes. The integration of air travel with all of the land-based components of tourism produced the defining commodity of the post-war tourism era - the international package tour. The package tour in itself was a long-established tourism product – Cook & Son had been running international package tours for over eighty years – but the arrival and integration of air travel from 1949 onwards reinvigorated debates and criticism which centred on notions of standardised cultural production and passive consumption.
By the late 1950s international tourism was established in the imagination of the Western world as an industry which mass-produced leisure experiences in an ever-expanding 'pleasure periphery' (Turner & Ash, 1975). The availability of air transport brought the beaches and sunlight of the Mediterranean into the pleasure periphery of English people and, likewise, the Caribbean into the vacation possibilities for North American residents. In these environments 'sun, surf, sand and sex' became the devalued mantra of holidaying package tourists rather than the privileged hedonistic environment of Fussell's (1980) literate bacchanalians and sexual libertines. This attitude certainly allows a reworking of the traveller/tourist distinction as discussed in relation to the initial development of democratised tourism (see Chapter Three), but it also allows the same sort of reflection upon the tourism industry rather than the individual tourist. These styles of commentary reworks some of the more pessimistic and elitist attitudes related to the culture industry as initially discussed by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer.

Adorno and Horkheimer (1972) articulate a 'production of culture' approach (Negus, 1997) which combines a pessimistic critique of standardised cultural production under production capitalism with a Romantic aesthetic tradition counterpoising free and autonomous art against a repetitive and unchallenging culture produced as a commodity. For Adorno and Horkheimer the culture industry - meaning the entertainment industry - is concerned with the production of cultural artefacts such as films and radio programs and the distribution of 'mass culture' in the shape of popular music and popular film genres. The culture industry, like the moves to rationalise leisure during the nineteenth century, 'organises subjects at the
very moment when subjects are led to believe they are free: in their "non-work" time (Rojek, 1995, p. 17). The end product of standardised cultural production in the culture industry was, according to Adorno and Horkheimer, a standardised and passive consumption regime; or to use the vocabulary of another industry, a touristic relationship with production.

Despite Adorno and Horkheimer's criticisms of mass production techniques in the culture industry, the dynamic of organised mass production — or Fordism — actually arrived quite late in most areas of cultural production. Lash and Urry suggest:

The culture industries came particularly late to Fordist mass production — cinema being the exception to this rule, initiating Fordist regimes in the USA from the 1920s and in Britain from around World War II. Because of its large initial costs, television effectively began its existence as Fordist, with the onset of mass ownership of TV sets from the mid-1950s. The record industry arguably did not take on definitive Fordist profiles until the development of a mass youth market in the 1960s; whilst the publishing industry arguably did not develop Fordist structures until the integration of hardback and paperback publishing in the 1970s. (1994, p. 113)

In many ways, a discussion of the tourism industry in Adorno and Horkheimer's terms could have easily predated their discussion of the culture industry! Fordist production techniques in the tourism industry were established considerably earlier than in the culture industries and, like many aspects of the manufacturing industry, actually predate Ford in terms of some of the production techniques which now bear his name.
Fordism is named after the famous car manufacturer Henry Ford, who rationalised previously established methodologies of mass production. David Harvey identifies the initiation date of Fordism as 1914, ‘when Henry Ford introduced his five-dollar, eight-hour day as recompense for workers manning the automated car-assembly line he had established the year before at Dearborn, Michigan’ (1989, p. 125). During the first half of the twentieth century Fordism, in conjunction with time-management techniques outlined by F.W. Taylor in *The principles of scientific management* (1911/1967), took hold over most consumer production. Whilst the most obvious and innovative component of Fordism was the introduction of the assembly line which took work past a stationary worker:

what was special about Ford (and what ultimately separates Fordism from Taylorism) was his vision, his explicit recognition that mass production meant mass consumption, a new system of the reproduction of labour power, a new politics of labour control and management, a new aesthetics and psychology, in short, a new kind of rationalised, humanitarian, and popularist democratic society. (Harvey, 1989, p. 126)

The overarching characteristic of the Fordist mode of production is rigidity, and this rigidity led, almost inevitably to standardisation. Rigidity, summarised by Ford’s famous aphorism regarding the T model Ford that it was available in any colour, as long as it was black, was not restricted to the type of product. Fordist rigidities were also apparent in long term capital investments, in mass-production regimes which presumed stable growth, in labour markets and contracts, and even in State entitlements and commitments (Harvey, 1989, p. 142), in other words, in all aspects of production. The commodities produced by this regime can therefore
hardly fail to be standardised. In the culture industry these rigidities of production resulted in 'pseudo-individuality'. For Adorno and Horkheimer:

Pseudo-individuality is rife: from the standardised jazz improvisation to the exceptional film star whose hair curls over her eye to demonstrate her originality. What is individual is no more than the generality's power to stamp the accidental detail so firmly that it is accepted as such. The defiant reserve or elegant appearance of the individual on show is mass-produced like Yale locks, whose only difference can be measured in fractions of millimetres. (1972, p. 154).

Bernard Gendron understands pseudo-individuality as:

the indispensable capitalist complement to part interchangeability. The latter has to do with the inner essential mechanisms of industrial products, the former with their external trappings. The latter accounts for their basic similarities, the former for their apparent (and illusory) differences. (1986, p. 18)

Gendron identifies pseudo-individuality in the manufacturing industries through an example which - more than coincidentally - addresses motor vehicle construction:

The 1956 El Dorado was the first Cadillac model to sport the famous tail-fin. To the mid-fifties consumer, all other Cadillac models paled in comparison, although their innards were virtually the same. Not surprisingly, the rest of the Cadillac fleet followed suit with wholly revamped tail-fin models in 1957, though mechanically they showed little improvement. In that brief period, pseudo-individuality within the Cadillac line operated both synchronically (for different models in the same year) and diachronically (for the same models in different years). (1986, p.19)

But pseudo-individuality does not necessarily have the same catastrophic results for Gendron as it does for Adorno and Horkheimer. Adorno and Horkheimer's 'production of culture' approach in its original formation results in a way of consuming in which few demands are placed on the consumer, in which consumption therefore becomes passive and obedient, and the consumer becomes easily
manipulated by the cultural intermediaries who also encourage the consumer to reject anything unfamiliar. Gendron however, views production as only one part of the circuit of culture, rather than the defining element, and understands cultural meanings in terms of reception rather than production.

The third quarter of the twentieth century represented, in economic production-based terms, both the zenith and the early signs of the nadir of Fordist production regimes in the manufacturing and service industries. As a capitalist, albeit service, industry, tourism in general was also producing standardised commercial commodities through a Fordist production regime. There were two elements explicit in Fordism which were essential to the modern tourism industry in terms of consumption. These were the assumption that workers must be paid enough, and be offered enough leisure time, to enjoy the fruits of their labour, and the global dynamics of a new internationalism which:

brought a whole host of other activities in its wake - banking, insurance, services, hotels, airports, and ultimately tourism. It carried with it a new international culture and relied heavily upon new-found capacities to gather, evaluate, and disseminate information. (Harvey, 1989, p. 137)

Production in all industries discussed so far - manufacturing, culture and service - is now far removed from the constraints of Fordist production regimes. Peter Braham (1997) analyses the fashion industry in terms of production and consumption regimes which are flexible rather than rigid like Fordism, and Lash and Urry (1994), outline post-Fordist regimes in the modern culture industry. In film and
television production, for example, the famous 'studio system' is now replaced by more flexible and diversified freelance arrangements. In popular music recording also:

the turning point ... was the onset of the "group" phenomenon, when in the middle of the 1960s pop bands began to write and produce and even sometimes record their own music. Prior to this, major British record companies carried out most functions in-house. (p. 119)

This post-Fordist regime is also known as 'flexible accumulation' which, in opposition to Fordism:

rests on flexibility with respect to labour markets, products and patterns of consumption. It is characterised by the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets, and, above all, greatly intensifies rates of commercial, technological and organisational innovation. (Harvey, 1989, p. 149)

The tourism industry has also developed beyond the paradigm of Fordist production methodologies and is now also regarded as one of the largest industries in the world today when measured in terms of employment (Mowlana, 1997, p. 136), and as 'the most significant contributor to Gross Domestic Product for a number of countries' (Crick, 1989, p. 310). According to Clive Jones:

The tourism and recreation industry is increasingly recognized as an important economic, environmental and social force which can bring both benefit and adversity. The business community and governments also know that the industry has had spectacular successes and colossal failures. A key element of a successful tourism industry is the ability to recognize and deal with change across a wide range of behavioural and technological factors and the way they interact. For the 21st Century, we will see major shifts in the leisure and tourism environment reflecting changing consumer values, political forces, and the explosive growth of information technology. No aspect of the industry will remain untouched. (1998, p.1)
The contemporary tourism industry operates in a basic framework of supply and demand in which the location of the supply is spatially separated from the location of demand. For Pearce (1996) the tourism system comprises of three geographically distinct components: the visitor-generating area operating as a centre of demand, the visitor destination area operating as a centre of supply, with transport and communication operating as a component which links the two. This system is dynamic, open to change and shows advanced level of interconnectedness between all three sectors. This demonstrates an understanding of the tourism industry as a product of evolution and radical change which has drawn on a number of diverse elements and themes embedded in changes in social, technological and industrial conditions and also changes in the understanding of the world and established travel practices. Tourism offers a remarkably neat fit into the regime of flexible accumulation, not only in terms of economic production, but also in consumption and in the aesthetic and cultural environment.

In fact, tourism, as Urry suggests, is pre-eminently postmodern in many aspects (1990, p. 86). Postmodernity here refers to the aesthetic and cultural conditions which are the equivalent of the economic arrangements of flexible accumulation. These conditions include 'an aesthetic that celebrates difference, ephemerality, spectacle, fashion, and the commodification of cultural forms' (Harvey, 1989, p. 156). On the production side the tourism industry demonstrates, and has always demonstrated, some of the qualities associated with a regime of flexible accumulation. Cook & Son, for example, was always a service industry which
initially offered centralised administration and financial control. The company basically maintained this form of organisation through its history and seldom made any attempt at vertical integration. In other words, Cook & Son never owned steamships, hotels or tour companies - or indeed any attractions - but acted as an clearing house for administration, finance and, importantly, information.

The contemporary tourism industry, however, is much more diverse than during the nineteenth century. Tourism is still a service industry, but now more than ever before can be understood as a communications industry dealing in information and marketing. Organisations often understood as being involved in manufacturing such as Benetton, but which actually have no production base at all (see Braham 1997) have their equivalents in the tourism industry in highly successful travel companies such as Flight Centre and STA Travel. The use of agents and the negotiation of alliances are two of the characteristics of flexible accumulation and contemporary tourism. Agents, again, have always been well established, as has the geographic need for alliances but, in the modern day, alliances are not just hierarchic and vertical but also horizontal. This is most explicitly demonstrated in the global airline industry, now dominated by so-called alliances such as Star and Oneworld. Through such alliances global itineraries are offered by airlines which themselves only service particular continents or areas. Qantas, for example, can offer services to the Pacific Islands, where it itself doesn't have scheduled flights, through an arrangement with Air New Zealand and which is known in the industry as 'code-sharing'.
In the present day, the de-differentiated and constantly developing tourism industry requires commensurately complex administrative structures – such as code-sharing - to hold it together and to maintain competitive advantages for its operators. English tourists, for example, are no longer restricted to the Mediterranean, even for short holidays, as long-haul destinations in India and Africa are now included in the ‘pleasure periphery’. The tourism industry now operates on a global scale, but the need for information and communication is not predicated on the expanding spatiality of tourism geography alone, but also on the ever-increasing diversity of tourism products and consumer preferences. The spread of ‘alternative’ tourisms, increasing market segmentation and market volatility has lead to an ever-increasing need for information and for finance broking on behalf of an increasing number of diverse and specialised tourism providers as well as consumers.

These developments in tourism indicate a move away from mass production and mass consumption. The concept of an all-inclusive charter flight and package tour produced by a single company for the passive and detached enjoyment of a nondiscerning tourist still exists, but is essentially one of the past. Even whilst some areas allied to tourism such as the international aviation industry strive towards monopolisation, the greater tourism industry moves more and more towards niche marketing of specialised services. This is even apparent in the provision of domestic airline services with smaller companies running restricted routes. In India, for example, the domestic airspace monopoly once enjoyed by the government-owned Indian Airlines is now threatened by small, private operators such as Jet Airlines.
In keeping with the 'circuit of culture' approach to cultural production, the diversification of tourism products and services is consumer driven. Culturally significant changes in work practices have had a similar effect on leisure and tourism. In the time of Fordist production holidays were arranged for a set period per year, often at the same time, and often taken at the same place. A typical holiday may, in these circumstances involve two weeks away from home, during summer, at the same location - maybe an established beach resort - as the preceding few years. This holiday is followed by a return to work at the same place.

Post-Fordist work practices have resulted in a downturn in full time, permanent work which has been replaced, for some at least, by contract work or self-employment, often in the developing fields of financial, information and leisure. This has produced a move towards more holiday periods per year, fewer repeat visits to destinations and a proliferation of sights and attractions. One of the fastest developing tourism activities, for example, is 'short stay' holidays involving one or two nights only away from home (Edgar, 2000). There is also a proliferation of tourism activity 'types' available, some of which are known as 'alternative' tourism:

Alternative tourism has a number of emphases: on values of self determination, authenticity, social harmony and preservation of the existing environment; on a fairer partnership between local people and entrepreneurs and outside agencies; on a smaller scale of development and greater use of local techniques, materials, architectural styles and skills; and on giving back to the area facilities, resources and quality of the environment from the rewards which tourism will generate. (Lash & Urry, 1994, pp 274-5)
This list of characteristics covers a number of tourism types such as eco- and cultural related tourisms but is far from a complete catalogue of available 'new' tourisms. These also extend to such things as adventure tourism, both 'hard' and 'soft', wine tourism (Dowling, 2000), and a wide range of special interest tourism including cooking, photography, ancient history and even shopping!

Tourism destinations which have been traditionally associated with mass tourism are also showing signs of more diversified production and consumption methodologies. The tourism island of Bali, in Indonesia and its relationship with the Australian tourism industry is an example. Whilst Bali still generates notions of a romantic, tropical paradise for many European visitors, for the average Australian tourist Bali offers a relatively cheap and easily accessible holiday destination. Ironically, Japanese holidaymakers flock to Queensland's tropical Gold Coast, whilst many Australian tourists reject the local product in favour of tropical Bali! The more gloomy and elitist may still suggest that tourism to Bali offers standardisation and pseudo-individuality in an environment in which differentiations:

depend not so much on subject matter as on classifying, organising and labeling consumers. Something is provided for all so that none may escape; the distinctions are emphasised and expanded. The public is catered for with a hierarchical range of mass-produced products of varying quality, thus advancing the rule of complete quantification. (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1972, p. 123)

But an analysis of some of the 'Five A's' of tourism - access, accommodation, amenities, attractions and activities (Dickman, 1989) - or, more simply, somewhere to go, somewhere to stay, something to eat, something to look at, and something to
do – as represented in travel brochures, suggest there are wide possibilities for a holiday in Bali.

Firstly, access to Bali from Australian ports occurs almost exclusively on scheduled flights by recognised airlines. There are a small number of charter flights operating from North Western Australia, which add to the diversification rather than detract from it. There are no all-inclusive package deals associated with any airline or tourism provider. Scheduled flights offer normal class availability and choice, in contrast to charter flights which are usually single class configurations. There is also a huge range of time options available. Most package holidays offer prices valid for thirty days or less. These thirty days or less however, can be taken in many forms varying from a one day – no night – return package from Perth to thirty days in one place, or with any number of ‘add-ons’, or with a split package. In a split package a 7 day package, for example can be split to offer 4 days on arrival, 3 days prior to departure, and the remainder organised by the client.

An analysis of the Garuda Bali on ANY Budget 2001 brochure demonstrates the variety of accommodation available. The brochure offers a variety of pre-paid transport and accommodation package tours to Bali in conjunction with Garuda Indonesia, Indonesia’s major international airline. The accommodation options vary, ranging in standard from Budget (2-3 Star) which offers ‘simple yet clean and comfortable rooms. At least one restaurant/bar and room service (not necessarily 24 hours). Perfect for those seeking to stretch their holiday dollar’ through Moderate,
First Class and Deluxe, to Luxury (5 Star plus) which are 'Luxury properties offering quality amenities, fine dining and exclusive accommodation. As part of our "Discover Luxury" range we have identified these properties with a gold title banner' (p. 3). Holidays can also be individually planned in relation to time as well as accommodation space, 'your Garuda Indonesia Inclusive Tour airfare allows you to stay away from 4 to 28 days, excluding the day of departure. Longer duration excursion airfares are available on request' (p. 5).

The accommodation mix available on the island is much more varied than that offered by Garuda Indonesia however. Losmens – local-style bed and breakfast establishments - are still favoured by some budget travellers whilst others - family groups especially - prefer the self-catering apartment-style accommodation which has recently become available. Many hotels, even those associated with the mass market, cater primarily to a specific market which is delineated by the type of activities the tourist is interested in. The Troppo Zone in Kuta, for example, is essentially for young single, people wanting to 'rage' whilst Le Meridien Nirwans Golf and Spa Resort, as the name suggests, caters mainly for golfers.

Niche marketing also attracts tourists to other hotels offering specialised services. These services vary from a type of price-controlled ‘specialised exclusivity’ available at hotels owned by the Aman group for example, to cooking holidays offered by the Chedi in Ubud. Yoga instruction and health spas are included in the many other alternatives available. Many other stand-alone tourist-
directed activities are available on Bali including white-water rafting, jungle trekking, a visit to Waterbom Park and Spa, sunset cruises, scuba diving excursions, surfing, lawn bowls, art, language, history and culture classes.

The attractions which Bali offers the tourist are also incredibly diverse. They cover the range of attractions from the established and clichéd mass-entertainments of the 'sun, sand, surf and sex' variety to newly imagined tourism components such as eco-tourism and the more communicative and interactional forms of cultural tourism. The cultural sphere is not devoid of the notion of mass entertainment. For example, the Lagong dance is, and always has been, an unavoidable performance available in almost every hotel on Bali, varying only in the quality of the performance and the night of the week on which it is performed. However, the continued existence of these forms of entertainment add to, rather than detract from, the notion of diversity in tourism.

The amenities which tourists desire are also diverse and readily available. This is particularly apparent in terms of food, probably the most important and immediate requirement of any tourist. Many hotels offer a variety of restaurants and food styles, but hotels represent only the start of the range of food available. All forms of restaurant, from the local style warung noodle house to sophisticated Western-style restaurants, cafes and brasseries line the streets of every shopping area, catering to all tastes and accommodating all pockets. In keeping with Bali’s popularity with
Australian tourists, vegemite and toast is available at a number of locations, including the iconically named Red Centre Café in Sanur.

These availabilities demonstrate that a mature and popular tourism area such as Bali offers a wide range of tourism products and services, much more diversified than cultural commentators such as Adorno and Horkheimer would have us believe is possible in an industry which is concerned with mass catering and the production of cultural experiences for a large number of people. Indeed, the form of passive consumption associated with mass tourism would appear to be practically impossible in the face of such overwhelming choice. The diversity of attractions and activities also interrogates the notion of touristic flânerie being available only to the self-proclaimed traveller. Whilst the overwhelmingly commodified nature of the tourism environment makes the neo-Romantic dreams of the traveller harder and harder to realise, it also ensures that all tourists must, to some extent, actively negotiate the plethora of possibilities. Consequently, meaning-making in tourism and the interpretation of tourism experiences and environments is an activity shared by all tourists.

Tourism, nevertheless, operates through all this diversity as a culture industry, and reflects the diversity of the global cultures of today, not the cultures of a world predicated on the rigidities of Fordism and mass production. There are, of course, elements of the tourism industry which can be criticised for showing tendencies towards passivity and uninvolved spectacle, but they form part of the undeniable
bricolage of tourism rather than stand apart from it. To remove all the disconnected amusement and liminality from the tourism experience would in many ways puritanise the experience to such an extent as to almost 're-dedifferentiate' it from the rest of life. However, in the face of all this diversification, tourism and the selection of tourism opportunities is discretionary. Many of the selections made in the dedifferentiated tourism environment are made through reference to representations, another part of Hall's (1997) circuit of culture, and the subject of the next chapters of this thesis.
CHAPTER FIVE
CREATING ASIA: TRAVEL BROCHURES, NEW CLASSES AND OLD SELVES.

In the early twenty-first century, a culture identified by, amongst other things, an easy acceptance of the use of electronic media for information transfer and processing, the travel brochure in its traditional printed form seems anachronistic but it remains one of the most ubiquitous advertising mediums employed by tourism providers and their cultural intermediaries. The travel brochure motivates an amalgam of written and photographic texts to represent and sell the intangible tourism experience. Travel brochures which represent the ‘new’ forms of tourism promote the goods and services offered by their respective providers in terms of ‘adventure’, ‘real’ and ‘small group’ experiences which directly disassociate their activities, and those of their potential clients, from more established notions of inauthentic, mass tourism. The modern classificatory battle between tourism and travel, and the tourist and the traveller, is thus refought in the textual and physical spaces of the postmodern world.

This discussion figures the production and consumption of new tourism services as a manifestation of the emergence of new class fractions and new cultural forms. Analysis of travel brochures offering small group travel into South-East Asia, especially Vietnam, suggests that the tourism brochure is a location in which these classificatory battles are registered. This class differentiation is not, however, reliant
upon the articulation of a sign system which unambiguously marks the differences between the classes, between the tourist and the traveller, or between modern and postmodern cultural forms. The analysis suggests that the discourse of 'new' tourism as represented by these brochures is crossed by many established representational tropes, and that interpellation as a 'new tourist' involves establishing a complex and selective intellectualised relationship between the technologies of signs and a subjectivity which relies on self-referential cultural capital for much of its efficacy.

The travel brochure, although produced by tourism industry operatives and their cultural intermediaries, is not a core tourism product. It is a pre-tour promotional device, available at 'home', or wherever and whenever the potential tourist is planning a holiday. The brochure represents, and thus advertises, specific tourism destinations. The role of the tourism brochure as an instrument in destination selection is uncertain, perhaps not as influential as tourists' previous experiences or recommendations from friends and family: 'Much tourism literature does not serve to persuade uncommitted potential vacationers but rather to confirm the intentions of those already planning to visit' (Mowforth & Munt, 1998, p.65). Yet consultation of a travel brochure often signifies the last selective, symbolic step towards the consumption of an actual tourism product.

The brochure is concerned to present not only the attractions and benefits of the tourism experience, but also the capacity of the tourism operator to provide the services which underpin this experience. These services are not restricted to the
concrete characteristics, such as transportation and accommodation, upon which all
tourism is based, but encompass more metaphysical services such as the provision of
a frame through which the objects of tourism can be unproblematically viewed, thus
allowing the tourist experience to be understood as an important element in the
construction of an everyday subjectivity defined through present day lifestyles.

The travel brochure is essentially a form of advertising. The relationship
between advertising and the consumer is often presented simply as a one-way
phenomenon, in which the consumer is somehow seduced into purchasing a
particular product or service. There is little doubt that ‘the task of the advertisement
is to get the consumer to transfer the positive associations of the non-commodity
material onto the commodity, so that ruggedness equals Marlboro cigarettes, and
friendship equals Bud Light’ (Fowles, 1996, p. 11), for example. However, this is
not an activity in which the power relations are so uneven as to suggest that ‘the
offender, conceived as big business, or capitalism, is looming, omnipotent, able to
exert its will under any and all circumstances. The offended, the misled public is
pliant, supplicating, malleable’ (1996, p. 65).

A more constructive way to imagine the relationship between advertiser and
consumer is to consider them as sharing and negotiating meanings - of attractiveness,
of desirability - in a diverse cultural environment in which ‘advertising does not, and
cannot create ... stereotypes from sources that exclude the public, nor does
advertising passively mirror stereotypes; it is actively involved in the dialectical
process of making them' (Fowles, 1996, p. 160). The public then, the consumers, are also implicated in the meaning-making process. They also have sources of knowledge, archives of meanings, from which to draw. Consumers selectively decode the messages encoded in advertising, a selection process which valorises meanings that attach themselves to other discursive regimes through which the consumer gains knowledge.

Some of the knowledges which the producers and consumers share are methodologies for construction of a shared class distinction. Mowforth and Munt suggest that 'of all social science concepts, arguably, it is class that has been subjected to the most thoroughgoing marginalisation since the 1980s' (1998, p.126). Whilst the generally accepted social classes of modernity – bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and proletariat – are currently in states of fragmentation, the consideration of present day social structures as dedifferentiated in class terms, and the commensurate notions of 'classless' societies, seems utopian in the face of production and consumption regimes which suggest increasingly uneven power relations on a global scale. Rather, older, rigid class distinctions based on an established relationship with the mode of production are being replaced by dynamic classificatory struggles between emerging class fractions which reflect relationships to production and consumption in a regime of flexible accumulation.

For Crick, 'the world of tourism is rife with the class distinction in our everyday world' (1989, p. 334), and has always been used as a method of expressing
taste and establishing class status (Adler, 1989, p. 9). It is not surprising then to find
the classificatory struggles between the new bourgeoisie and the new petty
bourgeoisie, as outlined by Pierre Bourdieu (1984), played out in the images and
spaces of 'new' tourism. These classificatory struggles are related to the
accumulation of cultural and symbolic capital as well as economic capital and 'new'
tourism offers ways of articulating these accumulations in a socially differentiating
manner.

As systems of capital accumulation become more flexible, consumption also
becomes more skilful. Part of this skill is in identifying and analysing the physical
attributes of a product, but the more sophisticated and significant role of the
consumer is in the sensitivity towards the symbols which are being consumed. The
consumption and differentiation of symbols and goods suggests and constructs
'lifestyles' which differ in terms of objects, experiences and beliefs. Bourdieu
understands the ability to differentiate in these terms, and the framework in which
these differentiations occur as 'habitus', which is:

both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgements and the
system of classification of these practices. It is in the relationship between the
two capacities which define the habitus, the capacity to produce classifiable
practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these
practices and products (taste), that the represented social world ... is
constituted. (1984, p. 170)

Habitus is a cognitive structure within which people make sense of their world
through production and consumption. Cultural capital, unlike economic capital,
cannot be bought. Although cultural capital is tied to consumption, and hence
purchasing, the acquisition, or demonstration, of cultural capital relies on the
articulation of a certain set of knowledges through consumption, it is ‘being able to know and appreciate what to eat, drink, wear, watch and what types of holiday to take’ (Mowforth & Munt, 1988, p.132).

The most active and dynamic of these new class fractions outlined by Bourdieu (1984) are the new bourgeoisie and the new petty bourgeoisie. They engage in discriminatory, classificatory struggles in order to differentiate between themselves, other elements of the bourgeoisie, and, most importantly, from the masses. The new bourgeoisie are:

the vendors of symbolic goods and services, the directors and executives of firms in tourism and journalism, publishing and the cinema, fashion and advertising, decoration and property development. (Bourdieu, 1984, pp.310-1)

As they are high in both economic and cultural capital, tourism involving the new bourgeoisie can, therefore, be exclusive and expensive. The new bourgeoisie also shows an interest in green and eco-based tourisms which reflect some of the preferences and concerns of a Post-Fordist consumption regime (Lash & Urry, 1994, p. 274). This tourism can be figured as an ‘ecotourism’ where:

‘Ecotourist’ has a double meaning, however, for not only does it signal an interest and focus of this type of tourist on the ‘environment’ (ecology), it also indicates the ability to pay the high prices that such holidays command (economic capital). (Mowforth & Munt, 1998, p.133)

The holidays for the ecotourist could be selected from Garuda Orient Holiday’s Discover Luxury brochure. Perhaps at the Amanwana, a ‘luxurious hideaway ... located on Moyo Island; a nature reserve just off the northern coast of Sumbawa’ (p. 19) or, for the more active, a World Expedition ‘adventure’ in Bhutan where:
Government regulations permit only a handful of trekkers each year. Those that do are privileged to wander the luxuriant rhododendron forests, follow remote yak herders' trails to the high summer pastures and view the magnificent mountain backdrop. (World Expeditions, p. 36)

Economic capital, in the case of the new bourgeoisie, allows access to a type of ecotourism based on luxuriousness and exclusivity to facilitate spatial differentiation from other class fractions. South-East Asia currently does not offer the ultimate experience in this type of spatially exclusive ecotourism however. According to World Expeditions, 'Antarctica is the best preserved wilderness destination on earth - a place where penguins, whales, enormous icebergs and iridescent waters leave even the most discerning travellers speechless' (World Expedition, p.72), and Antarctica, through a spatial separation predicated on price and accessibility, is the exclusive domain of the new bourgeois eco-tourist.

The new petty bourgeoisie, whilst still able to afford regular international holidays, is comparably low on economic capital. It therefore faces a harder battle to delineate its distinction. In terms of occupation, the petty bourgeoisie:

comes into its own in all the occupations involving presentation and representation (sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, fashion, decoration and so forth) and in all institutions providing symbolic goods and services. These include the various jobs in medical and social assistance ... and in cultural production and organisation which have expanded considerably in recent years. (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 359)

Whilst the traditional petty bourgeoisie is characterised by a cultural pretension and reverence towards 'legitimate' culture, the new petty bourgeoisie are not prepared to
submit themselves to any feelings or demonstrations of 'cultural goodwill' (1984, p. 321). Attempting to disassociate themselves from established classifications and hierarchies, they 'have deemed themselves unclassifiable, excluded, dropped out or, in popular tourism discourse, alternative' (Munt, 1994, p. 107). They are involved in the development of new styles and tastes, the intellectualisation of new ideas, the professionalisation of new occupations and consumption practices, the articulation of a discourse which valorises individualism, and in attempts to mark habitus spatially.

It is 'the ambition of the new petty bourgeoisie to establish areas of expertise or cultural authority over the provision of symbolic goods and services' (Nixon, 1997, p. 213). Although Bourdieu suggests that 'the dispositions of which the new petty bourgeoisie is the bearer find their full development only in Paris' (1984, p. 363), a consideration of 'new tourism' as a spatial and aesthetic activity, in both production and consumption, and as occurring in a cultural environment more noticeably marked by globalisation than urbanisation, suggests that the tastes of the new petty bourgeoisie are not restricted to the metropolitan centres of Europe and America – let alone only Paris – but also define and are defined by the spatial movement of the emerging class.

Travel Indochina, a tourism product wholesaler, is 'the home of small group travel in Asia'. The Travel Indochina 1999/2000 brochure (TIB) and its companion brochure The Travel Indochina Little Red Book (LRB) for Asia offers 'small group journeys and independent holidays' (TIB, p. 1) in Vietnam, China, Thailand, Laos,
Cambodia and Indonesia. The first six pages of the thirty-one page brochure introduce the organisation Travel Indochina itself, and outlines small group travel in a general way. The remaining pages directly present Travel Indochina's 'tourism product'. In the presentation of the company, its activities, staff, and attitudes, as well as the representation of the actual touristic experience, the cultural intermediaries are at pains to establish the markers of class which enable operators and clients to identify shared knowledges and trajectories.

Initially, Travel Indochina distances itself and its products from any notions associated with mass tourism. Not only do they wish to 'provide travellers with an opportunity to voyage beyond the tourism clichés' (TIB, p.1), they also understand the provision of such experiences to be consumer driven. They 'sensed travellers to Asia wanted to go beyond the resorts and tourist traps to explore' (p. 4). This is a direct articulation of the traveller/tourist dichotomy, expressed by tourism providers and signalling an alliance with their potential clients. This identification of themselves as a specialised outlet sits unproblematically in post-Fordist capital accumulation configurations. Travel Indochina is a division of Concorde International Travel, one of the largest airfare consolidators - and consequently one of the largest providers of mass tourism services - in Australia.

The personnel associated with the Travel Indochina experience are not a faceless, amorphous mass either. They are 'a diverse collection of professional men and women' who are also 'ideal companions for your voyage' (TIB, p. 4). They are
personally introduced in the brochure via an individual passport-style photograph and accompanying biodata. Their role in the company is professionally legitimated, not through the recognition of new forms of licensing and certification which more generally define the occupations of the new petty bourgeoisie (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 360), but through a series of informal qualifications, not the least of which is travel itself.

The Travel Indochina ‘team’ invariably, and not surprisingly, ‘love travel’, have ‘roamed the world’, ‘travelled extensively’ or ‘have lived in the region’. This leads to ‘years of experience’ a ‘wealth of understanding and knowledge’ and ‘a love of Asian culture and people’ (TIB, p. 6). This propensity towards travel is supported by other qualifications. Language skills are highlighted, various members of ‘the team’ are fluent in Indonesian, Mandarin, Danish and ‘minority languages’. One is formally qualified in Asian Studies, one a ship’s navigator. Another, Eric Finley, ‘is our photographer, anthropologist and pioneer traveller’ (p. 4), a combination of skills and qualifications which suggest an awe-inspiring dedication to the art of representation, but also displays, in a nostalgic irony, a forceful re-inscription of nineteenth century travel motivations. The activities of the Travel Indochina team are also professionalised by the suggestion that they are vocational rather than occupational - leading tourists through Asia is not just a job.

Through this self-confessed professional approach, Travel Indochina is able to provide a social structure in which the new tourists can themselves professionalise
and intellectualise the touristic experience. The most direct way that the experience is intellectualised is by binary opposition of ‘thinking traveller’ to ‘disconnected tourist’. In this way, the mere act of travel, as opposed to tourism, becomes a professional process in much the same way as it is for tour group personnel. This is supported by the way in which this conceptualisation of ‘travel’ allows the work/leisure dichotomy to slip. Whilst the tourist is concerned almost exclusively with leisure, the traveller may have other things on their mind: ‘Holidays have moved beyond sheer relaxation and moved towards the opportunity to study and learn, to experience the world through a pseudo-intellectual frame’ (Munt, 1994, p. 110). Tourists who use Travel Indochina are ‘thoughtful’ and ‘appreciative of the cultural diversity that is Asia and are keen to contribute to the countries they visit’ (p. 5). Travel Indochina ‘journeys’ are, therefore, at least ‘comprehensive’ and ‘innovative’ and involve ‘exploration and discovery’ (p. 5).

Travel Indochina also offers special interest tours which are particularly addressed to the dispositions of the new petty bourgeoisie. Two specialised photography tours, ‘Kim’s Cuisine Tour’ and a ‘War Retrospective Tour’ combine leisure with a learning approach which highlights Bourdieu’s notion of unclassifiable classifications which become ‘an inventory of thinly disguised expressions of a sort of dream of social flying, a desperate effort to defy the gravity of the social field’ (1984, p. 371).
The classificatory struggles of the new petty bourgeoisie, now established as a key element of the travel/tourist distinction, are also represented spatially. For MacCannell (1976), the experience of travel in the modern world is associated with a special space which is marked off from the everyday world by the distinctive structure of its social relationships and meanings. Whilst disputing this, and suggesting that the 'special places' are actually drawn into, rather than separated from, everyday life, there is some form of spatial separation occurring. This spatial differentiation requires that the 'special places' of a particular class fraction need to be identifiable from those of other classes, just as they are in the elements of everyday life experienced at home.

The spatial struggle is a particularly dangerous one and reveals many contradictions in the construction of habitus. As suggested earlier, spatial separation, and hence a high degree of uniqueness, is easy with a large amount of economic capital. For elements of the bourgeoisie which lack economic capital, spatial legitimisation is just as important. Travel Indochina, and other companies involved in the same activities, must therefore represent the spaces of South East Asia as somehow differentiated for them. The spaces of the traveller are therefore represented as being available 'well beyond the worn tourist trails' and are about 'access and flexibility' and 'providing a personal experience' (TIB, p. 5). Even in the strictly controlled tourism areas of China, Travel Indochina is capable of 'balancing the well-known sites with grassroots experiences', including a visit to 'a remote section of the Great Wall seen by few people' (p. 18).
Although this rhetoric suggests the possibility of a holiday which is spatially separated, 'there are protracted and increasing difficulties which companies and travellers have in spatially defining separated practices from other like-minded travellers' (Munt, 1994, p. 117). The present-day tourism industry is, like many others, globalised. The sites of a preferred new tourism centred on notions of exclusivity and uniqueness become harder to define in a world which is subject to continually developing and expanding tourism destinations. Tour companies offer holiday products which pay lip-service to the possibilities of spatial distinction, but which display a remarkable standardization between companies.

Travel Indochina, for example, offer a 14 day 'Vietnam Discovery' package which visits the following locations: Saigon, Mekong Delta, Cu Chi, Dalat, Nha Trang, Hoi An, Hue, Hanoi, and Halong Bay (TIB, p. 13). Peregrine Adventures, who claim in their Overland adventures: discover the dream brochure (PA, 1999) to be likewise 'committed to the principles of adventure travel' (p. 1), run roughly the same trip. Their 'Vietnam Overland' package visits Saigon, Cu Chi, Dalat, Nha Trang, Qui Non, Hoi An, Hue, and Hanoi (PA, p. 14). For both companies the true travel experience in Vietnam appears to be to visit Sapa in the North West of the country. Peregrine's 'Secluded Sapa' tour 'gets right off the beaten track' and offers 'unique cultural experiences' (PA, p. 13) whereas for Travel Indochina the 'Sapa Hill Station Explorer' offers a physically testing time but spatial separation is attainable and worthwhile: 'despite being a full day's road journey in each direction the
rewards for the traveller with a sense of adventure in visiting this unique and beautiful place are many' (LRB, p. 9).

Whilst it may be troublesome avoiding the unwelcome presence of one’s own class fraction in the more isolated areas such as Sapa, the city offers problems with fellow travellers and the disreputable mass tourists. The majority of the overnight stays on any of these packages are in urban areas, and feature in almost all tour packages whether for the new bourgeoisie, the new petty bourgeoisie, or the masses. Whilst the Travel Corporation of America (Travcoa) unashamedly claims ‘most of the hotels that Travcoa utilizes in the Orient and China are of ... premier class, and we reserve superior rooms for your added comfort’ (p. 4), the new petty bourgeoisie must rely on a process of intellectualisation which articulates a particular and privileged relationship with the motivations for, and the objects of, tourism. New tourists claim a real and knowledgeable relationship with the objects of their gaze which enables them to keep a social distance even in spatial proximity with mass tourists. Lash and Urry claim that in the mobile social environment of today, ‘it is presumed that everyone can gain some benefit from travel. No longer is it assumed that only certain kinds of people have the prior knowledge, values or aesthetic insight to benefit from mobility’ (1994, pp. 257-8), but this opinion is not shared by the producers or consumers of new tourism, in relation to mass tourism at least.

These new tourisms then, hold an important symbolic meaning and form an increasing significant role in defining social distinction. Providers of new tourism
send tourists venturing into spaces which are new, or at least newer, to the tourism industry and its clients. Production and consumption of images, as well as the actual experience, of these types of tourisms also reflects the classificatory battles between new class fractions. As already noted, there is a concern to promote and consume tourisms which are regarded as sustainable with respect to environmental matters, which is reflected in the development of ‘green’ and eco-tourisms. Sustainability is, however, a concept which extends beyond the environmental in new tourism.

There is also an attempt to preserve and observe cultural and ethnic difference through the commodification of primitiveness and authenticity. The availability and accessibility of such images and cultures relies on the articulation of a ‘new’ tourism discourse which is crossed by many other discourses. The archive of tourism knowledges is both extensive and selective. Through the articulation of shared knowledges the tourism industry is able to produce a narrative about South-East Asia which establishes particular positions of quasi-intellectualised engagement with, and cultural and historical positions of, power in relation to the primitive ‘other’. The travel brochure works on two levels of differentiation, between class fractions on one hand, and between the dominant self and the inferior other.

The main concern of the travel brochure is to sell destinations. Brochures are ‘produced for both promotional and information purposes and tend to involve the use of colour photographs and prose laden with adjectives to sell images of destinations and hotels to potential customers’ (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998, p.79). The concept of
destination should not, however, be understood as a mere void, a spatial element of
the tourism experience which can be unproblematically populated with tourists.
Destinations are places in which a particular set of social relationships are played out
between tourist and local, a contact zone in which peoples who are geographically
and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish relations
(Pratt, 1992, p. 6). Destination-images reflect the power relations evident in the
wider Western society and guide what and who become subject to the tourist gaze
and how these subjects are gazed on:

As such, the tourist gaze is moulded by professional image creators and
brochure writers - marketers who are themselves products of certain societies
and social groups (very often the same as the tourist). The images they create
echo the referent systems, the cultures and ideologies, together with the dreams
and fantasies of their particular group. The end result is a system of meanings,
communicated by signs, which are at once the product of, and the
reinforcement and recreation of particular ways of seeing the world. (Morgan
& Pritchard, 1998, p.31)

In South-East Asian tourism the ways in which ‘the dreams and fantasies of their
particular group’ are represented often hinges around established tropes of landscape
representation and representations of ‘authentic’ ethnic peoples.

Authenticity is a much used and critiqued notion when extended to
understandings of tourism motivation (see Chapter 2). In general, however, ‘the
experience of authenticity is pluralistic, relative to each tourist type who may have
their own definition, experience and interpretation of authenticity’ (Wang, 1999,
p.355). For some forms of tourism, and in some components of any particular tour,
the desire for an authentic experience or object may be swamped by ludic elements,
during a short, dedicated beach holiday or a island sailing holiday, for example.
Many of the components of new tourism do, however, show the definite marking of a search for some form of authenticity, especially in relation to contact with ‘primitive’ peoples. In the language of tourism this is known as ‘ethnic’ tourism.

Ethnicity, as used in Third World tourism, articulates notions of ‘real’, ‘authentic’ and ‘original’. ‘Indigenous peoples are characterised as strangers who are presented as primitive, simple, colourful, exotic spectacular, remote and unspoilt’ (Mowforth & Munt, 1999, p. 62), and their societies:

are somehow magically taken out of time to exist in a reality vacuum far removed from the relationships and realities which characterise the rest of the world, regarded as almost ahistorical curios immune to economic and social inequalities. (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998, p. 219)

Ahistorical notions of ethnicity allow articulations of authenticity which, in turn, unproblematically accommodates the possibility of an ethnic culture being sustainable. The concept of sustainability of ethnic cultures suggests not that the culture itself remains remarkably unchanged in the face of considerable global change, but that in tourism discourse, a particular, and selective, set of imagined social relations is sustained and that tourism has no effect or impact on them.

Ethnic tourism represents a niche market and tourism opportunity often combined with eco- and adventure tourism in the differentiated new tourism regimes. Ethnic tourism represents only a section of the activities offered to the new tourist, but the management and representation of ethnicity is paramount in the marketing of South-East Asian tourism products. Ethnicity is a classificatory device in which ‘the
construction of ethnicity is typically - or even only - an attribute of the Other. Ethnicity thus becomes something which characterises other people rather than ourselves' (Jenkins, 1997, p. 10). Persons of a Judeo-Christian cultural heritage and a Western cultural perspective are not, under this rubric, ethnic. By the use of such terms as 'ethnicity' a particular way of knowing the world, or at least of knowing so-called ethnic peoples, is circulated.

The language of a claimed ethnic knowledge which separates 'us' from 'the ethnic' is shot through with articulations of power which reflect Edward Said's (1978) archaeology of Orientalist thought in western cultures and is based on a relationship in which the tourist, through their powerful gaze, unproblematically knows the disempowered 'ethnic'. Said regards Orientalism as a monolithic metanarrative in which 'every European, in what he could say about the Orient, was a racist, an imperialist, and almost totally ethnocentric' (Said, 1978, p. 204). This position has been renegotiated more recently by others, however, such that Orientalism, or orientalism(s), are regarded today as heterogeneous, and as a 'tradition of representation that is crossed and intersected by other representations' (Lowe, 1991, p.5).

The relationship between the tourist and the local, and tropes of destination-imagery, have not then been dreamt up by tourism operators either, but are reflections of the circuit of cultural knowledges through which the producer and the consumer share meanings. 'New' tourism representations of these places and
relationships are not new, as Albers and James suggest in their discussion of tourist postcards: 'even though the discourse may ante-date modern forms of leisure travel and the appearance of photography, it is appropriated by tourist media-makers and in the process transformed' (1988, p. 143). Ethnic tourism, for the middle classes becomes a 'claim of cultural superiority, of true and real contact with indigenous people' (Munt, 1994, p.111), where the cultural superiority is over the 'other' as well as other class fractions.

Representations of 'the Orient', and 'the Oriental', are based on an oppositional relationship to the Occident and the Occidental and are some of 'the deepest, most recurring images of the Other' (Said, 1978, p. 1). These representations, and the construction of particular Oriental identities, reflect global power relations in terms of politics, the economy, cultures and morals which disempower the Orient to such an extent that Said ruefully and ironically muses along Marxist lines that Orientals, like children, 'cannot represent themselves, we must represent them' (Marx, cited in Said, 1978, p.1). Orientalist discourse suggests that the Orient is 'irrational, depraved, childlike and different', whereas the West is 'rational, virtuous, mature and normal' (p.109). Representations of the Orient are 'passive, sensual, feminine, even silent and supine', whilst the West is powerful 'spectator, judge and jury' (p.138). However, operating inside the discursive construction of power which characterises Orientalism there are also strands of ambiguity which can make consumption of the Orient problematic.
Although known, exotic, erotic and passive, the East can also be guileful, deceitful, treacherous and dangerous. Stereotype images of the Oriental-as-trickster abound in the Western imagination, varying from the unscrupulous street trader to the ‘white slave trader’ and from the ‘professional’ beggar through the fake gemstone and antique dealer to the corrupt government official. There are also considerable dangers for the tourist from mere physical presence in an Asian locale. Meals, for example, may contain items too exotic for the Western palate. Eating monkey’s brains and snake or dog-meat, for example, are amongst the most regularly circulated gustatory hazards in travellers’ tales. Taking food and water in general is regarded as a game of gastronomic roulette in which the players must anxiously await the physical results!

The tourism promoters and their cultural intermediaries face a double bind in representing the lives and places of the ethnic other in a way which will attract tourists to recognise and gaze on it, but will also provide a method of mediating difference in order to disarm its dangerous components to an extent which will allow the tourist access to it. The new tourist, already safe in the knowledge that they share many cultural meanings with their tour operators, and already satisfied that the tour will provide worthwhile elements of social distinction, must be convinced that the physical spaces in which contact will occur are safe. Although the increasing mobility of life, especially middle-class life, suggests a greater cosmopolitanism, that is, ‘an ability to experience, to discriminate and to risk different natures and societies, historically and geographically’ (Lash & Urry, 1994, p. 256), many of the
places and peoples in South East Asia are presented as unavailable, or unsuitable, for tourism access.

Potential clients of Travel Indochina are therefore assured ‘some of the important things about travelling with Travel Indochina are some of the things you won’t see’ (TIB, p. 4). Lash and Urry continue however, to suggest that due to the increased cosmopolitanism of both providers and their clients, the tourism industry has moved away from a legislative approach which ‘instructed visitors where to look, what to look for, and when to look’, towards an interpretive approach through which ‘visitors are encouraged to look with interest on an enormous diversity of artefacts, cultures and systems of meanings’ in which ‘the main role of the ‘expert’ is to interpret them for the visitor’ (1994, p. 257). The mediation of much of this ‘new’ tourism suggests, contrarily, that not only are the representations spatially legislative, but that interpretation occurs only with the closed framework of established knowledges.

Accommodation is a crucial product in tourism promotion. However exotic the destination the experience will be mediated in ways which suggest that the tourist will still be able to enjoy a standard of living which is similar to that at home. In dealing with the ethnic tourist this produces a certain irony. A Travel Indochina hotel, for example, offers the best of both worlds. It ‘will typically be a small, locally managed property offering friendly service in an excellent area with lots of local character’, but ‘rooms will feature private facilities, satellite TV, minibar and
air-conditioning. Hotel facilities will typically include a restaurant and swimming pool' (TIB, p. 5). Travel Indochina uses a number of hotels in Ho Chi Minh City differentiated in terms of luxury from ‘standard’ to ‘deluxe’. Whilst the standard Saigon Star may only satisfy the former category, the deluxe Sofitel Saigon Plaza, part of an international hotel chain, only satisfies the latter. Similarly, a beach holiday in Phan Thiet means accommodation at ‘The Novotel Ocean Dunes Resort ... an international standard resort located right on Phan Thiet beach and adjacent to a Nick Faldo designed golf course’ (LRB, p. 7).

Other standards of accommodation are used in more remote areas. In Vinh Long for example, a 'simple but comfortable hotel is used', likewise, in Chau Doc accommodation is in a 'comfortable but simple family-run hotel' (TIB, p. 8). In these short country excursions the relationship between visitor and visited begins to take on the shape of an exoticised host-guest relationship, culminating in the ethnic hill tribe areas where accommodation involves the ‘traditional hospitality of the Muong, Meo and White Tai minority people’ (p. 10). All of these outer rural or remote region stays are for one night only, a short discomfort outweighed by the right to gaze on and photograph the inhabitants and, even in the commodified relationship inherent in a hotel stay, the pleasures of the authentic experience.

The restating and reclaiming of old colonial relationships are also common techniques for mediating the exotic. Ho Chi Minh City itself is referred to in tourism discourse as Saigon, its old colonial name, which now more correctly refers to the
downtown section, also called District 1. Saigon, or District 1, was the centre of colonial administration and holds the majority of tourist hotels and attractions in Ho Chi Minh City. Some of the hotels used by Travel Indochina carry the familiar markings of a colonial past: the Grand Hotel is 'recently refurbished historic French colonial'; the Continental is 'Saigon's most historic French colonial hotel'; and the Majestic is a 'historic French colonial hotel' (LRB, p. 7). The streets of Saigon are 'tree-lined boulevards' (TIB, p. 10), as are those of Hanoi, which 'is a stylish and gracious city that retains a unique old world charm' and 'colonial elegance' (p. 11). Dalat is a 'gracious hillstation established by the French' which is 'surrounded by French villas and pine forests' (p. 11).

Strangely, Sapa, site of Travel Indochina's most outstanding ethnic tourism, is also an 'ex French hillstation' (TIB, p. 11), but features none of the colonial attractions of Dalat. The familiarity of the colonial in this case remains noteworthy and still acts to mediate otherness, but the need for mediation of this type is outweighed by the need to experience the exoticism of an encounter with 'authentic' ethnic peoples. Colonial relationships as presented for tourism consumption are almost exclusively articulated in terms of architecture. The historical reality of the power struggles involved in the establishment of colonial authority, and the erection of the buildings which symbolise that power, are naturalised in the tourism discourse thus allowing the tourist uncompromised access to a nostalgic representation of a benevolent colonialism.
This selective representation of history is also evident in Travel Indochina’s presentation of the Vietnam War. In leading the ‘War Retrospective Tour’ Carl Robinson’s own professional and intellectual qualities set the standards for the tour producers and they also set the parameters for the clients’ experiences and knowledges. Robinson, a photographer and journalist, is eminently qualified to lead this special interest tour. He worked for Associated Press in Vietnam from 1968, ‘until the eve of Saigon’s fall in 1975 when he was forced to evacuate by helicopter as Communist troops advanced on the city’. Robinson:

takes you on a personal and insightful journey into one of the great struggles and great tragedies of this century, the Vietnam War. We visit battlefields, meet with former North Vietnamese military personnel and examine the range of issues that made this conflict uniquely brutal and controversial. (TIB, p.30)

Tourists cannot actually see the Vietnam War, so the ‘War Retrospective Tour’ becomes a tour of sight markers, of ex-battlefields, in which ‘the designation ... as a sight is most often accomplished without any esthetic assistance from the object. Its elevation to sight status is the work of society (MacCannell, 1976, p. 119). This offers the opportunity to intellectualise one of Vietnam’s most turbulent periods through the authentic experiences of Carl Robinson. The intellectualisation involves an unproblematic acceptance of the now official, then revolutionary, discourse of the North Vietnamese. Tourists meet - and hear stories of the conflict told by - ex-Vietcong and North Vietnamese army members. No mention is made of the defeated and now ‘re-educated’ South Vietnamese Army members, nor of the general suppression of the Southern population and South Vietnamese attempts at mass exodus - North Vietnam has suddenly become the ‘good guy’.
The selectiveness of the sights of the tour are best demonstrated by the brochure's description of Hue. Despite being visited during the 'War Retrospective Tour', and despite being the site of one of the bloodiest battles of the 1968 Tet Offensive, in which the North Vietnamese basically slaughtered the population whilst under sustained bombing from US forces, Hue:

is a beautiful and welcoming city. Today's full day tour will include the Citadel (home of the Nguyen dynasty emperors 1802-1945). We will also visit the Thien Mu Pagoda and cruise the Perfume river on a dragon boat. After lunch we stop by two of the magnificent Royal Mausoleums that surround Hue and explore the tomb of emperor Tu Duc. Tonight you may wish to try an imperial feast. (*War retrospective supplement*, p.1)

Slightly less controversially, internal transport is also mediated in a way that makes it appropriate for Western usage and again demonstrates the uncomfortable ambiguity of the tourist. According to Travel Indochina, 'the journey itself is very much part of the experience of travelling with Travel Indochina. On any trip, you may travel by cyclo, bicycle, bus, elephant, air, raft or rail. Your own two feet will also get a workout' (*TIB*, p. 4). Whilst the variety of transportation modes adds to the exoticism and adventure of the journey, there are some forms of transport which are threatening to the tourist. One of these is 'local transport', a euphemism for cheap bus and lower-class train travel, which 'doesn't provide the flexibility, reliability and safety we need'. The 'modern, comfortable buses' (p. 4) which Travel Indochina use are chartered minibuses, locally owned and operated. This mode of transport is used throughout Vietnam and much of South East Asia by middle class
tourists and locals alike. These buses do, however, facilitate the touristic experience, they ‘allow us to stop for a village walk or photograph a beautiful landscape’ (p. 4).

Perhaps the most unusual discourse regarding transportation is the unsure stance on the status of the Reunification Express:

The Reunification Express train is a great rail experience, however conditions aboard the train are basic. We travel in four-berth sleeper cabins with limited facilities. If you would like to fly between Hanoi and Hue on the New Vietnam Tour, please see our insert for details of our flight option. (TIB, p. 9)

The Reunification Express runs between Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City and is one of the major symbols of development and progress in ‘New Vietnam’. The train is probably no more basic than some other rural hotels - sheets, a sleeping berth and meals are provided - but it may lack authenticity through being modern in a primitive world. The accompanying photograph seeks to support this thesis. Titled ‘Laughter on the Reunification Express’, it depicts six tourists squeezed into a four berth cabin drinking beer. Travel Indochina clients in a diversified moment of inauthentic tourism perhaps – or a post-tourist moment - unconcerned with ethnicity and authenticity, they are merely enjoying themselves.

Photography is a form of image production and reproduction and an area of expertise for the new petty bourgeoisie. The role of photography in the ‘circuit of culture’ and its importance to tourism - and to the new petty bourgeoisie - can be demonstrated by the fact that Travel Indochina offers two 14 day specialised photography tours. These trips afford ‘endless opportunities for portraiture and
landscape photography' so, 'if exploring and photographing exotic peoples and landscapes is your interest, read on!' (TIB, p. 30). In this way the photography of the tourism brochure is circulated through culture via the tourists' own snapshots. 'Photography simultaneously depends on and produces this new economy of power-knowledge-subject' (Batchen, 1997, p. 191). The power of the photographic image stems from everyday knowledges that consider that 'a picture never lies'. Photography is understood in this way as a way of presenting reality rather than mediating it; it is objective rather than subjective.

A contrary photography truism does suggest, however, that 'every picture tells a story', thus allowing the narrative of the image to be constructed rather than unproblematically presented. The importance of photography lies in this capacity to naturalise the processes of image-making and in the ability of the image to circulate as a concrete, uninterrogated form of reality and as a primary source of knowledge. The photography of travel brochures plays this role by celebrating some aspects of the destination and disregarding others. For Albers and James:

What distinguishes travel photography from other areas of photographic use is not the particular form of its pictorial production, but rather the ways in which its pictures are selected, combined and symbolised. The special features of travel photography are found not only in choice of the subjects, but also in the ways in which they are represented. (1988, p. 137)

For the new tourists one would expect, or more pessimistically, one could imagine, that the representations of the other which attract them would differ in some ways from the representations of exotic places and peoples in brochures more concerned with mass tourism. The representational repertoire of the Travel Indochina brochure
is, however, produced in established discursive spaces and the images and associated knowledges are well known and widely dispersed.

The photography which enhances the Travel Indochina brochure highlights certain desirable elements of the touristic experience whilst others, not so desirable, are totally ignored. The representations also privilege certain places and certain peoples over others. Visual representations of the countryside and of rural people abound whilst images of the city and its occupants are few. What urban representations there are disassociated from any social or spatial context. Images of grand buildings, such as ‘Colonial Opera House, Hanoi’ and ‘Continental Hotel, Ho Chi Minh City’, portray single buildings in close up, with no reference to the surrounding buildings or to the street. They serve as images of colonial familiarity and past glories but, imposing buildings as they may be, the social ramifications of their histories are subsumed beneath the visual frame. They also offer little in terms of cognitive or organic wholeness and it appears that ‘cityscape’ or ‘streetscape’ are not part of the travel photographer’s lexicon.

The urban areas of Travel Indochina’s South East Asia are also remarkably devoid of people. The prose descriptions of ‘the frantic atmosphere of Saigon’, ‘the city’s bustling markets’, and the ‘carnival atmosphere of Saigon nightlife’ (TIB, p. 8) are not supported by any visual imagery. Representations of urban peoples may be suppressed for a number of reasons. Firstly, the city can be constructed as a place of danger, where crowds create an anxious presence in which the tourist may become
disorientated and undifferentiated against the masses. Secondly, gazing on the urban population does not articulate the notions of difference as effectively as gazing on rural, ethnic peoples. Although Travel Indochina suggest that seeing 'societies in the midst of transformation' (p. 1) is one of the attractions of their products, young men in blue jeans and tee shirts and male office workers in white shirts and grey trousers are too distinctly marked with the evidence of progress and change. Their ethnicity is compromised in that they are too similar to Western urban societies, they are discarded as desirable objects of the gaze because the ethnic tourist, driven by a desire to witness primitive peoples before it is too late (Errington & Gewertz, 1989), considers urbanisation and the activities of the metropolis to be already corrupted.

Whilst the cityscape does not seem to exist in the travel photography genre, landscape is the *tour de force* of representation in rural and wilderness areas. Representation of these landscapes show the mediated traces of well-established Western aesthetic thought and practice regarding the representation of landscape and countryside. The construction of the Asian landscape involves the framing of the unfamiliar in a manner through which the unfamiliar becomes domesticated. Two powerful modes of representation are used. One relates to the portrayal of wilderness, and the other allows a more pastoral and nostalgic representation of rural lifestyles, both agrarian and maritime.

The photographic representation of domestic and foreign landscape was a concern of the earliest photographers, one in which the painterly conventions of the
picturesque were directly transferred into a different medium. The capacity of the camera to construct landscapes was never in doubt, even as early as the late eighteenth century they were used to shape nature:

When nature proved a little recalcitrant, machines were sometimes employed to bring a more picturesque order to what was seen by the naked eye. The camera obscura was one popular device used for this purpose. However, in many cases this instrument was replaced by more portable machines for seeing, such as the camera lucida (invented in 1801) or the Claude glass. (Batchen, 1997, p.72)

Appreciation of the wilderness is an attribute closely associated with new tourisms and their associations with ecological and sustainable tourism. Two images, one from Thailand, ‘Khao Sok National Park’ (TIB, p. 27) and one from Laos, ‘The Wild Beauty of the Mekong’ (p. 29), represent the wilderness in its magnificent and unspoilt state. ‘Khao Sok National Park’ depicts a prospect framed between two dark hillsides down onto a fertile plain bathed in the evening sunlight. Mountain ranges stand dark in the background against swirling clouds and violent red sunset. ‘The Wild Beauty of the Mekong’, in similar mode, depicts a verdant river plain rising to rocky, overgrown hills with dark, ‘cloud-girt’ mountains beyond. Both of these images are framed in a ‘western’ manner and show all the aesthetic markers of the picturesque and the sublime.

The layering of the Western aesthetic over an unfamiliar scene to produce prospects and panoramas also, and in tourism discourse more importantly, allows the tourist to become the master of the scene, the ‘monarch of all I survey’ (Pratt, 1992,
p. 201). More populated and less wild scenes are also constructed in a traditional way. Fisherman pulling on nets is an established image in tourism representation. 'Hauling in the catch, central Vietnam' (TIB, p. 10) shows a number of beach fisherman manually bringing in the net against the red half-light of sunset. The tradition of the pastoral is celebrated in this image. The act of fishing is romanticised in terms of a nostalgic gaze at a timeless occupation in which humans are inextricably tied to the rhythms of nature, but the hazards and privations of such an occupation are ignored. 'Yangtze River, China' (p.16) combines the wilderness and the pastoral by incorporating terraced, riverside paddy fields and a small agricultural community into a riverine and mountainous prospect.

It is images of the population of Indochina which are the most important in the brochure. Urban images are not totally devoid of people but what few images there are mediate the experience of the city in various ways. Two images, 'Patisserie, Old Quarter, Hanoi' and 'Women of Hanoi' (TIB, pp. 8-9), strategically placed side by side in the brochure, also represent juxtaposing requirements of tourism representations of the exotic. In the right foreground of 'Patisserie, Old Quarter, Hanoi' (p. 8) an old Vietnamese man is drinking coffee whilst leaning against a small counter which displays cakes and bread. In the background is a younger Vietnamese man - an employee or family member - and a customer who is possibly a tourist. The major framing device of the image is two signs in the left foreground, one proclaiming the proprietors' name, address and business, the other 'Ici on parle Francais - English Spoken'.

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The image invites the viewer off the street into the cool interior of the shop. Here, away from the unpredictability of the street, there are familiar food and drinks available. Not only that, it is a space in which needs and requirements can be communicated in a familiar manner. One of the Vietnamese men is obviously the provider of these goods and services, the other is more ambiguous, he may be Mr Chi, the owner, or he may be a customer. Not that it really matters, the image is of a familiar 'civilised' place, not of the people of Hanoi and their social relations, it is a place which is available to the Western visitor.

'Women of Hanoi' (TIB, p. 9) is a totally different image, firstly in that its prime object of representation is women and secondly, that it acts to mystify rather than familiarise the exotic. This image is an interior, softly backlit, featuring red pillars and burgundy panels adorned with gold calligraphy. Three young women sit on wooden high-back benches forming a triangle of perspectives: full frontal, side and back. Two of the women look beyond the foreground as if attracted by an unrepresented object or person. This image is also totally devoid of outside reference points, the only clue to its location is the direct naming of the subjects as women of Hanoi. This image conforms to many of the stereotypical representations of Asia and of Asian women. The image represents Vietnamese womanhood as a symbol of the desirable and exotic passivity which characterises the whole of the Orient in established ideological discourse.
Whilst this reflects notions of power in terms of an East/West dichotomy, it also demonstrates an uneven power relationship grounded in gender terms, in which the eye of the tourist becomes male, heterosexual, powerful and active. The uneven power relationship allows a number of voyeuristic fantasies ranging from the exotic to the erotic to be motivated. The ambiguity of the location allows these fantasies to be articulated spatially. It affords many possibilities ranging from a home, through possibilities of waiting room, temple, auditorium, to dancehall or brothel. The disingenuous title 'Women of Hanoi' also effaces Vietnamese womanhood by supporting – rather than passively allowing – a sexualised reading of the image which strengthens the articulation of male heterosexual fantasies and connotes that the whole of Vietnam is feminine and necessarily available.

Images of people also serve to present the culture in other ways. Many of the photographs in the Travel Indochina brochure are of smiling children, often close up head and shoulder views only. These are images of 'happy faces', 'cheeky boys', more 'happy faces', 'Silk road faces' and 'welcoming smiles'. The close framing of these images again allows the de-socialisation and objectification of the subject to be removed from any social setting, it also serves to infantilise the Orient. One such photograph, taken by tour leader Chris Tomlinson, depicts a smiling Thai girl against a tropical garden background. The photograph is titled 'Typically Thai' (TIB, p. 23). Despite Tomlinson's special accreditation of 'having taken up Asian Studies', this particular image portrays a typicality which is resident only in Western cultural thought. 'Typically Thai' becomes a code for 'typical Western representation of Thai culture'. 'Typical' in Jonathon Culler's sense means that 'the tourist is
interested in everything as a sign of itself, an instance of typical cultural practice: a Frenchman is an example of a Frenchman, a restaurant in the Quartier Latin is an example of a Latin Quarter restaurant, signifying "Latin Quarter Restaurantness" (1988, p. 154).

The importance of signification allows this child to become a signifier of 'Thai-ness', signified as Other, as female, as child-like and as powerless. This construction of infantilism in a signifying sense can easily move beyond images of children into images of adults. 'Local transport, Chengdu' (LRB, p. 18), depicts two smiling rickshaw riders sitting in the back of their respective rickshaws reading a newspaper and joking. Whilst 'larking' in a childlike way, the actual social conditions of the rickshaw rider is disguised. To the tourist the rickshaw itself is an exotic mode of transport; to the rider it probably resembles a treadmill, but timeless romanticism outweighs grinding poverty and hard labour. The Oriental remains, as always, disempowered in the face of all encompassing Western power and knowledge.

The implicit irony of the new tourism, and its affiliating and representational imagery, is that all the notions of newness are subsumed under old, established knowledges. The Orient remains the same, not only in a constructed agelessness, but also in terms of the inequality of economic, social and symbolic power relations between it and the West. The consumers of tourism such as those advertised by Travel Indochina view tourism as an opportunity to pursue difference, diversity and
social distinction in a sustainable manner, yet do so in a representational environment which offers little variation from those associated with the totally disenfranchised mass tourist.

The allocation of resources to the intellectualisation of the tourism experience does, however, allow the new tourist to consider the experiences of tourism not merely in terms of class distinction but also in terms of defining an authentic self. The bourgeois self of the postmodern world is as concerned with individuality as was the bourgeois of modernity and, ‘contradictorily, while the assertion of individualism becomes a frame of action of the new middle classes, it also reaffirms their class status and position’ (Mowforth & Munt, 1998, p. 135). The search for an authentic self in tourism ultimately becomes a competition to gaze on authentic peoples and places and to ‘stamp the hallmark of individualism in the traveller’s passport’ (p. 135). In the actual competition pre-tour information as represented by the travel brochure gives way to the on-tour discourses contained in the travel guidebook, the concern of the next chapter.
Travel guidebooks can be, and often are, consulted as part of pre-tour orientation and preparation in a similar manner to travel brochures. The travel brochure's principal use as a marketing tool suggests, however, that once a particular set of tourism products are purchased its status and efficacy as a representation of a tourism destination is diminished. The travel guidebook is, in contrast, the most likely representation of any particular tourism destination to be carried into the contact zone and actually consulted during the touristic experience. Guidebooks provide a vast amount of information for the tourist, information which is generally presented in terms of a set of practical knowledges which enhance the tourist's capacity to exploit and enjoy a destination and its associated facilities and services. Despite notions of offering only 'practical' information - railway timetables, accommodation options, location of attractions, etc - the sets of knowledges which are articulated by the guidebook reinforce many established and particular knowledges of a destination and its inhabitants.

This chapter presents a discursive analysis of the eighth edition of the travel guidebook *India (LP India)*, published by Lonely Planet Publications Pty Ltd (Lonely Planet) in September 1999. This analysis demonstrates how the notion of an unproblematic practicality naturalises powerful discursive formations of rationality.
and knowledge which inform the project of Enlightenment including the discourse of Orientalism which defines the way in which the Orient is known and understood by the West. The analysis also suggests that Lonely Planet is one of the major institutional sites from which a new, modern discourse about tourism arose and continues to be articulated. This discourse operates in ostensible opposition to the discourse of mass tourism and is broadly understood, and referred to here, as the discourse of 'independent travel'.

*LP*India consists of an encyclopaedic array of statements about India, Indians, and the ways in which they can be explored and experienced by independent travellers. The majority of these statements about India did not suddenly emerge with the arrival of Lonely Planet, however, and neither do they represent neutral, *a priori* knowledges about India. The conglomeration of statements about India does, however, display a unity which extends beyond the guidebook's internal organisation into chapters, headings and subheadings. This analysis of the unity of the statements and consequent formation of the particular discourse of independent travel in *LP*India draws upon a framework of inquiry outlined by Michel Foucault in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972).

There, in relation to his inquiries into the discourses surrounding medicine, economics and grammar, Foucault argues against the seemingly most obvious and everyday similarities of style, concept and theme acting as unifying principles in the formation of discourses and asks that:
Rather than seeking the permanence of themes, images, and opinions through time, rather than retracing the dialectic of their conflicts in order to individualise groups of statements, could one not rather mark out the dispersion of the points of choice, and define prior to any option, to any thematic preference, a field of strategic possibilities? (1972, p. 37)

Foucault continues by suggesting that when this proposed system of dispersion can be described in terms of a relationship between a number of statements, a discursive formation results:

Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a discursive formation. (1972, p. 38)

This analysis of the rules of formation of the independent travel discourse, as apparent in India, concentrates on the formation of the object, 'India' – from where the discourse gleaned its knowledges - and the formation of the enunciative modalities – the particular ways of talking - which are used to describe the object. These rules of formation are 'conditions of existence (but also of coexistence, maintenance, modification, and disappearance) in a given discursive division' (Foucault, 1972, p. 38). They also demonstrate the conditions to which the elements of the division are subjected, and the way in which a particular understanding of the India of the independent travel discourse is developed.

In relation to the formation of the objects of any particular discourse, Foucault identifies three areas of analysis through which the register of the object can be
established and its discursive status acknowledged. These are the surfaces of emergence of the object, the authorities of delimitation and the grids of specification through which the object is delineated (1972, pp. 41-2). These areas of importance do not stand alone however, and neither do they 'provide objects, fully formed and armed, that the discourse ... has then merely to list, classify, name, select, and cover with a network of words and sentences' (p. 42). The rules of formation which produce the object are not a series of heterogeneous determinations which lack attributable links and relations (p. 43), but rather, the 'formation is made possible by the group of relations established between authorities of emergence, delimitation, and specification' (p. 44).

Moreover:

these relations are not present in the object; it is not they that are deployed when the object is being analysed; they do not indicate the web, the immanent rationality....They do not define its internal constitution, but what enables it to appear, to 'uxtapose itself with other objects, to situate itself in relation to them, to define its difference ... even perhaps its heterogeneity, in short, to be placed in a field of exteriority. (Foucault, 1972, p. 45)

The relations established between the surfaces of emergence, authorities of delimitation and grids of specification of the discourse reveal discourse not as a characteristic of language but rather as a practice, a practice that systematically forms the object of which it speaks (1972, p. 48). The analysis of the formation of the object 'India' in the independent travel discourse then, will not only identify ways in which it is talked or written about, but will also define the parameters between which
the independent traveller in India will experience - in the terminology understood by all independent travellers - the 'real' India.

*LPIndia* contains all the information which an independent tourist visiting India could need. Consequently the guidebook extends to over 1000 pages and precludes any notion of travelling light! The first four chapters provide general information: ‘Facts about the Country’ gives brief introductions to economic, social and environmental aspects of India; ‘Facts for the Visitor’ discusses everyday administrative and cultural arrangements; ‘Getting There and Away’ outlines possible modes of entry to India; and ‘Getting Around’ discusses internal transport possibilities. The bulk of the guidebook consists of nineteen chapters each dedicated to a particular State and four chapters which each describe one of the major cities; Delhi, Chennai, Mumbai and Calcutta. These chapters ‘always start with background, then proceed to sights, places to stay, places to eat, entertainment, getting there and away, and getting around information - in that order’ (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 18). The guidebook also contains maps, glossaries, tables, colour and monochrome photography, sketches, a special section called ‘Sacred India’, and highlighted, boxed texts on various subjects.

The emergence of Lonely Planet, and the concomitant emergence and recognition of the philosophy and practices of independent travel promoted by Lonely Planet, demonstrate developments in tourism which roughly coincide with other far-reaching changes in cultural and economic activity. Many changes in
Western cultural thought and social arrangements can be anchored - for want of a particular chronological event - to far-reaching social and economic dissatisfactions of the 1960s which culminated in widespread civil protest and disobedience in Paris during 1968. For many young Westerners, perhaps of a slightly less politically active bent than the Parisian protesters, this new age of Western radical political and counter-cultural arrangements was also signified by new tastes in fashion and popular music, in concepts of individuality, alternative lifestyles, spirituality and freedom. Combined with another signifying characteristic of the modern period - increasing mobility - these modes of experience and self-actualisation also informed an emerging touristic sensibility which valued difference, discovery and authenticity, and which aimed to distance itself from the prevailing paradigm of packaged, mass tourism.

The object India emerges in the independent travel discourse as a desirable location to visit, and *LPIndia* is a major text which explains, limits and defines that object, 'making it manifest, nameable, and describable' (Foucault, 1972, p.41). Whilst the street protests of 1968 and the counter-culture of the 1960s provide a symbolic event on which to hang the genesis of the independent travel discourse in general, there are other discursive regimes, both established and emerging, which specifically inform the understanding of the object India as developed under this discourse. Some of the more recent surfaces of emergence relate generally to the social conditions which have arisen in Western countries since 1968, and include developments in communications and transport, changing work practices and modes
of consumption, the general globalising tendencies apparent in world cultural and
economic activities and the 'greening' of environmental thought.

The burgeoning communications industries – of which Lonely Planet is a part –
is implicated in a social regime which is saturated with images and narratives
representing places outside the immediate environment. Some of the modes of
communication are not necessarily new - the guidebook as a specific genre of print
media production developed in the mid nineteenth century. An early guidebook,
John Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in India and Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon*
was first published in 1859 for example, but the now overwhelming availability of
electronic and filmic images expand the media presence of India and identifies it as
accessible and available.

The equally important developments in transportation technologies have turned
the promises of the mediascape into practical possibilities. Whilst changes in
transportation technologies, like communications technologies are readily apparent in
the early modern period, there have been recent developments which 'up the stakes'.
The politically stable post-1828 Orient made tourism to India possible, but it was the
steam engine which changed the possibility into reality. The second round of mass
tourism developed on the back of air transport which provided access to more distant
places, cheaper and faster than ever before. Whilst this had direct effects on the
geography of mass tourism, it also, rather ironically, expanded the horizons of the
independent traveller who, during the 1960s and 1970s, was able to eschew airline
travel - once romantic in itself - in favour of romantic and nostalgic overland journeys.

The prevailing social conditions of the late twentieth century also assured that - for some at least - there was increasing time available for tourism. Again, more recent times demonstrate an intensification of developments in the mid-nineteenth century. The change in working conditions and pay rates, especially the provision for paid holiday time, which helped to develop tourism as an industry, then, are still generally applicable today, but there are also other recent developments in employment and work which enhance the availability of all tourism destinations. The deregulation of many industries has affected employment and workplace strategies in general. A full time, ongoing position has now, for many workers, joined the scrap heap of practices associated with production-based capitalism. Many positions are now available only on short term contract rather than permanently. These movements, the differentiation of consumption trends, and developments in higher paid occupational areas, especially in service provision relating to emerging technologies, financial management and cultural production, offer the opportunity to take longer or more regular holidays further away from home.

Other surfaces from which the discourse of independent travel emerge are evident in more established areas of Western cultural thought. One of the most important and established discourses which the independent travel discourse uses to
articulate knowledges about India is Orientalism (Said, 1978). The Orientalist discourse is supported by a wide range of other discursive regimes - histories, government records, ethnographies, travelogues and early guidebooks - and, when absorbed and naturalised by the discourse of independent travel, identifies ways in which the Orient, including India, becomes a desirable and available object for tourism.

The modern exploratory narrative about the European 'discovery' of India generally commences with Vasco de Gama's landing near Calicut, in modern-day Kerala, during 1498, and this is pragmatically and unsurprisingly appropriated by the independent travel discourse via *LPIndia* (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 28). In terms of established Western knowledges however, India has been the object of theorisation and historical reconstruction since well before that date, and certainly well before the emergence of the specific discourse of independent travel.

The 'pre-discovery' history of India as recounted by *LPIndia* is informed by a number of sources. Classical scholarship recounts stories of an exotic, strange and harsh land which drew Alexander the Great and his armies through the Khyber Pass and over the Indus River into what is now known as Pakistan as early as 327 B.C. These Orientalist discourses, often combining the rational and the mythical, were subsequently absorbed and amended by mainly English, French and Portuguese mercantile and colonial presence in the contact zone. *LPIndia*'s more recent appropriation of Orientalist scholarship presents a specific history which figures
Indian history prior to the arrival of European business interests on the sub-continent as a series of avaricious and blood-thirsty invasions, on the rise and fall of great empires, and on titanic struggles of faith between unbalanced and egotistic Buddhist and Hindu, and later Hindu and Muslim princes (Cannon, et al., 1999). An appropriation in which achievements in the arts and sciences, or cultural developments other than the military, are generally disregarded.

The expansionist zeal explicit - and the uneven power relations implicit - in the established colonial discourses about India are also reiterated in LP\textit{India}. The 'Facts about India - History' section, for example, identifies the arrival of European merchants, and especially the establishment of British power, as the resolution of irrational and wasteful practices. The establishment of a British-style system of central administration assured that the country 'reached Independence with a better organised, more efficient and less corrupt administrative system than most other ex-colonial countries' (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 30). Other benefits for India, according to LP\textit{India}, included the development of iron and coal mining, the development of tea, coffee and cotton as cash crops, and subsidiary developments in rail transportation and irrigation. Whilst this 'overwhelming interest in trade and profit resulted in far reaching changes' (1999, p. 31), the changes are to a large extent unproblematically regarded as beneficial to both the coloniser and the colonised. In this way the power gained through conquest and self-interest is subsumed under a humanist concern for mutual and sustainable benefit.
Authorities of delimitation serve, like the planes of emergence, to establish the relations in the object. In his discussion on medicine, Foucault suggests that it 'became the major authority in society that de-limited, designated, named, and established madness as an object, but it was not alone in this: the law, and the penal law in particular ... the religious authority .... Literary art and criticism' (1972, p. 42) also played their part. Likewise, whilst Lonely Planet is one of the major authorities in the independent traveller's definition of India as an object, this authority is mediated and informed by other sites of authority. 'India', as understood by LPIndia – and the independent travel discourse - also exists as a geographical and national entity of post-colonial construction but, more importantly in this discussion, as a tourism destination defined by, and available through, the tourism industry in general.

Firstly, to the major authority in the discourse, Lonely Planet itself. Lonely Planet developed its first product for the new touring public in 1972:

The story begins with a classic travel adventure: Tony and Maureen Wheeler's 1972 journey across Europe and Asia to Australia. Useful information about the overland trail did not exist at that time, so Tony and Maureen published the first Lonely Planet guidebook to meet a growing need. (Cannon et al., 1999, p.16)

Lonely Planet has grown from this initial foray into the publishing industry to produce a wide catalogue of new and constantly republished guidebooks. In the present day however, Lonely Planet is much more than a publisher of guidebooks. It is an organisation which shows all the characteristics of a global, diversified communications company. Initially working:
from a kitchen table, then from a tiny office in Melbourne (Australia), Lonely Planet has become the largest independent travel publisher in the world, an international company with offices in Melbourne, Oakland (USA), London (UK), and Paris (France). (Cannon et al., 1999 p. 16).

The company's range of products is even more diversified than its production centres. As well as general regional guidebooks, the company's print media products include atlases and phrasebooks, and the 'Pisces' series of dedicated diving and snorkelling guides. Travel writing under the 'Lonely Planet Journeys' imprint includes narratives from developing authors and a short story anthology featuring established travel writers. Lonely Planet is also involved in video and television production which, 'like our guides, ... are based on the joy of independent travel, and look honestly at some of the most exciting, picturesque and frustrating places in the world' (Cannon et al., 1999, endpapers). During 1999 Tony and Maureen Wheeler also presented segments on the TCN9 (Australia) television tourism infotainment series Getaway. There is Planet Talk, a print-based quarterly journal; Orbit, a free email magazine; and a Lonely Planet site on the World Wide Web where the company's products are available for online purchase, and information, in the form of updates to guidebooks, electronic journals, an on-line image library, and interactivity with 'fellow travellers' via bulletin boards is available.

Despite the broad nature of the company's communications activities, Lonely Planet guidebooks - formerly 'survival kits' - remain the most popular product and are now known and used by a large cross section of the tourist population. Lonely
Planet guidebooks are regarded as the on-site information tool for the so-called independent traveller. According to the *New York Times Magazine*, "for tens of millions of globetrotting readers, the Lonely Planet guides are the gospel of adventure travel" (cited in Cannon et al., 1999, front papers). Lonely Planet guidebooks are pulled from backpacks and consulted in railway stations, noisy streets, cheap hotels and travellers' cafes from Amritsar to Zagreb. Their perceived wisdom, and popularity, is such that Westerners arriving in Calcutta are now greeted by taxi drivers all asking if you want to go to Sudder Street, which the Lonely Planet identifies as the place to find a cheap hotel" (Bhattacharyya, 1997, p. 371).

*LPIndia* defines India historically in terms of colonial administration. This rearrangement of independent princely states, effected either by force or by unbeneficial mercantile arrangements, and the post colonial redistribution of power in 1947 has resulted in an internationally recognised India of today which "covers a total area of 3,287,263 sq km. This is divided into 25 states and seven directly administered union territories" (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 39). Inside these legally defined and recognised boundaries, the discourse of independent travel operates in relation to a number of other authorities which define the possibilities inherent in the object. Despite the stance of independence explicit in *LPIndia*, the objects of interest for the independent traveller are to a large extent defined by tourism institutions and organisations other than Lonely Planet and certainly by persons other than the independent traveller.
The Indian Tourism Office (ITO) and state-based organisations such as the Kerala Tourism Development Corporation (KTDC) and the Tamil Nadu Tourism Development Corporation (TNTDC) are responsible for the definition and delimitation of many of the locations identified by *LPIndia* as suitable for the independent traveller. The recommendations of tourism sights and sites which emanate from these authorities, which include nature-based tourism in the form of controlled and managed National Parks, historical monuments, sites of religious pilgrimage and, increasingly, beach resorts, effectively represent Indian secular and religious interests rather than exclusive concerns of Western tourism, let alone the particular interests of the independent traveller. The Taj Mahal is an iconic attraction to any tourist in Agra not merely the independent traveller for example. Also, an itinerary including the Sri Padmanabhaswamy temple in Trivandrum, the Kumari Amman temple at Kanyakumari and the Sri Meenakshi temple in Madurai, is popular with independent travellers in Southern India. This itinerary is, however, not delimited by the discourse of independent travel, rather it represents the appropriation of a long-established Hindu pilgrimage by tourism.

For Foucault, grids of specification are the systems by which different objects of a particular discourse are ‘divided, contrasted, related, regrouped, classified, derived from each other’ (1972, p. 42). Some of the grids of specification of the independent travel discourse reproduce as the fundamental elements of general tourism service provision: access, accommodation, amenities, attractions and activities (Dickman, 1989). These elements are almost directly reflected in *LPIndia*’s hierarchy of sub-headings through which destinations are described:
'getting there and away', 'things to see', 'places to stay', 'places to eat', 'information' and 'organised tours'. The ways in which these elements of the discourse are classified, combined and discussed in LPIndia suggests an organic wholeness in the object 'India', and reflect many of the interests the independent traveller may have in present-day India.

The India of the independent travel discourse is also gridded in terms of what a tourist may gaze on, and there are only three types of sights - notable for their authenticity - which the independent traveller is interested in: the natural world, historical sites, and 'typical' scenes of everyday social life. Much of the information presented in the 'Facts about India' section of LPIndia demonstrates a preoccupation with statistical representation which reflects the classificatory drives of economic and scientific rationality. This methodology allows the whole of the object of India to be unproblematically known through the observation and classification of its flora and fauna, its climate and geography, its peoples and social arrangements, and its literature and archaeological artefacts. The section 'Flora and Fauna', for example, offers a comprehensive catalogue of what can be seen in Indian National Parks and Wildlife Sanctuaries; '65,000 species of fauna, 350 of mammals (7.6% of the world's total), 408 of reptiles (6.2%), 197 of amphibians (4.4%), 1244 of birds (12.6%), 2546 of fish (11.7%) and 15,000 flowering plants (6%)' (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 47).

In this representation of India's natural history, LPIndia reproduces and continues the classificatory drives first published in Linnaeus' Systema Naturae of
1735. This is the continuation of a European 'planetary consciousness' in which
'one by one the planet's life forms were to be drawn out of the tangled threads of
their life surroundings and rewoven into European patterns of global unity and order'
(Pratt, 1992, p. 31). This early collection of scientific knowledge correlates with the
expanding search for commercially exploitable resources (1992, p. 30) and this is
also reflected in LPIndia's discussion of the Indian economy where:

food grains make up 63% of India's agricultural output (191 million tonnes in
1997), Uttar Pradesh is the leading state with 40% of total production. India is
the world's second largest paddy rice producer and the fourth largest wheat
producer. (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 54)

Beyond the classificatory drive of scientific knowledge, the appreciation of
India's natural history, as understood in the discourse of the contemporary
independent traveller, is classified in two other discursive formations. One was
established in the nineteenth century and another is relatively modern. These are a
romantic aesthetic appreciation of landscape and a concern for ecological
sustainability, which combine to produce the newly emerging touristic concern of
ecotourism. For Paul Shepard, 'modern scenery-tourism has been the attempt to
apply the esthetic learned from art to the landscape as a whole. History and science
played a part in determining what was interesting, but pictures made objects into
scenery' (1967, p. 127). For Roland Barthes also, discussing another travel
guidebook, 'the Blue Guide hardly knows the existence of scenery except under the
guise of the picturesque' (1993, p. 74).
This fascination with picturesque landscape is continued in *LP India*, a recommended trek from Mirik to Kurseong is truly picturesque, 'there are good views of Kanchenjunga 1km from Mirik. Continuing, you will pass through a number of small villages, stands of pine and bamboo, and orange groves, finally entering Murmah Tea Estate' (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 550). The word 'picturesque' itself does not have much currency in *LP India*, but much of the scenery is described as 'beautiful' or 'pretty', such as the Kullu Valley and other places in the Himalayan foothills, which suggests vistas on a scope more correctly described as picturesque. The Himalaya itself, although picturesque from a distance and invariably inviting established romantic descriptors such as 'snow capped peaks' (1999, p. 292), moves beyond the picturesque to also be described in terms of the sublime, 'the mighty Himalayan mountain chain' (p. 20) contains, for example, 'the bleak, high altitude regions of Lahaul, Spiti and Kinnaur (p. 276).

The aesthetics of landscape allows the artful placement of ruins, but erases the majority of peoples from the view, 'just as hilliness is overstressed to eliminate all other types of scenery, the human life of a country disappears to the exclusive benefit of its monuments' (Barthes, 1993, pp. 74-5). Peoples also pale into insignificance in the independent travel discourse about India. Whilst geography and flora and fauna account for over twelve pages of *LP India* (pp. 39-53), the 'Population and People' section accounts for less than two (pp. 55-56). The complexity of everyday Indian social conditions is erased, and, as Nicholas Thomas suggests in his discussion of colonial artists:

*India is not a place, but a series of views and scenes; the sense that a building is not a functional structure of some kind, but a monument or sight does not arise*
merely from the fact that the landscape or edifice is represented, but is further emphasised by the frequent presence of small groups of Indians in and around the structures, who are entirely idle – seemingly present just as tourists. (1994, pp 54-5)

The well established romantic landscape aesthetic, which includes the aestheticisation of certain peoples, emerges in the discourse of independent travel alongside ecotourism, which reflects an emerging social concern amongst some of the new class fractions with sustainable ecologies. The concern with ecology is writ large in *LPIndia*. The section ‘Facts about India – Ecology and the Environment’ (Cannon et al., 1999, pp. 42-46) identifies this concern in terms of conservation and begins with a listing of conservation contacts in India before continuing on to highlight many diverse ecological problems under the subheadings of ‘Deforestation’, ‘Soil Degradation’, ‘Water Resources’, ‘Air Pollution’, and ‘Energy’.

*LPIndia* advises tourists how to address these problems in the ‘Responsible Tourism’ section which suggests ‘common sense and courtesy go a long way when you are travelling. Think about the impact you may have on the environment and the people who inhabit it’ (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 82). ‘Responsible Diving’ (p. 83) and ‘Responsible Trekking’ (pp. 84-5) are subheadings of this section which more specifically address ecological sustainability through some of the particular interests of the independent traveller. *LPIndia* admits ‘the popularity of trekking and
mountaineering is placing great pressure on India’s natural environment' (p. 84), and offers tips and suggestions to counter the emerging problems.

Although one should ‘follow social and cultural considerations when interacting with the local community’ (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 85), the importance of picturesque landscape, and the tourist’s right to view it, again overpowers the role of local peoples and communities. If ‘you use local accommodation’ for example, you are encouraged to ‘select places that don’t use wood fires to heat water or to cook’ (1999, p. 85) and thereby insist on a more expensive, imported fuel in order to justify the burgeoning, albeit transitory, population growth. Of course, much of the information provided by *LP/India* is pragmatic and sometimes politically astute, but it generally elides the power imbalance between the local and the visitor.

On another scale, ‘Temples of Doom’ (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 46), outlines the ecological and social consequences of the Sardar Sarovar Dam project in Maharastra, and the complicity of non-Indian organisations such as the World Bank and the Sumitomo Corporation in the development. This is one of the few places in *LP/India* addresses the political realities of modern India, but, in another demonstration of inequitable power relations, the main problems associated with the project are expressed, not in terms of global transnational capitalism, but in terms of Indian government incompetence.
Significant social events provide much of the spectacle, or in filmic terms, the
‘colour and movement’, and the exoticism which tourists seek on the Indian
subcontinent. The sources of much spectacle are religious festivals, which are
catalogued extensively in *LP India*. As well as the sheer excitement of these events,
the tourist gaze is attracted by the perceived agelessness of these events, and India is
placed historically. Travelling through space becomes travelling through time, and
the socio-cultural significance of these festivals is removed from present day India
and understood only in terms of the Western visual pleasures gained through gazing
on the past.

A comparison between *LP India* and Sura’s (1989) *Mysore with Ooty*
guidebook, an Indian publication, and its discussions of the Dasara festival highlights
this point. The Sura guide identifies the importance of Dasara, its universal
celebration by Hindus and the pomp and enthusiasm with which it is celebrated,
especially in Mysore. The Sura guide continues to note the efforts of the ex-
maharajah in preserving the ceremonial character of the festival and its popularity
with the general population: ‘Dasara arouses, among the people of Mysore, such a
sweeping enthusiasm that the visitor may well be excused for not being able to
discern whether it is a royal or a popular festival. Here the pageants of the palace
merge imperceptibly into the mirth and gaiety of the populace’ (*Mysore with Ooty*,
1997, p. 3).
LPIndia affords the celebration of Dasara one paragraph only, and understands the festival as ‘a wonderful time to visit Mysore’ (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 986). For LPIndia the festival is totally removed from the social environment in which it occurs and operates on the level of spectacle only.

The palace is illuminated every night and on the last day the former maharaja leads one of India’s most colourful processions. Richly caparisoned elephants, liveried retainers, cavalry and the gaudy and flower-bedecked images of deities make their way through the streets to the sound of jazz and brass bands and inevitable clouds of incense. (1999, p. 986)

This visual spectacle is not missing from the Sura guide – in fact the Sura and LPIndia accounts are almost identical – but the LPIndia account is framed with a nostalgia for a past India and understands Dasara through this frame, not as a relevant and viable social and religious activity of the present.

LPIndia does mention a number of sites and sights related to everyday life but again, these sites are understood in terms of spectacle. The Devaraja fruit and vegetable market in Mysore, for example, is a recommended site because it is ‘one of the most colourful in India and makes excellent subject matter for photographers’ (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 984). Again this site is viewed through a timeless perspective, in which the market itself becomes a spectacle of colour and tradition and the notion that this market must have clients – modern housewives, office workers, business proprietors, IT professionals and academics – is totally disregarded. ‘Typical’ scenes of everyday life in Mumbai include two urban activities: the Dhaba-wallahs who ‘deliver around 175,000 meals per day’; and the Dhobi Ghats where ‘some 5000 men use rows of open air troughs to beat the dirt out of … soiled clothes brought from all over the city each day’ (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 205.
Gazing on these age-old activities offers an exoticised sense of work which again deny the realities of present day India.

In fact, *LPIndia* only recognises two types of people - tourism providers and exotic primitives, and it is significant in this respect that the 'Flora and Fauna' section of *LPIndia* runs to six pages (pp. 47-53) whereas the 'Population and Peoples' section accounts for only two (pp. 55-6). Whilst the tourism provider is understood only in terms of a supposed historical sense of mistrust – culminating in the figure of the tout – 'primitives' are discussed in *LPIndia* in a classificatory manner which reflects the gridding of natural history. The interest in these particular peoples - indigenous tribal peoples or *adivasis* - is characterised by a combination of the 'human picturesque' and the authentic, both desirable in the independent travel discourse. *Adivasis* attract considerable attention, both in special boxed sections of text and in the main text itself. Information about *adivasis* is presented in lists according to location in which the primitiveness of their existence is highlighted. 'Hill Tribes of the Nilgiris' (Cannon et al., 1999, pp. 1190-1) describes the tribal peoples who occupy the mountains near the borders of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka - The Toda, Baraga and Kota – in the same terms as Sir Richard Burton used one hundred and fifty years earlier (Burton, 1998, pp. 334-6).

Both of these types of people again provide links with the past, the tourism provider provides availability and accessibility to the tourist, the primitive provides
an object for the tourist gaze. In this way, the story told by *LPIndia* and, following, by the discourse of independent travel is highly constructed:

By concentrating on present geographical features and past images of the Orient, the guide denies the natives any coevalness in the context of the tourist’s encounter with them and discourages the tourist from trying to understand the implications of such an ideological voyage. History here is provided so as to distance the Other, not to bring him or her closer to the European tourist. The tourist guide pretends that its description is eternal by defining a historical “past” to which the Orient and its inhabitants are exiled and a geographic “present” where the tourist and his or her Oriental experience are located. (Behdad, 1994, pp. 46-7)

The object of independent travel discourse, in this case India, emerges then in terms of a series of related statements which define the surfaces, authorities and specifications of the discourse. The efficacy of these statements, and the veracity of their relationships, also relies on a number of enunciative modalities, or particular ways of speaking about the object and, importantly, the power of the speaking subject to make these statements. Foucault asks:

Who, amongst the totality of speaking individuals, is accorded the right to use this sort of language (*langage*)? Who derives from it his own special quality, his prestige, and from whom, in return, does he receive if not the assurance, at least the presumption that what he says is true? (1972, p.50)

The person who speaks on behalf of, in *LPIndia’s* terms, ‘the community of travellers’ (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 16) and indeed on behalf of Lonely Planet, is not just anybody. The speaker, or writer, is a subject of power who occupies a variety of subject positions in relation to the object. S/he is a subject who is capable of adopting certain positions and adapting others to form the enunciative position from
which a particular India can be formed and described. Foucault suggests in relation to the field of medical statements, 'statements cannot come from anybody; their value, efficacy, and, generally speaking, their existence as ... statements cannot be dissociated from the statutorily defined person who has the power to make them' (1972, p. 51).

The majority of tourism areas generally require its operators to possess some form of formal qualification or certification, but to publish, or to prepare and collate information for inclusion in, a guidebook does not. To operate as a travel agent, for example, requires some form of certification which indicates the holder has specific knowledges about the operations of the travel industry. This licensed person also probably operates in a travel agency, which will almost certainly – in Australia at least - be registered with, and licensed by, the International Air Transport Authority (IATA). Other sectors of the industry are likewise licensed. Many tour operators also form self-regulatory associations such as The Inbound Tour Operators Association of Australia and the Association for Green Travel, for example, and hospitality and transport providers operate under a wide array of licensing regulations and requirements.

To be empowered to produce the discourse of independent travel through the pages of *LPIndia* – and presumably anywhere else - requires no such formal qualifications or associations however. The authors rely instead on less regulated claims of competence and knowledge (Foucault, 1972, p. 50) which are nonetheless
accepted as satisfactory by the *LPIndia* readers. The relationship between authority and authorship apparent in *LPIndia* is ambivalent however. Ali Behdad (1994) identifies a discursive shift which separates the guidebook from the travelogue based on differences of enunciative modalities. According to Behdad, the travelogue draws its authority from the interpretive power of a centralised subject of enunciation (1994, p. 40). This is the 'I' of an autobiographical narrative and is explicit, for example, in one of Sir Richard Burton's earliest travelogues, *Goa and the Blue Mountains*, published in 1851.

Burton's claim to authority is that he is already 'author of a grammar of the Mooltanee language' and of 'critical remarks on Dr Dom's chrestomathy of the Pushtoo, or Afghan, dialect', and his narrative begins on a highly personal note, 'What a glad moment it is, to be sure, when the sick and seedy, the tired and testy invalid from pestiferous Scinde or pestilential Guzerat, leaves all behind him and scrambles over the side of his pattimar' (1998, p. 1). John Murray's guidebook, *Handbook for travellers in India and Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon*, published only eight years later, belongs to a different discursive category however. It is the editor, John Murray, not an author, who takes responsibility for the information promulgated in the handbook.

A central voice in the production of the discourse is denied, and information is framed through the dispersion of a plurality of voices. So, whilst the autobiographical narrative of the travelogue is exclusive and linear, the dispersed
voices of the travel guide are inclusive and obsessive. Whilst the travelogue presents, to some extent, an exotic narrative which invites the reader to interpret the narrative, the travel guide presumes a readership of potential or actual tourists, and offers a systematic and extensive body of knowledge to provide the tourist with all the information they require. The discourse of independent travel commodifies information in this way, and transforms the interpretive function required from the reader of the travelogue into the positivistic and empiricist activities of the guidebook user.

But even in the deluge of information which characterises the generic constraints of the guidebook, LP India still finds room to valorise the individualising tendencies which inform bourgeois thought of the late twentieth century. So, whilst the discourse of independent travel is de-personalised and develops from dispersed subjective positions, LP India still personalises its authorship and empowers them to speak. Travel itself adds value and power to the acts of talking and writing about travel. It professionalises the relationship between author and reader, just as it does to the physical occupation of tour guide. Peter Davis, one of the LP India authors, is an example. After studying politics, economics and then media studies at postgraduate level, 'he drifted into freelance journalism and photography. He has published hundreds of features and photographs from numerous locations around the world' and 'when he's not chasing a story ... he lectures part time in professional writing at Deakin University and in photojournalism at Photography Studies College in Melbourne' (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 9).
How much of *LPIndia* Davis – and other identified authors - has actually 'authored' is questionable, but there are a number of reasons to suggest that the generic conventions of the guide sit problematically with the notions of individuality. Firstly, since the first edition of this guidebook was published in October 1981, many so-called authors have been responsible for content. The guidebook has been updated, but not actually rewritten since that date. *LPIndia* itself allows that ‘Teresa Cannon and Peter Davis updated Andra Pradesh, Kerala, Chennai, Tamil Nadu and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands’ (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 15) but fails to identify – or acknowledge – a difference between adaptation and authorship. This updating is also hardly the province of the identified authors alone. Tourists themselves are encouraged to participate, just as the sixteenth edition of Murray's handbook, published in 1949, suggested that 'errors and omissions may be communicated to Mr Murray on a postcard if desired' (cited in Behdad, p. 40). In 1999, *LPIndia* recognises the role of the tourist more directly, 'the process of creating new editions begins with letters, postcards and emails received from travellers' and, 'when the book finally hits the shops, some things are already out of date, [so] we start getting feedback from readers and the process begins again' (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 16).

Much of the information which is related via *LPIndia* demonstrates the mastery of arrangements which extend knowledge beyond that of a strictly defined independent travel regime. The producers of *LPIndia* are involved in a series of relationships with other individuals or groups who 'possess their own status' (Foucault, 1972, p. 50), that is, with others who hold an established right to possess
power and knowledge, but in different institutional sites with varying but complementary discursive arrangements. In this way some of the broader activities of the tourism industry become available to the independent traveller.

Associations with the airline industry allow *LP!ndia* to discuss the vagaries of using cut-price 'bucket shops', to recommend certain travel agencies and to include an 'Air Travel Glossary' (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 154-5), which explains common air travel jargon and terminology. *LP!ndia* also demonstrates established relationships with tourism and travel companies and authorities in India. Much of the 'Facts For The Visitor' section is gleaned from relations established with State organisations such as the Customs Services and Immigration Departments and allows *LP!ndia* to present information about administrative and governmental matters such as visas and restricted area permits, taxes, duty-free allowances, postal services and vaccination requirements. The coverage of internal travel arrangements is, likewise, dependent upon information provided by the relevant tourism authority and government and private transport companies. None of this information is exclusive to the discourse of independent travel, but is negotiated and included in the discourse.

In the dispersed enunciative environment the power of the discourse must be based in the institutional sites from which the discourse arises. The institutional sites of medicine, as discussed by Foucault, are enshrined spatially in buildings such as the hospital, the laboratory and the library and functionally in the activities of hierarchical administration, pedagogy and systematic scientific observation, and it is
from these sites 'which this discourse derives its legitimate source and point of application (1972, p. 51). Whilst the institutional sites from which the discourse of independent travel emanates are not as spatially bound as those of medicine, they are still quantifiable and recognisable. Lonely Planet Publications, and in this particular discussion *LPIndia*, is one of the major sites of the dissemination of the independent travel discourse. Its institutional status can be claimed, unproblematically in a world of consumption-based capitalism, by virtue of its commercial success and the global production and consumption of its products suggest that all the touristic spaces of the world become the institutionally verifiable spaces of the independent travel discourse.

The observations emanating from this institution are, like those of the hospital, hierarchical and systematic. The information in *LPIndia* is also presented in an organised manner. The guidebook is supported by information originating from the independent traveller/correspondent who, like the medical private practitioner, 'offers a field of less systematic, less complete, and far less numerous observations, but which sometimes facilitates observations that are more far-reaching in their effects' (Foucault, 1972, p. 51). The editorial office of Lonely Planet, like the medical laboratory, holds the power to designate 'certain truths of a general kind' (Foucault, 1972, p. 51), to sort, analyse, interpret and disseminate information and to relate this information to the everyday life of the independent traveller.
The discourse of independent travel is also greatly affected by what Foucault calls 'the library or documentary field, which includes not only the books and treatises traditionally recognised as valid, but all the observations and case-histories published and transmitted, and the mass of statistical information ... that can be supplied' (1972, pp. 51-2). The Lonely Planet narrative is informed by a vast collection of written works which describe India, some of which are recommended to readers in the 'Facts for the Visitor - Books' section (Cannon et al., 1999, pp. 98-102). The library includes other guidebooks, general histories, archaeological surveys, books concerned with religion, with tribal peoples, environment and wildlife, and also a strangely named 'general section' which includes publications as diverse as *Blue Mountains Revisited - Cultural Studies on the Nilgiri Hills*, 'a fascinating collection of essays on culture, language and anthropology', and *How to Speak Hindi Without Really Trying & The Essential Hindi Phrase Book*, in which 'the first chapter is devoted to useful words such as “go” (as in go away)' (1999, p.105).

The library of the independent travel discourse contains more volumes than this however. It is also the site of the preservation of established and recorded knowledges about India which stem from the original contact zone, from the works of colonial and imperial travel, business and administration, from the original classifications of fauna and flora, discussions of religion and architecture and of the social relations between themselves and also, more importantly, the representation of the social relationships between the Indian and the Westerner. These items continue to inform the sphere of knowledges of the independent traveller and the traces of
these influences continue to be observable in the increasing documentary field of the tourism discourse and in the letters and emails which are sent to Lonely Planet from travellers recently returned or \textit{in situ} providing self-reflexive documentation of agreement or disagreement which helps to delineate the significant guidelines, boundaries and potential developments (Foucault, 1972, p. 52) of the institutional site of independent travel.

What then is the role of the persons from whom the discourse of independent travel emerges? If, as Foucault states, 'in clinical discourse, the doctor is in turn the sovereign, direct questioner, the observing eye, the touching finger, the organ that deciphers signs, the point at which previously formulated descriptions are integrated, the laboratory technician' (1972, p. 53), then what is the position of the guidebook producers, and the representations available in the guidebook, in relation to the discourse of independent travel and how this relationship is formed?

The guidebook producer, like the doctor, is a subject of power, and performs a number of roles. \textit{LPIndia} is the result of a number of interrogations which result in a series of relationships being established between the elements which designate the formation of the object and these interrogations are performative in terms of questioning, listening and observing. \textit{LPIndia} holds institutional authority and 'is situated at an optimal perceptual distance whose boundaries delimit the wheat of relevant information' (Foucault, 1972, p. 52). It uses intermediaries – tourism officials, the library of Orientalist knowledge, 'fellow travellers' – to 'modify the
scale of the information' (p. 52). It reorganises and redefines India in terms of systems of classification, description and statistical data which delineate the concerns of the independent traveller. *LP*India also identifies the relationships between the institutions from which the discourse of independent travel is promulgated and the persons who identify themselves as independent travellers.

The roles of the guidebook are intermediary, representational and pedagogic and, whilst there are differences between guiding in the written and performative contexts, many of the relationships between *LP*India and the tourist can be effectively addressed through Erik Cohen's (1985) categorisations of the roles of the human tour guide. Cohen suggests that the role of the modern tour guide has developed from two diverse antecedents, the pathfinder and the mentor.

The pathfinder 'leads the way through an environment in which his followers lack orientation or through a socially defined territory to which they have no access' (Cohen, 1985, p. 7) whilst the role of mentor derives from a religious sense in which 'a specialist serves as a “guru” to the novice, adept, or seeker, guiding him towards insight, enlightenment, or any other exalted spiritual state' (p. 8). Both of these roles are explicitly claimed by *LP*India:

Authors aim to gather sufficient information to enable travellers to make informed choices and to make the mechanics of a journey run smoothly. They also research historical and cultural background to help enrich the travel experience and allow travellers to understand and respond to cultural and environmental issues (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 17).
Cohen continues his taxonomy and divides the role of the tour guide into four major constitutive roles: social and instrumental leadership; and interactionary and communicative mediation (1985, p. 10).

Social leadership refers to the 'responsibility for the cohesion and morale of the touring party' (Cohen, 1985, p. 12). Whilst the independent travel discourse generally rejects any notion of even the existence of a 'touring party' as such, and hence no particular requirement for the tension-, morale-management and integrative skills of a tour guide, there is still a broad component of social leadership performed by *LPIndia*. Although the spatial location of the independent traveller may vary, and proximities wax and wane, they are understood, and understand themselves, as 'a worldwide community of travellers' (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 16). Part of this sense of community for the independent traveller involves sharing many attitudes and values. This leads to many shared spaces. The strength of this leadership is such that Bhattacharyya reports 'several travellers in India report meeting Western tourists who refuse to stay in a hotel or to eat in a restaurant not mentioned in *LPIndia*' (1997, p. 376).

Instrumental leadership refers to the 'responsibility for the smooth accomplishment of the tour as an ongoing social enterprise' (Knebel cited in Cohen, 1985, p. 11), and it is in this instrumental component that *LPIndia* acts most directly as a pathfinder. This area of activity is concerned with the presentation of practical information and, as such, relates discursively to much of the information imported
into the independent travel discourse from other authorities. *LPIndia* essentially 'leads the way' to and around India through maps, timetables, suggested sights and subjective recommendations of hotels and other services. The pathfinder mode is spatially selective. Bangalore, for example 'is a sprawling, disorienting city, but travellers usually only need to concentrate on fathoming two areas: Gandhi Nagar ... and the Mahatma Gandhi (MG) Rd area 4km to the east' (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 971).

Interactional mediation 'relates to his [sic] function as a middleman between his party and the local population, sites and institutions, as well as tourist facilities' (Cohen, 1985, p. 13). This job for the guidebook is ambivalent, requiring both integration into, and isolation from, the peoples and environment of the contact zone. In terms of service and amenities, *LPIndia* discusses a number of hotels, restaurants and travel agencies which are gridded and qualitatively assessed according to a system which demonstrates the presumed authority of the Lonely Planet voice. The level of this authority is such that the criteria of evaluation are not explicit and, 'while opinion and advice are interwoven throughout the text, rarely are either attributed to a specific source' (Bhattacharyya, 1997, p. 375). *LPIndia*’s authority is such in the discourse of independent travel that Bhattacharyya also suggests:

when confronted with evidence that contrasts with the book’s description (e.g. dirty sheets in a hotel described as clean), the reader may conclude that the hotel has changed hands rather than that he/she does not share *LPIndia*'s perspective or that its characterisation has been in error. (1997, p. 376)
This interactional mediation also concerns establishing relationships between tourists and the local population. Local populations, in the discourse of all tourism, attract attention in only two contexts, as middlemen providing services, or picturesque others - worthwhile objects of the tourist gaze as discussed previously. Service provision is subject to the same authoritative assessments as the services themselves, and \textit{LP\textit{I}ndia} follows established Orientalist tropes which identify the character of the tourism intermediary as needing constant supervision and as essentially untrustworthy. The most serious examples of these activities are discussed under the 'Dangers and Annoyances' and 'Warning!' subheadings and generally relate to theft, personal security and food hygiene.

The final component of Cohen's typology is communicative interaction, the mediation which the guide performs between the tourist and the tourism sight. In this way \textit{LP\textit{I}ndia} acts as a 'culture broker' and selects, describes and assesses the sights and sites which it decides are of interest to the independent traveller, Whilst \textit{LP\textit{I}ndia} claims 'basically India is what you make of it and what you want it to be' (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 20), much of the touristic experience of India is effectively defined by the guidebook rather than by the personal investigations of the tourist. The India of the independent travel discourse is classified, in direct reflection of the grids of specification discussed earlier, into areas of interest which concentrate on the natural world, historical sights and 'typical' scenes of socio-cultural significance. Just as the interactional mediation component of the guide's activities restrict the peoples with whom the tourist may contact - 'normal' Indians have no role in
touristic accounts – so too communicative mediation restricts the spatiality of India to a touristic spectacle.

Through these sets of relations then the object, in this case India, of the independent travel discourse is formed by relationships between particular institutions and empowered personnel who essentially define what India means to the independent traveller. For the question to have any particular veracity however one must ask, again as Foucault asks, 'from whom, in return, does he receive if not the assurance at least the presumption that what he says is true?' (1972, p.50). This is the test of veracity for the producers of LP India, and the answer - in general terms - is again provided in the text, 'Lonely Planet gathers information for everyone who is curious about the planet - and especially those who explore it first hand' and articulates its role as 'acting as an information exchange for a worldwide community of travellers' (Cannon et al., 1999, p.16).

In keeping with the Post-Fordist economic and organisational environment in which Lonely Planet operates, production is consumption driven, Lonely Planet personnel and their readers thus share in a cultural economy of tourism in which the goods and services available are inscribed with particular meanings and associations in the process of their production and circulation (du Gay, 1997, p. 7). Not only is India identified as an object of independent travel discourse, but the independent travellers themselves become objects – and producers and consumers - of the same discourse. Independent travellers also become co-owners of the discourse of
independent travel, a discourse which avows independence in the face of many attributes shared with other authorities and individuals, not least with other areas of the international tourism industry.

So, whilst *LPIndia* recommends visiting the famous Osho ashram in Pune, founded by the Bhagwan Rajneesh, it also states, 'even if you don’t decide to enter the ashram, it’s worthwhile just to see hundreds of maroon-clad soul-searchers being individuals together' (Cannon et al., 1999, p. 896), obviously failing to detect the irony in *LPIndia*’s articulation of the discourse of independent travel and its role in placing independent travellers at tourism attractions, in hotels and restaurants, and on trains together — and often with many other tourists - in a restricted spatiality of their own definition. Travellers and tourists may even purchase the same objects, yet whereas for the former they are are authentic artefacts for the later they are mere souvenirs.
CHAPTER SEVEN
TOURING YOUR OWN LIFE: SOUVENIRS AND AUTHENTICITY

Considerations of tourists and tourism generally relate to the movement of bodies and the associated circulation of ideas; of corporeality and imagination; but tourism often also involves and invites the purchase of artifacts, artwork and other items of material culture which accompany the tourist home. These items are collected by tourists - and indeed by many other visitors - as souvenirs of a trip away from home which are either distributed as gifts or displayed in the purchaser's own domestic space. Souvenirs need not necessarily be purchased, they may be 'found' objects, but souvenirs of some description almost inevitably form part of the material possessions of returned tourists, and comprise a wide range of artifacts and images.

The souvenir provides a material trace of another time and place and allows the tourist - or the recipient of the souvenir as gift - the opportunity to imagine or re-imagine the touristic experience from the domestic spaces of home. Whilst the classificatory debate surrounding souvenirs and tourist art often reflects many of the cultural considerations which inform the wider traveller/tourist debate, the souvenir nonetheless performs a number of social functions. Souvenirs may be displayed or stored in the domestic spaces of home, thus placing the material traces of other times and places into the environment of everyday life. The narratives attached to souvenirs allow a discontinuous and touristic reflection upon one's own life and, in
doing so, are involved in the identity-forming processes which inform the subjectivity of the modern, Western individual.

Souvenirs, like many of the concepts involved in tourism theory, are the subject of lively contestation about their exact status and definition. The Collins Concise Dictionary restricts a souvenir to 'an object which recalls a certain place, occasion or person' (1988, p. 1120) and suggests a memento 'is something which reminds one of past events; a souvenir' (p. 708). Despite this definitional attempt to separate space from time, the memento becomes a special type of, rather than something other than, a souvenir. The souvenir then becomes an object through which both other spaces and other times can be recalled.

The history of cultural discussion about souvenirs suggest that there are categories which restrict the aesthetic range of the souvenir. Nelson Graburn (1976) places the souvenir as part of a continuum of directions in the development and acculturation of contemporary Fourth World arts. For Graburn, souvenirs or 'tourist arts' are produced 'when the profit motive or the economic competition of poverty override aesthetic standards' (1976, p. 6). In this way the souvenir becomes tied to the purchasable, the mass-produced and the inferior in a way suggested by the terms 'ethno-kitsch' and 'airport art' (p. 7). Although Graburn admits 'not all contemporary arts of Fourth World peoples fit the ... scheme neatly' (1976, p. 8), his rigid definitions relating to form and mode of production rather than use-value appears to preclude all other forms of art – even his own related classifications of
commercial fine arts, reintegrated arts and popular arts (p. 7) - from the possibility of use as a souvenir.

Art of these classifications then, if purchased on holiday, is not in Graburn's terms, related to a future capacity to recollect the times, places or experiences of acquisition. In this way, the aesthetic status of the souvenir begins to show signs of suffering under the elitism which informs the tourist/traveller distinction in general. The souvenir is mass-produced for mass-tourists, and infers that those who describe themselves as travellers no doubt also eschew the notion of purchasing souvenirs. The notion of the souvenir as art, however inadequate, also precludes the understanding of a memento, a non-purchased object such as a pebble or shell from a beach, a ticket stub or a personal photograph, as a souvenir of individual experience. These types of souvenirs also offer the opportunity to recall other times and places.

The search for typologies of tourist arts and souvenirs, and the relationship between them, has been carried out with the same alacrity which informs the classification of tourism and tourist roles. Erik Cohen, for example, produced a summary of theoretical work on tourist art in which:

The strategy adopted here has been a rather down-to-earth approach, centering on concrete arguments and findings regarding the processes which engender and determine the production, marketing and consumption of tourist arts and their consequences for the art itself. (1992, p. 24)
For Cohen, tourist arts are not necessarily souvenirs as understood by Graburn, but are also apparent in a variety of ill-defined and fuzzy art practices which can also include ethnological arts, commercial arts, arts of acculturation and fine art. Cohen suggests tourist arts are 'the arts and crafts produced by artisans belonging to touristically marked ethnic groups, mostly from the Third and Fourth Worlds, intended ultimately for sale to members of an external audience' (1993, p.3).

In this definition tourist art becomes a field broader than Graburn's understanding of the souvenir and covers any number of aesthetic possibilities. All, however, 'involve a reorientation of production from an often poor internal to a generally well-to-do external (touristic) audience' (1976, p. 9). This strategy does, however, does little to add to the knowledge of the souvenir in terms of use by purchasers, in that the consumption side of tourism art is discussed only in the most general terms of commercialisation, which address the demands or tastes of the consuming public of tourists but fails to come to terms with the methods and reasons behind the purchase, giving and display of souvenirs and tourist art.

The consumption of tourist art is by definition the act of the tourist, although the tourist may buy art which is defined as outside the classification of tourist art. There is a presumption that tourist art is the only form of art which is shaped by the tourist and other aspects of the artistic repertoire of any artist are not. Saleability in the fine art environment, in other words, is not reliant on input from consumers but is
saleable because of an intrinsic quality of the object, and does not in any way adapt to the market pressures which are readily apparent in any Western art marketplace.

Cohen does however make a number of significant points in relation to tourist arts. Firstly, he notes ‘tourists were usually not the first outsiders who purchased or ordered ethnic art products in remote areas of the world’ (1992, p. 17). Adventurers, sailors and anthropologists have all in some way been part of a process of acculturation which critiques the commonplace notion that traditional art is, like the notion of traditional society, unchanging and historically stable. Much of what we understand as traditional production today is influenced from outside the traditional societal unit. Some Indian cultural production was already controlled by the British through its Art Schools in India during the mid-nineteenth century for example. In response to demand for old weapons ‘India was manufacturing antiquated arms solely to sell to the Western market, to European tourists and collectors for display in their domestic spaces’ (Levell, 2000, p. 40), and:

ironically, while the European consumer was devouring, both visually and materially, a romantised Orient, divorced from the modern world and “rooted in the infancy of time”, the Orient was at work reproducing this imaginary for the Western market. The double irony of this commercial venture is that it was ultimately controlled by the West. (2000, p. 40)

Secondly, new forms of art developed in response to the influence, presence or demands of outsiders. Whilst the production of antiquated weapons in India continued - past, in late twentieth century parlance, their use-by date – the Chinese as early as the seventeenth century had developed a distinct style of porcelain
production 'destined expressly for the West, made for Western purposes and decorated with western motifs, known as *Chinese export porcelain*’ (Cohen, 1992, p. 4) which still exists today as willow pattern. The Haida, from the North West of Canada, developed argillite carving from 1820 onwards in response to, and to complement, the European fur trade (Kaufman, 1976) and, likewise, European contact was reflected in some African art by the depiction of European characters. Benin bronzes depicted Portuguese soldiers as early as the fifteenth century and much later, in 1942:

Two Egung masks were collected, one of an Englishman with a moustache and an exaggerated Caucasoid nose and the other of an African harlot. I never saw these two masks used in the traditional ceremony for which they were carved, but I was told that the performance was comic burlesque, with the Englishman in lively pursuit of the prostitute. (Bascom, 1976, p. 304)

Thirdly, typologies of tourist art do not demarcate a closed domain, and two contrary lines of development are evident beyond the boundaries of tourist or ethnic arts:

On the one hand, popular souvenirs, as they become standardised, tend to be industrially produced by people often unrelated to their original producers (e.g. Maori *tikis* or North-West Indian totem poles made of plastic); though touristic, they are thus neither ethnic or art anymore even if they have preserved their character as (external) ethnic markers. On the other hand, some assimilated ethnic fine artists tend eventually to lose the ethnic label as they integrate into a national art world and their art thereby ceases to be an ethnic marker. (Cohen, 1992, p. 7)

In this way souvenirs can be regarded as not necessarily art and, more particularly and pertinently, not necessarily bad art. Whilst souvenirs are often certainly regarded as art – or for many possibly more properly craft – and their status in an aesthetic or artistic continuum may certainly affect their desirability or otherwise to
particular tourists, once purchased their status as art or non-art need not necessarily affect their basic use - to facilitate the recollection of other times and places and to reflect something of the identity of the purchaser.

Beverly Gordon (1986) suggests a typology of souvenirs which identifies classifications in terms of: pictorial images, 'piece-of-the-rock' samples; symbolic shorthand; markers; and local product. These classifications allow souvenirs to extend beyond the commodified and purchasable, and form a classificatory regime which is based on the use-value of the souvenir:

As an actual object, it concretises or makes tangible what was otherwise only an intangible state. Its physical presence helps locate, define and freeze in time a fleeting, transitory experience, and bring back into ordinary experience something of the quality of an extraordinary experience. (1986, p. 135)

Whilst the touristic experience may not be quite as extraordinary as Gordon suggests, the display of a souvenir in the domestic spaces of home, and its effect which Gordon outlines, is certainly one way in which the dichotomous relationships between the domestic and the public, the mundane and the exotic, and home and away is de-differentiated.

Gordon also extends the uses of the souvenir from the individual into the social through a discussion of the souvenir as a gift. Stating ‘tourists often feel they can’t go home without “something” for so-and-so precisely because the souvenir gift is an entry – or re-entry – fee, required by the culture at large’ (1986, p.138), Gordon follows Arnold van Gennep (1960) in understanding gift-giving as something which
‘often takes place in a transitional period, when people move from one status to another or from one place to another; gifts take on the function of markers of rites of passage’ (Gordon, 1986, p. 137). In relation to tourism though, the gift acts not in terms of changes in place or status, but rather in terms of place and status. Gift souvenirs provide both the material proof of re-establishment of social ties and also proof of the experience of other worlds and cultures, and the concomitant changes in relation to habitus of the giver (see Chapter Five).

Celia Lury (1999), although not directly addressing the status of souvenirs, places them in another problematic typology, this time amongst the wider classificatory range of moving objects. Lury’s distinctions between traveller-, tripper-, and tourist-objects again demonstrate the elitism historically and metaphorically attached to travel. Here, souvenirs are generally classified as tripper-objects: ‘objects directly related to tourism in this stratum include not only mass-produced souvenirs and mementos but also found objects such as pebbles from a beach, incidental objects such as tickets, matchboxes or packaging, and personalised objects such as photographs and postcards’. These tripper-objects are not ‘bound by ritual, convention or legal tie to a particular dwelling’ (Lury, 1999, p. 79), unlike the traveller-object which ‘retains an authenticated relation to an original dwelling’ and ‘include(s) artworks, handicrafts and items of historical, political or religious significance in relation to national or folk cultures’ (1999, p. 78).
Lury also discusses tourist objects, which are 'those whose movements in particular relations of travelling/dwelling produce an object-ness which is neither closed nor open, but in-between: in between open and closed in their meaning, and in-between there and here in their journeying' (1999, p. 79). They cover a wide range of objects, 'from forms of clothing ... through television programmes and alternative health products to types of food' (p. 80). Some of these, such as a T-shirt emblazoned with an obvious touristic motif such as 'Penang – The Pearl of the Orient' or a tea towel with the heraldic signs of Scotland, if purchased by a visitor in a location bearing some relationship to their advertised suggestions, are undoubtedly souvenirs as well.

For Lury, the traveller-object has a meaning which is immanent, whilst the tripper-object has a meaning which is arbitrary. Although, according to Lury, the traveller-object travels well - 'traveller-objects are those objects whose ability to travel well is integrally linked to their ability to signify their meaning immanently, most commonly by an indexical reference to their original dwelling, movement is not a necessary attribute of the traveller-object - 'significantly, traveller-objects do not necessarily have to move to acquire their status as such – indeed, typically they stay still, although their images frequently move' (1998, p. 78).

This separation on the basis of immanence and arbitration, image-and object is problematic in two ways. Firstly, artifacts which supposedly indicate their meaning immanently – traveller-objects in Lury’s terms – have not necessarily demonstrated
this attribute historically. Many of these traveller-objects which originated in areas outside the Western world, for example, are now held in museums and ethnographic collections in the West. The immanence of their meaning stands in terms of understood public knowledges and not in terms of the object itself. Many of these so-called traveller-objects began their life in terms of Western understanding and appropriation as curiosities and mementos, or tripper-objects.

The holdings of the museum are also problematic as far as the distinction between tripper- and traveller-objects are concerned. Public collections of primitive or ethnic art make efforts to exclude any artifact currently deemed to be remotely touristic from their collections although historically ‘many items of great aesthetic and ethnographic value in Western museums were originally collected as souvenirs’ (Hitchcock, 2000, p. 5). The immanence of the traveller-object is often identified in reference to these public collections – and the object’s position in them - and both producer and consumer of the tripper-object are often orientated towards these arbitrary, rather than immanent purveyors of public aesthetic credibility.

Secondly, Lury’s discussion of the movement of images, rather than the actual materials, of traveller-objects also offers little to distinguish between tripper- and traveller-objects. Many tripper-objects are none other than representations or images of traveller-objects. Whilst the Taj Mahal, for Lury, may be fixed, full of meaning, immanent and unsuitable for travel, a small, plastic replica or postcard of the Taj Mahal is merely a mass-produced souvenir which can travel. In this example,
although tripper-objects are objects 'whose meaning appears not as immanent but as arbitrary, imposed from outside the object by external context or final dwelling place' and although 'their meaning is continually reconstituted by their dwellings as they travel, especially by their final dwelling' (Lury, 1999, p. 79), the Taj Mahal as tripper-objects holds and represents the immanence which is supposedly so important to the traveller-object.

This discussion of the souvenir takes a broad, unstructured approach to the subject and regards the souvenir as not necessarily purchasable and not necessarily art, although both of these attributes are certainly possible. The souvenir is identifiable by its broadest function, not by its status as consumable or by its aesthetic standing, but by its use-value. The basic functions of the souvenir, whether commodity or found object, are to bring the traces of other places and times into the domestic and the present, to allow a necessarily touristic reimagination of those times and places, and through these two functions perform as part of the identity-creation of a tourist. The nature of souvenirs varies dramatically and includes objects and images which Graburn (1976) and Lury (1998) have sought to exclude. The range of items, artifacts and images which can be souvenirs include purchasable items from supposedly authentic tribal art to kitsch mass-produced tableware, kitchenalia and non-use items; non-purchasable official or unofficial mementos of personal experience such as seashells, ticket stubs and matchboxes; and images whether mass-produced and purchasable as postcards, or private, as in personal photography and 'snapshots'.
Susan Stewart (1993), like Gordon (1986), ties the souvenir to individual usage rather than indulges in any attempt to place souvenirs in a typology or continuum relating to tourist art or art in general. Stewart understands only two types of souvenir, those of exterior sites and those of individual experience (1993, p. 138) and suggests, following MacCannell (1976), that as the sights and sites of tourism are collected by societies, so souvenirs are collected by individual tourists. Whereas the sites and sights of tourism are informed by the established knowledges and discursive arrangements of a particular culture, the souvenir is informed by individual narrative. For Stewart, the souvenir is partial and impoverished 'so that it can be supplemented by a narrative discourse' (1993, p. 136). For example:

The plastic replica of the Eiffel Tower does not define and delimit the Eiffel Tower for us in a way that an architect's model would define and delimit it as a building. The souvenir replica is an allusion not a model; it comes after the fact and remains both partial to and more expansive than the fact. It will not function without the supplementary narrative discourse that both attaches it to its origins and creates a myth with regards to those origins. (p. 136)

This supplementary narrative is not a narrative of the object, but a narrative of the possessor and invariably pertains only to the narrator 'unless the narrative is extended to include our relationship with the object's owner or unless ... we transform the souvenir into the collection' (Stewart, 1993, p. 137). Whilst the sites and sights of tourism, and the collections of material culture available in museums remain public:

the souvenir reduces the public, the monumental, and the three-dimensional into the miniature, that which can be enveloped by the body, or into the two-dimensional representation, that which can be appropriated within the privatised view of the individual subject' (pp. 137-8.)
The narratives attached to the souvenir – whether of exterior site or individual experience - form a touristic representation of an individual’s life story, a touristic experience of one’s own life in which the souvenirs themselves act as visual and material cues for the narrative. Through the narratives, the souvenirs as material remnants of the touristic experience bring the activities of tourism into everyday life and form part of the narrative through which everyday meanings are made.

Furthermore, the interiority of the narratives surrounding the souvenir are narratives in which the referent is authenticity, and which ostensibly conquer time and space through the articulation of concepts of the antique and the exotic (Stewart, 1993, p. 140). In this way, a plastic model of the Taj Mahal may not be immanent for Lury, but the associated narrative about the Taj Mahal which accompanies the model and which is predicated on notions of the antique and the exotic offers the immanence which is missing in the object.

Authenticity is a concept which informs much tourism theory and the authenticity of the material cultures of tourism is no exception. Briefly in relation to souvenirs of tourism, ‘authenticity ... is not a quality of the object itself, but is attributed to it by tourists hence, whether an object is seen as authentic or not depends upon the criteria of authenticity deployed by them’ (Cohen, 1992, p. 19). MacCannell (1976) discusses authenticity in relation to tourism in general in these terms, and understands tourism as a secular pilgrimage in which the search for
authenticity is motivated by the pervasively inauthentic and alienated nature of contemporary everyday life.

Whilst MacCannell views tourism as a type of pilgrimage, interestingly the popularity of collecting objects whilst touring also signifies a crossover from the religious to the secular. The popularity of the modern souvenir originates in part in the search for authenticity on a tourist circuit in which, ironically, the fakery of religious relics became too obvious for tourists on the Grand Tour, who reacted by turning their attentions and monies from inauthentic religious relics towards authentic secular antiquities (Hitchcock, 2000, p. 6).

Perceived authenticity or otherwise of any object has been used to produce a continuum of consumer classification based on the depth of concern for authenticity in purchased objects (Cohen, 1992). In this continuum tourists again lose out to travellers in the construction of tourism identities. ‘For those less concerned, the information that an object is decorated with traditional ethnic or tribal designs, or that it is handmade is thus usually a sufficient marker of authenticity’ (Cohen, 1992, p. 18). The notion of the ‘less concerned’ reflects a passivity generally associated with the tourist. It follows that the more seriously connected traveller may require more advanced acknowledgement of authenticity, such as meeting the artist, purchasing the object from a recognised art gallery or from somewhere ‘off the beaten track’. The narrative attached to the purchase of the souvenir may then
become the more important aspect of the souvenir, and provide the delineating aspects which imbue the souvenir with 'authenticity'.

For some, the souvenir may act as a reminder of an authentic experience, but the perceived authenticity of the experience may not necessarily be reflected in the perceived authenticity of the object, and for many tourists authenticity may be only one of a number of factors which influence souvenir purchase. Some souvenirs may be used as a symbolic referent for identity formation. Shelly Shenhav-Keller (1995), for example, outlines the ways in which Jewish tourists in Israel purchase some souvenirs as an expression of personal identity, but to suggest that particular types of tourists only buy one particular type of souvenir reflects the already critiqued notion that there are particular types of tourists rather than particular types of tourist experience (See Chapter 3). In other words, a tourist may, for example, buy a large range of souvenirs for home and for giving which cover a wide range of production methodologies, costs, and perceived authenticities.

Perceived authenticity, however, remains a powerful motivator for acquiring souvenirs. Stewart identifies the authenticity of souvenirs as an important bridge between the touristic and the everyday: 'the location of authenticity becomes whatever is distant to the present time and space; hence we see the souvenir as attached to the antique and the exotic' (1993, pp. 139-40).
Authenticity then in relation to the souvenir operates in much the same way as heritage tourism, and is often gauged in terms of a comparison between the inauthenticity and alienation of modern life and an imagined organic wholeness supposedly found in pre-modern societies. What Leask and Yeomans refer to as the 'heritage industry', broadly defined:

draws on the past for the benefit of the present and future whether in the form of ideas, images, stories, plays, traditions, buildings, artifacts or landscapes. In its raw state heritage is simply the natural, cultural and built environment of an area’ and, ‘ultimately the heritage experience is distinct and unique to the individual. (1999, p. 3).

The past of heritage tourism is not immanent, although many of the attractions of heritage tourism – castles, limestone paintings, Hadrian’s Wall, Stonehenge – are what Lury (1999) would call traveller-objects, but are constructed, developed and managed in many ways. Heritage tourism in many Western countries has reached the stage where commonplace observations suggest that whole countries are turning into vast museums (Hewison, 1987), and to call something a Heritage Visitor Attraction (HVA) - as some modern books on tourism management do (Leask and Yeomans, 1999, for example) - is to use the type of nomenclature which suggests that heritage is indeed one of the many products and services which are managed in the thoroughly commercial and consumerist manner of the culture industries.

For Leask and Yeomans:

Heritage is culturally constructed and so provides the flexibility and opportunities for development required by heritage organisations and heritage managers. Malleable enough to be used by significant groups at international,
national and local levels in the public, private and voluntary sectors to support the interpretation and presentation of a particular point of view, heritage nevertheless remains an enigma. (1999, p. 3)

The constructed and managed nature of tradition and heritage, although couched in modern management language above, is far from new however. Huge areas of the cultural heritage of Great Britain, for example, which are now regarded as traditional are far from that, but rather are inventions of economic and political expediency.

A visit to Scotland, for example, could possibly have the tourist returning home redolent in tartan. Tartan as decoration is available across the whole range of souvenirs from clothing, including the 'traditional' kilt and tam-o-shanters, to small tartan-dressed dolls, tartan pencils, pencil cases and shortbread in tins decorated with tartan. Indeed, anyone with a name beginning in Mc or Mac - and many others beside - can claim to be the hereditary owner of a particular tartan and claim the authentic right to wear it, and to place a corresponding clan coat-of-arms above the bar at home whether in Minneapolis or Maroochydore.

The notion of the most tartan of items, the kilt, invokes a highland tradition based in a concept of resistance to the English, yet the tradition itself is a modern and English invention as 'it was developed after, sometimes long after, the Union with England against which it is, in a sense, a protest' (Trevor-Roper, 1984, p. 15) and with a rather less poetic pedigree than often claimed.
What we now know as the kilt is a *felie beg*, which was 'invented' by Thomas Rawlinson, who adapted the local dress of *breacan* to make a more satisfactory attire for industrial work. Trevor-Roper dates this transformation to around 1730 and states that:

the kilt is a purely modern costume, first designed, and first worn, by an English Quaker industrialist, and that it was bestowed by him on the Highlanders in order not to preserve their traditional way of life but to ease its transformation: to bring them out of the heather and into the factory. (1984, p. 22)

The well-established notion of an identifiable clan tartan is also a modern invention, relying on the combination of two attributes: the adoption of kilts by the Highland regiments which was easily later transferred to clans, and the definer of much which attracts tourists, the romantic movement:

It was the cult of the noble savage whom civilisation threatened to destroy. Before 1745 the Highlanders had been despised as idle, predatory barbarians. In 1745 they had been feared as dangerous rebels. But after 1746, when their distinct society crumbled so easily, they combined the romance of a primitive people with the charm of an endangered species. (Trevor-Roper, 1984, p. 25)

The acceptance of these traditional aspects of Scottish life is apparent in Scottish residents as well as tourists, so the tourist is in no way particularly gullible. The claiming or celebration of Scottish heritage by both resident and tourist demonstrates a search for authenticity which is tied directly to notions of subjectivity. Scottishness becomes a signifier of connections with an authentic
society despite the 'inventedness' of the tartan and the kilt, the markers of sought-after authenticity.

The Scots were not the only Gaelic race to receive this treatment. Similar traditions were invented for the Irish and the Welsh, both by outsiders and by their own people. In the case of Wales, a whole new nationality was born out of the invention of an enduring tradition centering on music, the eisteddfod, 'the language of heaven' (Morgan, 1984, p. 69), a totally imagined heroic past and a romantic landscape. All of these characteristics inform both the national imaginary and the management of tourism in Wales to this day, and in terms of material cultures, there is nothing more popular and apparent than the Welsh doll souvenir, a woman in supposedly traditional dress.

Discussing Prys Morgan's essay, 'From a death to a view: The hunt for the Welsh past in the romantic period' (1983), Hitchcock notes:

In that paper the author argues that visitors to Wales, who often recorded their impressions of the upland peasantry, were struck by the cloaks and high-crowned hats worn by Welsh women. It would appear that what had been fashionable in lowland England in the 1620s had survived among the poor in Wales. The Welsh woman's attire, though not in any sense a national costume, had by the 1830s been turned into a caricature of Wales, becoming part of the illusion of Welshness reproduced on Victorian postcards and dolls. (2000, p. 8)

This is an illusion which continues to be reproduced well beyond the Victorian age into the present day.
As the heritage of particular places are constructed and encapsulated in events and objects it follows quite easily that souvenirs from that place are in many ways totally constructed too. Souvenirs of all these places are material traces of a visit designed to create a continuous and personal narrative of the past which is linked to the childhood of the nation and the pastoral (Stewart, 1993, p. 142). In many ways the collection of souvenirs is similar to the collecting drive of the antiquarians of the nineteenth century: 'the antiquarian seeks to both distance and appropriate the past' (1993, p. 142) through a drive in which every material element of the past becomes aesthetised and 'attempt(s) to erase the past in order to create an imagined past which is available for consumption' (p. 143).

Nostalgia is the driving force behind both the antiquarian and the tourist seeking a souvenir of the antique. For both, the culture from which they draw and adapt material objects is somehow theirs yet also removed enough to require a material cue for remembrance. Much tourism from settler colonies such as Australia and the United States to Great Britain and Ireland for example, is driven by the notion of returning home, returning to a place not known yet somehow familiar. For many, this journey is predicated on a return to the simplicity of a rural past which ironically, when stripped of the attached touristic nostalgia, reveals the uncomfortable social and economic reasons which produced immigration. The mass immigration of the Irish to Australia and America in the mid-nineteenth century for example was based more on a need to avoid rural starvation than any overwhelming desire to develop new civilisations in wild and unpredictable environments. Tourists in this predicament are searching not only to gaze nostalgically on their own
historical and imagined past but also to search for objects which represent this past. They are nostalgic for use value, for objects that characterised the pre-industrial economy (Stewart, 1993, p. 144) but which are out of context in the modern day.

The use-value of an object is totally effaced when the item is produced as a souvenir. In the case of the miniature – pragmatic and practical for the baggage-obsessed tourist – and also in the less popular case of giganticism, the use-value of the object becomes subsumed under a reference to the time and mode of production:

Yet once the miniature becomes souvenir, it speaks not so much to the time of production as to the time of consumption. For example, a traditional basket-maker might make miniatures of his goods to sell as toys just as he makes full-sized baskets for carrying wood or eggs. But as his market for full-sized baskets decreases because of changes in the economic system, such miniature baskets increase in demand. They are no longer models; rather they are souvenirs of a mode of consumption which is now extinct. They are moved from the domain of use value to the domain of gift, where exchange is abstracted to the level of social relations and away from the level of materials and processes. (Stewart, 1993, p. 144)

Whilst the present-day residents of former settler colonies can journey to Great Britain in search of home, they can also touristically experience the cultural developments in their own country, along with the increasing numbers of international tourists now visiting the country. Heritage attractions in countries such as Australia don’t offer the picturesque and nostalgic couched in terms of supposedly ageless but actually invented rural and pastoral traditions, but offer other experiences.
Australia as a tourism destination offers a more modern - but nonetheless invented - version of history which places an heroic veneer over the excesses of transportation and colonisation and the 'taming' of the bush. The 'Australian as bushman', for example, remains one of the strongest inventions of Australian identity despite the fact that the country has always had an overwhelmingly urban population. The natural heritage of Australia offers a journey through which the untamed can be observed and the tourist can also enjoy an exotic touristic relationship through interaction with Australia's original inhabitants constructed as a singular object - 'the Aborigine'.

The composition of Australian heritage sites vary, and often demonstrate a concern with the separation of 'fragments of Aboriginal culture' and 'remnants of early European settlement' in which 'neither phrase suggests a conceptual integration of humankind, time and environment' (Boniface & Fowler, 1993, p. 22). Many of the heritage attractions which rely on motivation of notions of the antique are related to European exploration and settlement. These include reenactment sites such as Sovereign Hill, near Ballarat in Victoria. Here, the folk history of the gold rush is presented as a spectacle provided by actors in a purpose-built environment celebrating the European aspects of the gold rush, a representation in which the conflicts with local Aborigines and the large Chinese population on the goldfields are largely unrepresented.
The author’s home town, Fremantle, Western Australia, has claimed to be ‘on the tourist map’ since the robber-baron Allan Bond unsuccessfully defended the Americas Cup off Fremantle in 1987. The city itself claims to be ‘the finest example of late-Georgian port architecture in the world’ (‘History and heritage’, 1999, p.1), but the major heritage interest is its ties to the convict past which is celebrated in the two major attractions, the Roundhouse, which was the colony’s first permanent building and jail completed in 1831, and the Fremantle Prison, built during the 1850s to accommodate transported convicts.

This convict past has generally been told in the language of transportation, that is, in exclusively English and Irish terms. Both of these prisons have, however held many indigenous prisoners, a story now told to tourists through such ventures as Aboriginal Heritage Walking Tours which redress the balance:

The Round House is also an important part of the Aboriginal history of Fremantle. It was used as a prison many years ago, before Aboriginal prisoners were sent across to Rottnest Island. Learn how one of the first prisoners in the Round House (a respected Aboriginal warrior) was the first to rebel against the treatment he received from the European settlers and was hunted down and killed. After the completion of the talk at The Round House you are led back via the Esplanade, stopping off at a memorial plaque that is in memory of Aboriginal people killed trying to defend their land. (‘Fremantle Aboriginal heritage walking tours’, 1999, p.1)

Indeed in recent history, the tourism attractions of Australia do not hinge on colonial heritage type attractions which celebrate the antique, but on the natural and exotic. Australian development in terms of a marketable destination for international and domestic tourism initially relied on its natural heritage. The Great Barrier Reef,
off Queensland for example, has been touted as being one of the ‘Seven Wonders of
the Natural World’ and the nearby towns and resorts have developed into major
destinations. The attraction of these areas have decreased, however, as they have
become tainted with associations with mass tourism. New international tourism
initiatives in Australia now rely mainly on opportunities for ecotourism and cultural
tourism through two related possibilities - visiting the ‘last frontier’ of the Australian
outback and to coming to some sort of terms with the remnants of an ancient
civilisation which, at least in the imagination of tourists, populates this area - the
Australian Aborigine.

The development and commodification of Aboriginal art production offers a
fertile ground on which to discuss Stewart’s second type of souvenir, the souvenir of
the exotic. According to Stewart, ‘the exotic offers an authenticity of experience tied
up with notions of the primitive as child and the primitive as an earlier and purer
stage of contemporary civilisation’ (1993, p. 146) and ‘is symptomatic of the more
general cultural imperialism which is the tourist’s stock in trade’ (p. 147). Aboriginal artistic production has proved to be a battleground for notions of the
souvenir, art and the authentic in recent years. The ‘discovery’ of a touristic
Australian outback and the rapid acclimatisation of the aborigine to notions of
production for profit has led to Australian aboriginal art making its mark through a
wide spectrum of artistic production and, in many ways, breaks down many of the
boundaries erected in the typologic discussion of Fourth World and tourist arts.
The tourist to Australia has a wide array of souvenirs to purchase, varying from the classic examples of kitsch and ethno-kitsch through other levels of tourist art, to souvenirs which straddle the perceived boundaries between tourist art and fine art, up to art now firmly identified as fine art and traded on the international art market. The kitsch end of the market refers to the unique flora and fauna; stuffed toys such as koalas and kangaroos, imitation road warning signs, t-shirts, tea towels and teaspoons featuring the same animals and floral emblems such as kangaroo paws and Sturt peas; traces of Western culture such as bush hats with corks dangling from the brim; cityscapes on tea towels and beer labels on almost anything; and the mass-produced end of quasi-aboriginal cultural souvenirs such as painted boomerangs, black dolls and stylised ersatz dot paintings on plates and bowls. The more artistic and controlled problematic end of the spectrum – where tourism art, primitivism and fine art begin to overlap, is in Aboriginal cultural production.

Aboriginal art of the present day is unequivocally not authentic in terms of the standard Western aesthetic as applied to tribal or primitive art. In relation to primitive art, Larry Shiner understands that:

according to the reigning idea of authenticity, only those artifacts from small-scale societies which are made to serve some ritual or other traditional purpose within the society may be classified as Art, whereas artifacts which members of small-scale societies make to be sold for purposes of primarily visual appreciation are scorned as either fakes or tourist art. (1994, p. 226)

Historically, the commercialisation of Australian indigenous art has always been in response to Western pressure. The first organised sales of artwork occurred
when missionaries Donald Thompson and Wilbur Chaseling encouraged the production of small bark painting for sale at Yirrkala during the 1930s (Williams, 1976). The most well known indigenous artwork of the present time, Papunya dot painting, is also a form of commercialised cultural production encouraged by Westerners and produced in western materials: ‘at Papunya in 1971, teacher Geoffrey Bardon encouraged tribal elders to record their ceremonial designs, traditionally marked on the body or on the ground, in acrylic on board and canvas (Fitzgerald, 1999, p. 2)

The dot painters of Papunya have encouraged similar work from artists at Turkey Creek and Balgo Hills in Western Australia yet these artworks, even the ‘originals’ from Papunya, are far from authentic in traditional Western aesthetic terms, in that they are divorced from any traditional spiritual and ceremonial uses and use different media, though they may be authentic in the eyes of the producer. The authenticity in relation to the production of indigenous art is related to a spiritual license to produce the images, and it is the story contained in the imagery rather than the material object – similar to the Western use of souvenirs perhaps – which is authentic because it is ‘owned’ by the artist or community which produced it.

The contemporary popularity of Aboriginal art in Western cultures is partly related to the spiritual considerations of production which can enhance the exotic nature of the art, but the majority of the appeal is related to Western aesthetic appreciation rather than through spiritual and ethnographic collection and
imagination. Prior to the success of the Papunya style, Aboriginal art was known mainly as the paintings of the old Hermannsburg School of landscape painters best known through the works of Albert Namatjira. These works are what Graburn calls 'assimilated fine arts', which are apparent when 'the conquered minority artists have taken up the established art forms of the conquerors following and competing with the artists of the dominant society' (1976, p. 7).

In an irony which demonstrates a form of double assimilation, the contemporary interest in the Papunya style is actually driven by a Western aesthetic which embraces primitivism, and Aboriginal artwork became popular because 'collectors who saw in the abstract, often geometric, designs of Aboriginal art qualities akin to the work of a Picasso or a Pollock encouraged the growth of an expanding market' (Smith, 1999, p. 3). The aesthetics of primitivism allow space for art such as Papunya dot paintings to be regarded as authentic, a situation totally different to some African carvings discussed by Shiner who observes:

What is conceptually interesting about this situation is that carvings not intended to be Art in our sense but made primarily as functional objects are considered “authentic” Primitive or Traditional Art, whereas carvings intended to be Art in our sense, i.e. made to be appreciated solely for their appearance, are called “fakes” and are reduced to the status of mere commercial craft. (1994, pp. 226-7)

Aboriginal art identified as fine art is currently a huge seller in the international market place and has experienced its fair share of accusations of forgery and inauthenticity. 'Aboriginal art is the strongest sector of Australia’s fine art industry,
with around 5,000 artists producing art and craft works worth more than $30 million a year' (Smith, 1999, p. 1), but there are problems associated with success:

When demand for a successful artist to produce more and more works meets a tradition in which art is a communal activity ... the outcome at times has been scandals over bogus works. These range from Kathleen Petyarre’s disputed first prize in the 1996 National Aboriginal and Torres Islander Art Award (claims by Petyarre’s former de facto husband that he had painted most of Storm in Atnagkere Country II could not be proved) to more recent furores in 1999 over the authenticity of works by fellow Western Desert artists Turkey Tolson Tjupurrula and Clifford Possum Tjalpaltjarri. (Smith, 1999, p. 2)

The more diversified Aboriginal craft and souvenir market is not immune from allegations and occurrences of fakery either. In Queensland, for example, official steps are being taken to control art production:

But in the rush for the tourist dollar, the Australia Council ... believes some of the spiritual value of Aboriginal culture has been lost: “the tourist art market today is a proliferation of dots, circles and x-ray designs which don’t have a lot to do with some of the artists who actually produce them, black or white.” To help protect cultural copyright – as well as the buyers of such artifacts – the National Indigenous Arts Advocacy Association has developed a certified trademark, the Label of Authenticity, to come into play by early next year. (Fitzgerald, 1999, p. 3)

The market for Aboriginal artwork across the various and problematic genres other than fine art is huge indeed. There are at least 44 indigenous community art centres across central and northern Australia, and scores of specialist Aboriginal art galleries in the major cities. The $30 million Aboriginal fine art and craft market (see above) actually pales in comparison with Aboriginal art in the souvenir trade, estimated to be worth around $67 million in 1999 (Fitzgerald, 1999, p. 3).
standing of Aboriginal art in relation to art, souvenirs and authenticity is shown by Michael Micallef, proprietor of The Original Aboriginal Art Company (TOAAC) in Queensland, who fails to delineate a difference between art and souvenir: 'Australia is one of the few places in the world offering as souvenirs very special hand-made art and craft works such as hand-painted didgeridoos, of which artists can be proud' (cited in Smith 1999, p. 4). One of his artists, Nambour-based painter, Nuuna, who 'exhibits her paintings every couple of years, but relies on the regular money she earns from painting boomerangs and other craft works with some help from her daughters' (1999, p. 3) obviously agrees.

What then is available in terms of an authentic, Aboriginal art souvenir? A number of shops – self-styled as galleries - in the author’s home town, Fremantle, Western Australia, are involved in the sale of aboriginal artwork and artifacts. An afternoon on the local tourist trail reveals that none of the shops dealing with Aboriginal art has anything which even approximates the notion of primitive art outlined by Shiner (1994). There are no claims relating to ritual use on any artifact, and in the four shops visited there are only two items, an undecorated boomerang and a coolamon – a hollowed out tree used for carrying roots, seeds etc – which have possibly seen anything approaching ‘traditional’ use. The rest of the artifacts fall somewhere on the continuum involving tourist art, commercial art and fine art, but to criticise the collections on the basis of a lack of authenticity would invoke the wrath of the shop operators, tourists and the artists themselves.
Any notion of the authentic in terms of Aboriginal cultural production has obviously stepped out from the primitive and ethnographic, if indeed it ever resided there. But to where? There is a wide variety of artwork available under the umbrella of authentic Aboriginal art. The range viewed in this snapshot research varied from paintings, polymer or acrylic on linen, canvas or board retailing for up to AUD5500, through to Melville Island totems, painted didgeridoos, cushion covers, carpets, prints, non-functional art pottery, carved emu eggs, decorated Kashmiri papier-mache bowls, clothing, message stones and carved animals. In the absence of a form of regulatory labelling system such as the Label of Authenticity in Queensland, many of the more expensive artifacts were represented as being genuine through a system of provenance and naming, that identifies it as work by a particular artist from a particular place, akin to the system used for fine art. Other less expensive works were identified as coming from a particular area or community.

Whilst the manager of one of the galleries, Indigenart, places her stock on the upper levels of Aboriginal art, and admits to only 'some' work of souvenir quality (personal communication, Oct, 2001), all the work is, nevertheless authentic within the elusive requirements of indigenous art. There are a number of apparent ironies however. Firstly, whilst papier-mache bowls are imported from Kashmir and then decorated by Aboriginal artists in their communities, carpets are designed by Aboriginals and created by needle-workers in Kashmir because 'the women aren't very good at it'. Both items, it seems, are still able to retain some sense of the authentic. Secondly, the shop trades mainly with tourists, although 'some' sales have been made to collectors. Although the walls of the shop are hung with expensive and
impressive paintings, they also display framed certificates from the Department of Commerce and Trade acknowledging the shop's leading position in 'tourism retailing', a recognition of the ambivalent status of the souvenir and Aboriginal art, and also of the desirability of Aboriginal artwork in an international marketplace.

One of the most popular souvenirs of an Australian holiday is a didgeridoo. The popularity of the didgeridoo critiques a number of notions relating to souvenirs. Firstly, unlike many souvenirs, a didgeridoo manufactured essentially for the tourist market is usually neither miniaturised or gigantisised, it is not a model - unlike the baskets described by Stewart (1993, p. 144) - it is an authentic didgeridoo! Secondly, even if purchased primarily for display value, the didgeridoo also has at least a potential use value - it can be used for producing music. It is prepared to do so with a beeswax mouthpiece moulded on one end. There are also 'how to play the didgeridoo' booklets, tapes and compact discs and recordings of didgeridoo music available as extras in tourist shops which encourage use.

Didgeridoos, those available in tourism galleries at least, are highly decorated. This decoration is accepted as craft, not fine art, as there are no signed or provenanced didgeridoos - they are obviously modern, new, and available for export - but as a souvenir of a visit to Australia and of contact with indigenous peoples, whether physically or in the imaginary, didgeridoos can, however, fulfill a number of functions. The painted didgeridoo is able to combine the traces of spirituality, musical competence, visual artistry and timeless cultural parameters of the
indigenous population into one souvenir. It is a metonymic representation of the indigenous culture of Australia, in which ritual and the everyday are combined, just as in the general terms of indigenous life:

Music, song and dance was and is still today a very important part of Aboriginal life and customs. We had songs for every occasion, hunting songs, funeral songs, gossip songs and songs of ancestors, landscapes, animals, seasons, myths and Dreamtime legends’ (’Traditional Aboriginal music’, 2000, p. 1).

The didgeridoo in this way acts as an authentic souvenir of an authentic experience, but there is more to the souvenir than merely being able to claim the ownership of something authentic. Stewart suggests, ‘to have a souvenir of the exotic is to possess both a specimen and a trophy; on one hand, the object must be marked as exterior and foreign, on the other it must be marked as arising directly out of an immediate experience of its possessor’ (1993, p. 147). The didgeridoo is an excellent example of a souvenir which demonstrates both of these characteristics.

Considering a souvenir as specimen suggests that the souvenir acts as a representation of typicality of its type and class. A decorated didgeridoo, for example, becomes representative of all didgeridoos. A particular didgeridoo is not, however, understood as part of the grand classificatory drive which accompanies scientific collections or inquiry, but stands more in terms of a item of interest in the style of the Victorian cabinet of curiosities. It is not so much a specimen of the art of decoration and musicality in terms of its genesis, evolution etc, but more a specimen of the taste and touristic drive of its purchaser. It is interior, ‘placed within an
intimate distance; space is transformed into interiority, into “personal” space, just as
time is transformed into interiority in the case of the antique object’ (Stewart, 1993,
p. 147).

The trophy status of tourist art is a statement that the possessor or purchaser
has survived a trip into the land of the exotic Other. But, whilst the exoticism of a
souvenir – and the attached narratives - can demonstrate the material aspects of a
cosmopolitanism which involves the risking of other cultures (see Lash & Urry,
1994), the major action of the exotic souvenir-trophy is as a signifier of taming. This
taming, for the majority of tourists, only occurs in a metaphorical rather than actual
sense. The taming of Australia’s indigenous population has already occurred over
the period of white occupation, so the tourist to Australia is even more ‘belated’ than
Behdad’s (1994) Orientalist travellers of the late nineteenth century. Contemporary
indigenous art is also already tamed through the activities of the original ‘exploiters’
such as those at Yirrkala during the 1930s and at Papunya during the 1970s, and of
present day cultural intermediaries who make the artwork available in towns and
cities throughout the world.

For the returning tourist, however, the non-primitive status of indigenous art is
of little importance. This art as souvenir contains the seed of narratives which
complement the material presence of the actual souvenir. Much of this narrative is
personalised as Stewart (1993) suggests, but much of it is also informed by the
cultural repertoire of the tourist. The distance from the homeland to the home of the
indigene may not be as far as imagined. Notions of the primitive are already understood and exploited in the area of 'high' art as Marianna Torgovnick points out in her discussion of a photograph, Gone Primitive, which:

features a white woman in the centre with primitive masks or statues in the background. The woman or somebody else ... apparently collects the masks and statues ... The woman wears the tribal garb of the New York art scene – loose fitting black shirt and slacks, black shoes, sunglasses. She sits on a couch somewhat fifties in styling; fifties-revival chairs form a right angle in the foreground. On the floor is a zebra-skin rug. (1990, p. 35)

Torgovnick goes on, to suggest that:

The woman in Gone Primitive has mastered an essential fact of urban life in the last decades of the twentieth century: its polyglot, syncretic nature, its hodgepodge of the indigenous and imported, the native and the foreign. In the deflationary era of postmodernism, the primitive often frankly loses any particular identity and even its sense of being "out there"; it merges into a generalised, marketable thing – a grab-bag primitive in which urban and rural, modern and traditional Africa and South America and Asia and the Middle East merge into a common locale called the third world which exports garments and accessories, music, ideologies, and styles for Western, and especially urban Western, consumption. (1990, p. 37)

So it is not only the rarified atmosphere of the high art scene which deals with notions of the primitive, the primitive also takes its place in the bricolage of everyday, postmodern life:

Primitive societies seem to be so small a part of modernity and postmodernity, to be so distant from our everyday lives – in terms of our omnipresent technologies, to be their virtual antithesis. Yet allusions to them are built into the fashions and styles we live with and into the ways we think about ourselves. The primitive is in our museums and homes, in our closets and jewelry boxes, in our hearts and minds. (Torgovnick, 1990, pp. 245-6).
Also included in the variety of modern life are all the other souvenirs contained in the bag brought home and either kept or distributed amongst friends. This collection is not restricted to one particular type, but may vary in aesthetic taste from kitsch to fine art, from a handcrafted spear to a mass-produced ‘snow bubble’, from a T-shirt to a tailor made salwar kameez or silk sari, or from a ceremonial mask purchased after much bargaining to a sea shell casually picked up on the beach. All of these items find a material presence in the spaces of everyday life whether displayed on walls, stored in drawers, worn on the street or afforded pride of place in the domestic environment on top of the television set. Indeed, in this way tourism, and the tourism narratives associated with the material presence of souvenirs, are as much a part of everyday life as the material fact of the television and its associated narratives, the topic of the next chapter.
CHAPTER EIGHT

TELEVISION, TOURISM AND EVERYDAY LIFE

One of the most ubiquitous items of furniture in private domestic spaces and, increasingly, public interior spaces throughout the world is the television set. Whilst we readily acknowledge and understand television as an object, we also identify it as a form of media and as a communicator and mediator of cultural processes (Urry, 2000). Television is one of the most potent media for bringing the public world into the private and domestic; it ostensibly conquers space and time, and allows representations and images of the excitement, spectacle and dangers of the 'outside' world into the supposedly mundane and ordinary confines of everyday life. Television is one of the ways through which we may be able to discuss contemporary culture as a travelling culture (see Clifford, 1992).

Amongst the array of services, entertainments and information provided by television there are many programmes both directly and indirectly representing tourists and the sites and sights of the tourism industry. Whilst this wide array of televisual production inherits many of the established discourses and generic forms of tourism representation from the print media, the relationship between television and everyday life in contemporary society, and the regularity and heterogeneity of televisual representations of tourism, suggest that both tourism and the reception of associated visual productions are implicated in, rather than set apart from, everyday life in a globalised mediascape. Through the televisual representation of tourism, the
possibilities of the spectacle and escape of tourism are actually incorporated into, rather than contrasted with, the ordinariness of everyday life.

Everyday life is a slippery and elusive concept in cultural studies. In dichotomous terms, everyday life is the life of the manipulated mass consumer, inert and passive (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1991), or everyday life is creative and dynamic, offering a productive consumption, an inspired popularity, which is a tactical struggle against the strategic power of the capitalist system, 'the politics of the weak' (de Certeau, 1984, p. xix). Roger Silverstone's work demonstrates some of the elusiveness of theorisation regarding the everyday. For Silverstone, 'everyday life revolves around the mundane, taken for granted and ordinary' and operates in opposition to the heroic (1992, p. 164). Two years later, however, Silverstone includes the celebratory and spectacular aspects of the carnival and the holiday in the everyday, 'because they generated the forms of culture which could then be seen to be incorporated through more practical or mundane attitudes and behaviours in the daily round' (1994, p. 167).

Everyday life, in many ways, does not lend itself to any form of definition. It is to be understood in a post-modern spirit of 'undecidability', of change, variety, spontaneity and heterogeneity. Everyday life is rather a process (Silverstone, 1992, p. 162), a way of making sense of the world we inhabit, 'modes of operation or schemata of action' through which consumers produce their own signifying practices, and through which consumption becomes a form of production — the
production of everyday life (de Certeau, 1984, p. xx). Ang identifies the domestic as the pre-eminent site of everyday life, and it is in the domestic, and the 'process of bringing things and meanings home that the empirical diversity of our own domesticity is produced and sustained' (1991, p. 133). 'It is in the struggle, with or against the commodities – both objects and texts – of the mass market, that many of the structures of everyday life are revealed' (Silverstone, 1994, p. 175).

The most significant change in the domestic and private spheres of life in the twentieth century has been the introduction of broadcast media. Broadcast media have always had some applications in the public sphere. The Nazis used public radio broadcast as a form of propaganda during the 1930s for example (Thompson, 1995 p. 76), and areas such as airport lounges, waiting rooms, bars and betting shops use varying degrees of broadcast and narrowcast television. The majority of television viewing, however, is still perceived as occurring in the private realm, forming some sort of relationship with the domestic, and blurring the distinction between the public and private domains producing a new mediated publicness based on visibility (1995, p. 120).

The changes in everyday life predicated on broadcast media have been profound. In 1919 the experience of broadcast radio was such that Martin Heidigger reported:

I live in a dull colliery village as far removed from real country as from real city life, a bus ride from third rate entertainments and a considerable journey from any educational, musical or social advantages of a first class sort. In such an atmosphere life becomes rusty and apathetic. Into this monotony comes a
good radio set and my little world is transformed. (cited in Scannell, 1996, p. 161)

The introduction of broadcast television continued the transformation of little local worlds in many ways and the ongoing globalisation of television production and consumption makes an environment in which everyday life is no longer tied to the local, but is now informed by activities which are spatially distant. Everyday life no longer consists of activities and meaning-making only in relation to the house, the family, the workplace, the local rhythms of production, but extends competencies into the global arena, and extends the 'taken for grantedness' of everyday life into media consumption, the negotiation of media texts and tourism.

Broadcasting then, is an institution in everyday life in two ways: as an industry for the manufacture of symbolic goods characterised by particular professional practices and specific relationships with the state and the market and, at the point of cultural consumption, as part of the social fabric which constructs the routines of daily experience (Moores, 1997, p. 214). The televisual broadcast as a technology and as a carrier of culture, both extends the boundaries of everyday life beyond the domestic and the private and inserts the technological fact of media broadcast into the home. Television, as its usual spatial location would suggest, is particularly designed for domestic use.
Not only have there been attempts - with varying success - to incorporate the television as an object with other domestic objects such as the stove, and the production of television-oriented consumer products such as TV dinners (Silverstone, 1994, p. 100), but there have also been direct attempts to produce a domestic 'feel' in the production values of television. Moores (1997) for example, discusses the personal address of newsreaders and magazine show hosts, identifying 'intimacy at a distance' (Thompson, 1995, p. 207) as one of the ways through which programme presenters become regular visitors and private guests in a personalised domestic sphere rather than well-established and generally unapproachable public figures like film 'stars'. 'Television personalities play themselves ... personalities are distinguished ... for their typicality, their will to ordinariness' (Langer cited in Moores, 1997, p. 223).

This ordinariness is best demonstrated on a number of early morning magazine/news programmes, where set design is ostensibly domestic and the discourse is synthetically conversational and personalised in an attempt to disguise the mediated and open-ended nature of the interaction. This quasi-domesticity is also readily apparent on any number of 'chat shows' where 'chat' signifies the private in a dichotomous relationship with the public and the seriousness of 'discussion'. Two Australian 'chat show' examples are The Panel, where large and garish coffee cups act as a motif of homeliness, and The Fat, which features sports professionals, removed from the strictures of their usual physical media performances, discussing the week's sports action in a humourous and light-hearted manner.
A domestic 'feel' to television can only be achieved if there is some understanding, or at least an attempt to come to an understanding, of what the domestic is, how the television as an object affects the domestic space, and how the array of media available through the television affect the social dynamics of those watching the television. There is no doubt that television is popular! There are over one billion television sets in the world, and this number is increasing at a rate of 5 per cent per annum (Urry, 2000, p. 66). Television as object directs the gaze of the household. Chairs generally face the television and 'produce an appropriate room enabling those within it to dwell through the TV’s mediated and cultural interchanges with the world beyond' (2000, p. 67). The television replaces the hearth as the visual and metaphoric centre of domestic life (Fiske, 1989). Televisions with shutters to temporarily deny the existence of the screen, or even television sets with wheels to allow the possible movement in and out of the centre of the social space are now strange fads from a distant past as the acceptance of the television screen as object - as furniture, as some sort of cabinet – is transcended by the acceptance of the television set as a portal into somewhere else, and as a constant companion in the domestic and in everyday life.

The biography of any television-as-object may provide clues as to the way it is used, in the same way that Igor Kopytoff suggests the biography of a car in Africa: would reveal a wealth of cultural data; the way it was acquired, how and from whom the money was assembled to pay for it, the relationship of the seller to the buyer, the uses to which the car is regularly put, the identity of its most frequent passengers ... all of these details would reveal an entirely different biography from that of a middle-class American', or Navajo, or French peasant car'. (1986, p. 67)
The car, however, also operates as a communications technology (Giblett, 2000), and it is as a communications technology - as media - rather than as an item of furniture in the domestic space, that television attracts the most interest.

The media flow available via television is a heterogeneous collection of services, information and modes of entertainment. The routine of the domestic - the mundane activities of the everyday - are now set around the patterns of this broadcast calendar. Paddy Scannell (1996) understands a 'broadcast year' as operating in the same static way as the religious calendar. For Scannell, the broadcast year is neatly divided into indoor months and outdoor months, and ordered around the religious and sporting interests of the nation:

The cornerstone of this calendar was the religious year: the weekly observance of the Sabbath through church services and a programme markedly more austere than on other days of the week; the great landmarks of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost; the feastdays of the patron saints of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland which occasioned special programmes from the appropriate region .... Sport of course developed its own calendar very rapidly. The winter season had its weekly observances of football, rugby and steeple-chasing, climaxing in the great feasts of the Boat Race, the Grand National and the Cup Final. Summer brought in cricket and flat racing, the test matches, Derby Day, Royal Ascot and Wimbledon. (1996, p. 154).

Scannell’s approach offers a media world restricted under the umbrella of the national and discusses a media environment consisting of free-to-air public broadcasting only. The globalisation of the mediascape offers a more generalised and diversified broadcasting environment through the extended spatial and temporal qualities of cable and satellite television. In Australia the temporal structures of
broadcasting, even on free-to-air channels have, for example, spread the scheduling — and hence the telecasting — of Australian Rules football over the whole weekend, rather than one game commencing at 2.30 pm on Saturday. On a global level, the availability of sports viewing is no longer seasonal. Soccer — British, European, Australian — is available on Australian television all year round. International cricket involving Australia and played anywhere around the world is likewise constantly available on free-to-air television, whilst various satellite channels offer a pot pourri of international cricket from around the globe. In an expanding environment of channel availability and global marketing of products the avid sports buff is one who is certainly freed from the constraints of a local temporality and faced with some serious decision-making!

Despite this obliteration of temporal and spatial constraints on the broadcast calendar, and the emergence of a televiusal environment in which the national is subsumed under the global, night merges into day, Sunday merges into the rest of the week, and rock videos and sports programmes are available twenty four hours a day, everyday life is still to some extend controlled by — or at least organised around — the timing of the news, one’s favourite soap opera, serial or sports programme, and is equally disrupted by — or it at least adapts to — the broadcasting of live ‘media events’ (Dayan & Katz, 1992) such as the Olympic Games or Princess Diana’s funeral. The vast array of media which is now available in the household is the dominant communicational interchange between the domestic and the world beyond and provides many opportunities for ‘imaginative mobility’ (Urry, 2000, p. 66).
Imaginative mobility extends the domestic well beyond the national confines of sporting and religious calendars into the representation of diverse other peoples and places. The power of the televisual image is such that imaginative travel through television, 'perhaps more than the modern nation state, or the emerging ethno-diasporas of the metropolitan centres of the West, can be seen as creating a new travelling space for cross-cultural encounters' (Loshitzky, 1996, p. 324). Imaginative mobility does not sit in a vacuum, removed from actual, corporeal mobility however. Movement is one of the characteristic attitudes and activities of modernity (Benjamin, 1983), and is readily apparent in the present day. When Appadurai suggests 'today the ordinary lives of increasing numbers of transnational migrants are powered by possibilities the globalised mass media suggest are available rather than by the traditional or material givenness of things' (cited in Loshitzky, 1996, p. 325), he is talking specifically about world migration from the so-called periphery to the centres of Western domination and culture, but the mass media also encourages other forms of corporeal movement, including tourism, from the centres to the exotic worlds of the periphery.

Television provides this new travelling space for what James Clifford calls 'travelling cultures'. Travelling cultures are cultures which are not identified in terms of spatial fixedness, 'its centres, its villages, its intensive field sites' (1992, p. 101), but 'as sites traversed – by tourists, by oil pipelines, by Western commodities, by radio and television signals' (p. 103). Clifford's preference for the term travel over tourism has been discussed (see Chapter 1), and his idealisation of travel, if
applied to television, also reinforces the asymmetry of global power relations. Nevertheless, the notion of a culture which moves in both corporeal and imaginative ways allows the television to become a 'travel machine' which creates its own travel narratives and ethnographies in much the same way as any previous technology, genre or discipline such as the motor car, the travel brochure and the pilgrimage.

The field of anthropology serves as another example:

the traditional anthropologists claim for knowledge on which he based his authority rested on an experiential "I was there". The same claim for authority and truth is still at the heart of news journalism and, in particular, television journalism. Television news authority is based on the privileging of seeing as the main code of evidence and witness. (Loshitzky, 1996, p. 330)

Television news may have its own way of telling the story of otherness, 'creating an image of the Third World as a primitive space of chaos, disorder and constant violence' (1996, p. 327) but the gaze of the television as a whole is ambivalent. Just as television acts to attract migrants to the cosmopolitan spaces of the Western world it also acts to attract Western tourists out of the domestic and local into the international, not in search of the chaos and delinquency of the news broadcast, but in search of the exoticism and leisure proposed by other televisual genres such as the travelogue or 'advertorial' style travel programs.

Before considering what the viewer actually sees, and the ways in which other cultures, and especially the cultures of the touristic spaces are presented, I wish to consider who the audience actually is, and to identify some similarities between the tourist and the audience. The audience is an important and troubled concept in the
theorisation of a relationship between television and the everyday attitudes and activities of a culture. Audiences 'have been constituted as aggregates with similar characteristics, as masses, as public or social groups, as markets' (Silverstone 1990, p. 174) as, unremarkably, have tourists. However, contemporary cultural thought signifies a more plural notion of audience and, even though there is still considerable emphasis on the domestic, audiences now contain some of the mobile, away from home or even homeless, citizens of the global environment. Audiences contain immigrants, institutionalised persons in prisons or hospitals, businessmen in airports, and tourists of all types: experienced; inexperienced; potential; returned; actual.

The understanding of difference in the audience allows the construction of alternative meanings from the television text, freeing the audience from notions of mass passivity and uncritical acceptance of the ideological values of television producers. Viewing television is a form of reading, and of renting, in which the viewer silently produces: 'he insinuates into another person's text the ruses of pleasure and appropriation: he poaches on it, is transported into it, pluralizes himself in it like the internal rumblings of one's own body'. Like a rented apartment, 'it transforms another person's property into space borrowed for a moment by a transient (de Certeau, 1984, p. xxi).

Watching television thus becomes an overt expression of culture and of everyday life. Under these circumstances, according to Silverstone, 'we no longer perceive the audience's relation to television necessarily as a passive one', but the
concept of the active audience is such that, 'equally, it is no longer possible for us to consider the audience as locked in any meaningful way to the television screen when it is on' (1989, p. 80).

As everyday life becomes more aestheticised, representations of eating, walking, shopping, homemaking and gossiping - the activities of everyday life - abound in television programming. Amongst the wide array of programming which is available in both free-to-air and pay television and the associated technologies are many programmes which represent the sites and sights - the spatial and ethnographic identities - of many areas and peoples also available for actual or potential experience through the touristic activities of the 'audience on the move'. Tourism-related programmes encompass a wide array of genres which often display many similarities to written genres associated with the representation of tourism. Travel brochures, feature articles, personal travelogues and guidebooks - even postcards - are all reproduced in the televiusal form through magazine type programmes, tourism specific or broadly related to 'lifestyle', through the material cultures of cooking or home decoration, for example, in specific travelogue and ethnographic documentary, and in news, current affairs and political documentary.

These genres of televiusal and all cultural production, like speech genres, encourage specific modes of reception (Bakhtin, 1986), but also allow for tactical movement by the audience in which the active, but weak, appropriate television production to their own ends and make their own meanings. The tactical is not
necessarily dichotomous with the strategic however. As Loshitzky reports in relation to gender:

nevertheless, it can still be claimed that this sense of globalism generated by television only promotes the illusion of travel. Television, in this respect, functions like the Hollywood melodrama (and in particular the woman’s film); it gives women the illusion of escaping from an imaginary home whilst confining them to the real one’ (1996, p. 335).

No more so than in Rick Stein’s *Seafood Odyssey*. *Rick Stein’s Seafood Odyssey* is a six part series produced for the British Broadcasting Corporation which offers a version of tourism through food which reinscribes much of the established strands of tourism theory that separate tourism from the everyday. The very name of the program suggests notions of the heroic, linking Stein with Odysseus and a heroic life in which ‘the everyday world is the one which the hero departs from, leaving behind the sphere of care and maintenance (women, children and the old), only to return to its acclaim should his tasks be completed successfully’ (Featherstone, 1992, p. 165). In his heroic struggle, Stein is not afraid to mix his mythologies like his spices either: ‘I love going out and searching for all the great dishes all over, in the world’s harbours and markets. It’s a bit like the search for the seafood Holy Grail if you like!’

For Stein, both tourism and eating are cultural experiences: ‘you can tell a lot about a family or community by the food they love and the dishes they enjoy cooking. Eating is a very social thing – people always seem to be keen to tell their stories over a meal and I have heard plenty’ (Stein, 1999, covernotes). Thus *Rick
"Stein's Seafood Odyssey" becomes about 'more than just cooking fish, it is also a fascinating cultural adventure'. During this adventure, Stein's notion of the everyday remains in its place, at home, in Padstow in Cornwall, England, a place to which he returns during each episode, and is constructed as the centre of the experience. Whilst the series 'is about travelling all over the world, ... the point is the homecoming to cod, beer, cabbage and bacon'. Stein figures the everyday as a sort of timeless domestic harmony symbolised by the constant presence of his dog, Chalky, who lends a nostalgic 'Famous Five-ish' feeling to a Southern England which basks equally nostalgically in a summer of delicious and seemingly perennial sunshine.

Many of Stein's culinary adventures, both home and away, are informed by this overarching sense of nostalgia. In the homeliness of England he is nostalgic for the simple culinary pleasures of times past; at the mouth of the Thames he is nostalgic for a quality of potted shrimps which can no longer be matched; in Cornwall he laments for cockle soup, an old recipe now rarely used because of a lack of cockles. He yearns for the 'elemental act of simply buying fish on the beach' light years away from the standardised consumer products and purchasing patterns of today and the 'damp, seaweedy smells of childhood' invoked by a visit – with one of a dwindling number of traditional fishers – to the turbot grounds off Padstow. In all this remembrance Stein admits to 'a pleasant, elegiac feeling for the passing of time', but the simple, ozone-scented pastoral of Stein's elegy is still available - nowhere more so than in Mousehole, near Padstow, where the traditional baking of 'Starry-gazey pie' celebrates Tom Bocock's legendary battling of winter storms to put food
on the table for Christmas in Mousehole. In this carnival atmosphere two days before Christmas, Stein sees a celebration of the local, and identifies the romance of the local as ‘moments when food and life blend into one’ and celebrates with ‘them’ – the people of Mousehole – despite the unappetising look of ‘Starry-gazey pie’.

Tradition, however, generally resides in another place. These other places are wide-spread, extending from India and South-East Asia to North America and Europe, but in all these locations, the traditional is redolent with the timeless notions of authenticity which informs much tourism. In Galicia, northern Spain, the annual harvest of the goose barnacle and the ensuing festival of seafood and wine turns into an opportunity to celebrate the authenticity of family-based life and work and the celebratory aspects of carnival based on the established rhythms of a long-observed lifestyle. Stein describes himself as a tourist - ‘I always bring a suitcase and a few guidebooks’ - and succinctly identifies the touristic possibilities of such a place: ‘it’s so organic here, if you were the most cultured guy in the world you couldn’t dream up a place like this’. In Naples, a visit to the fish market again reaffirms the qualities of everyday life available elsewhere and, in the ultimate condemnation of the alienation of modern life, a party given in Naples draws the comment, ‘you get the feeling this happens every Sunday night. The rest of us are missing out on real family life’.

A visit to the watermen of Chesapeake Bay continues the ethnographic trend, where the interest is taken more by the people than the fish. Blue swimmer crabs,
oysters and striped bass are identified and eaten certainly, but it is the watermen themselves, their boats and the methods of catching and harvesting seafood which hold Stein’s interest. Whilst the blue-hulled sailboats—skipjacks—of the oystermen are now alas, mainly for the tourists, the authentic seafood shack, ‘The Bowen Island Restaurant’ (‘no tablecloths!’) and the inalienable right of residents to collect oyster anywhere in the bay place Chesapeake Bay and its population of marine harvesters in a land both spatially and temporally removed from the modern.

It is in the non-white, non-European places of Goa, India and Thailand, however, that Stein really laments the present day condition. He is nostalgic for times past and also for his own times passed in these exotic locations during previous visits. In Bangkok he is nostalgic about his times spent as a backpacker and visits the same market stall which he and his friend visited when Stein was a mere nineteen years old. At this night market he speaks of the simplicity and timelessness of the meal, and then continues to revel in the variety of different fruits and vegetables available in the food market and comments on their availability or otherwise ‘at home’ in England.

Markets operate here, as always in tourism, as a signifier of a long-lost authenticity (Wood, 2001). It is in Goa, India, however, that Stein really begins to blend the exotic, the everyday and the nostalgic into a devilish masala. Stein is a regular visitor to Goa and marvels in the simplicity of a Kingfisher beer and prawn papad as the sun goes down on a long, hot day. In these circumstances he indulges in
a reverie: 'what I like about India is it is so old-fashioned, it could be the fifties- even earlier', and celebrates the simple fact of buying small, nameless fish, morning-fresh from a street vendor, comparing this act to the never-ending bureaucratisation and homogenisation of modern English life. Totally disregarding the implications of colonialism - even though he is informed that it was the Portuguese who taught Indians about many spices and hence about curries - it is here, in the exotic 'otherness' of India where Stein locates 'the real', especially in the Goan fish markets, 'this is real life. In the West we don't want to know about unpleasant scenes - here you see everything, terrible begging and squalor, but you also see this exotic colour, and the smells ... and these fish are just dead fresh'.

Stein’s own relationship with the nostalgic and traditional notions which he ascribes to food and follows through in his own tourism is at least ironic. Although seeking the simple and traditional, it is with a romantic sense of adventure and discovery that allows him the indulgence of an unselfconscious comparison with Sir Walter Raleigh. Stein acts as a global entrepreneur and adventurer in culinary knowledges and gleefully plunders the periphery - 'the point of this odyssey is to bring these dishes back to England' - for all it is worth. But whilst he searches for, and openly admires, the traditional, the nostalgic and the domestic, his own journey subverts them, producing a 'multiplication of borrowings, born from a society of spectatorship and travel, that concur to uproot a regional cuisine from its soil [terroir]'(de Certeau et al, 1998, p. 178).
The language of his search is also removed from the everyday, versed in the language of high culture, of knowledges beyond the traditional. He cannot avoid the Homeric reference to lotus eating, and extends his repertoire to Tennyson and Benjamin Britten's watery but tragic opera *Peter Grimes*. In this conceptualisation Stein's notions of England, and of home and away, themselves remain, in another ironic twist, remarkably traditional. Irony exists again in Stein's position. As one of the leading seafood chefs in England his occupation is essentially modern, directly related to the development of business and pleasure travel in the nineteenth century, and the concomitant appearance of hotels and restaurants to service those away from home. All things, even tradition, become available for consumption through the discourse of one who nostalgically seeks the authentic and traditional in a culinary tour of the England's 'other' places.

Food and cooking receive a totally different treatment in *Secret Recipes*, a television series produced on behalf of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC). This programme involves visiting the domestic kitchens of Australia episode by episode, preparing and eating the traditional food of a number of ethnic minorities, many of them now well represented in the Australian population. This form of presentation interrogates many of the centre/periphery conceptualisations which haunt *Rick Stein's Seafood Odyssey*, and extends the tourism of food beyond the spatiality of 'other' worlds and into the 'home' environment. The series is hosted by Jacques Reymond, himself an immigrant from France, whose Gallic pronunciation – even after seventeen years running restaurants in Australia – lends
an air of authenticity and European savoir faire to the series and establishes a feeling of connectedness with the audience and the participants.

Each programme centres on a different cooking style and Reymond ‘helps’ - and hinders - in the kitchen as a traditional meal from a particular ethnic background is prepared. The meal is then enjoyed in a convivial and usually familial atmosphere. At some stage of each programme a ‘secret’ ingredient or mode of preparation is revealed. Reymond’s enthusiasm for the project is undeniable, and the remarkable range of food styles encountered during the series demonstrate the diversity of the Australian cultural environment.

The modern nation of Australia from its colonial and settler beginnings has been an immigrant culture, originally based on British and Irish settlement, but now extended into one of the most multicultural nations in the world today. In this environment the everyday offers many touristic opportunities, but it is through food and cooking, rather than any other cultural activity such as religion, music or dance for example, that the everyday lives of ‘other’ Australians is most readily understood and acknowledged. Even Aboriginal cultures, usually most readily presented through visual and performance art, have enjoyed a number of ‘gastronomic moments’ on television, including Les Hiddens’ Bush Tucker Man on ABC TV and a cooking segment on the SBS Aboriginal magazine-style program ICAM.
Reymond’s coverage of food is much more pertinent to everyday life at the start of the twenty-first century than Stein’s. In Stein’s account of English seafood cooking, new elements are imported into English cuisine by ‘knowledge merchants’ such as himself whilst the immigrant remains mute. Reymond’s version of cultures travelling via food and food preparation allows a more realistic manifestation of the globalising tendencies of cultures and acknowledges that cultural movement is accompanied by corporeal movement by ‘others’ – refugees, migrants - not just by ‘gentleman adventurers’, and that the ‘gastroscape’ is a sub-set of Appadurai’s (1996) ethno- and mediascapes.

The pragmatic acceptance of forms of difference in a global environment doesn’t necessarily save Secret Recipes from many touristic elements however. The stories of the kitchen are themselves removed from the realities of arrival, from the trials of displacement and the inter-racial conflicts endured by many migrants in their introduction to the Australian cultural environment. Instead, many of the stories are romanticised, invoking an everyday which is firmly located in the past, and celebrating a fixed and timeless lifestyle with the nostalgia associated with all tourism. This conjoining of the celebratory and the nostalgic in cooking and immigration is witnessed in the experience of immigrant Mahgreb Jews in France as reported by Bahloul:

We do our own style of cooking, our own cuisine, the way we used to do over there, in order to remember Algeria and the time before we left’. Food thus becomes a veritable discourse of the past and a nostalgic narrative about the country, the region, the city, or the village where one was born. (cited in de Certeau et al, 1998, p. 16)
In Secret Recipes, the nostalgic discourse of the past often incorporates a celebration of the family and a familial sanctity which combines with the spatial nature of discourses of origin to produce a narrative which identifies the self in terms of family and ethnicity. In the Episode Six however, Reymond frees himself from the family and indulges in cooking which relies on identities firmly based in notions of the national.

In this episode, Reymond cooks with two Brazilians who are friends, not relatives. There is an element of personal nostalgia here, as Reymond invokes his time working in Brazil during the early 70s, but this nostalgia is tempered by his present understanding of some of the realities of corporeal movements during the early modern era: ‘because it had been colonised by the Portuguese I expected to find European cuisine, but ... the soul of northern Brazilian food is African’. This awareness of some of the political and social realities of past and present Brazil, and the acceptance of the slave trade as also producing elements of cultural difference only adds to the episode’s touristic celebration of exoticism and carnival however, as the excitement and sexual frisson build whilst Reymond and his two female co-presenters, Val and Christina, cook the meal for the ensuing party.

Preparations – in Australia at least - for the first dish, feijoada, a black bean stew with assorted dried and cured meats, involves visiting a ‘special’ shop and using some of Christina’s home-prepared prosciutto which ‘you just can’t get here’. Feijoada is the ultimate in traditional food and in Brazil, ‘every Saturday lunch this
is what everybody eats, be it at home or even in the restaurants ... this really is unique'. Despite the celebration of preparation around feijoada, this very nationalism ensures that the preparation of 'genuine' feijoada remains out of reach for the average Australian. Its cultural status as a national dish of Brazil also connotes a form of gastronomic authenticity which precludes it from the gastronomic commodification which attends many regional cuisines:

At present people and things are transported from one continent to the other. People taste exotic cuisines, experience new flavours in strange combinations, bring back surprising recipes, and the cause and effect link between inexpensive available products and ordinary local cuisine is broken. ... In the end, every regional cuisine loses its internal coherence ... in their place remains only an insignificant succession of typical dishes whose origin and function are no longer understood, much like certain well-known picturesque sites that weary tourist groups pace through without being able to understand what they were there for. (de Cérteau et al, 2000, pp. 177-8).

News and current affairs programming offers another fertile area for the presentation of images and representation of other cultures. It is the supposedly hard-edged environment of current affairs production which constructs much of 'the imaginative space of the Other in the western television spectator’s mind' and demonstrates 'as a fantasy-generating medium television is not restricted to the peripheral zones of the globe, but also produces fantasies for the prosperous West' (Loshitzky, 1996, p. 325). This imaginative space is, however, an ambivalent space as an analysis of segments from the ABC production Foreign Correspondent can amply demonstrate. Under the aegis of immediacy and authenticity the Foreign Correspondent series offers both 'hard' current affairs from around the globe and also more self-consciously touristic segments called 'postcards'. In the juxtaposition
of current affairs and postcards, the notions of authenticity and foreignness becomes problematic in a global environment.

*Foreign Correspondent* is in itself an unfortunate name for a programme which promises to be, at least in a political way, somehow current. Images of the foreign correspondent nostalgically suggest a spatiality of ‘awayness’ which requires a lengthy temporal stay. The foreign correspondent does not fly into a suddenly newsworthy area with camera crew at the ready, but is positioned ‘away’ and files regular reports for the print media at ‘home’, whether particularly newsworthy or not. It is a masculinist occupation invoking images of safari suits, manual typewriters, strangely-coded telegrams, ennui and far too much gin. The very notion of foreignness is defunct in a global environment and the use of the term suggests a discursive formation which places the politics of the foreign as well as the postcards from the foreign in a technologised discursive space which ‘like tourism, colonialism and anthropology, destroys the very authenticity it desires’ (Loshitzky, 1996, p. 325).

Tourism and journalistic values come face-to-face in a recent ‘Postcard from Mongolia’ (August 21 2001). Eric Campbell, one of *Foreign Correspondent*’s own reporters, filed this story, ostensibly about one of the more isolated, amusing and esoteric results of the breakdown of the Soviet republic, ‘a postscript to the Soviet Union’s glory days’: The story initially relates to the existence and activity of the Mongolian merchant navy, indeed a strange state enterprise for a landlocked country. This merchant fleet is the remnant of a Soviet trade route which supplied a now
defunct petro-chemical industry on the banks of Lake Hovsgol. The Mongolian government stopped oil shipments after independence because of pollution fears and the merchant navy has now been 'rationalised', its one rusty and ill-maintained ship now in private hands. With no trade in goods or oil to transport, the ship is now used to provide sightseeing tours for international and local tourists.

Whilst Campbell finds the touristic use of the decrepit ship faintly amusing, the laugh turns out to be on him. His gaze is eventually drawn away from the lake to the mountains beyond, where 'deeper in the forest the old lake communities are coming back' and he 'discovers' a reasonably accessible tribe of unspoiled, ethnic 'reindeer men'. These reindeer men, some of the mere two hundred remaining, use the reindeer for milk, meat, clothing and shelter, have their own language and seldom intermarry. As Campbell’s journalistic nose primes itself to round off his story with an authentic encounter far removed from the obvious and artificial touristic qualities of a shipbound sightseeing tour - 'the cameraman and I thought we were going somewhere really exotic and isolated' - the camera reveals a small group of Japanese and Korean tourists emerging through the morning mist!

It transpires that the isolated and primitive reindeer men are also well established tourism providers, receiving up to one hundred visitors per day on organised horse treks, and the forty dollar charge demanded from Campbell’s film crew is, in fact, an established standard camera fee. The authenticity of the encounter and of these particular reindeer men themselves seems to be compromised.
In the face of Campbell’s dashed hopes of ethnographic journalistic fame – albeit with a wry recognition of his failed search for, and inability to recognise, the authentic – it becomes apparent that his story has been both about tourism and itself touristic. Even in the introduction touristic values of landscape appreciation are invoked in opposition to the values of development - ‘The Soviets decided it was time to develop the area and they looked at a region of clean air, pristine forests and pure, fresh water and saw the future – petrochemicals’. This is also a nostalgic referral to a previous time - ‘until recently only nomads came here to graze their cattle’ and, without tourists or journalists to disturb them, overlays a romantic, pastoral and culturally understandable quality onto the land and lifestyle of the Other.

The story which follows ‘Postcard from Mongolia’ is a much more hard-edged piece of journalism which again invokes the name of tourism, but this time as a point of comparison. Michael Brissenden’s story, ‘Europe – Sex Slaves’ (August 21 2001) covers the organised illegal immigration of young women between Albania and Italy and their subsequent involvement in prostitution. Brissenden introduces the story thus:

Italy, a country of romance, culture and history – one of the most desirable destinations for those who are wealthy enough and lucky enough to call themselves tourists. But in the past few years Italy has also become the first wealthy destination for those who trade in the darker side of desire.

Brissenden’s introductory description of Italy as ‘a country of romance, culture and history’ and his immediate evocation of notions of tourism relies more on long-
established tropes and touristic knowledges and on an imagined national identity, rather than on any form of political or social reality (a reality which his story aims to expose) or indeed on any ethnographic or journalistic authority derived from his claim to the panoptic gaze of one who was there and has observed it to be so. A few long shots of young women in the street hardly satisfies the characteristics of romance, culture or history, even when juxtaposed with the ‘other’ women in the street, the subjects of his report. The juxtaposition which is of interest in the story is that between two forms of corporeal movement - the movements of voluntary consumption and the movements of procurement and involuntary service provision. Whilst prostitution and its criminal management is painted as a fact of everyday life, in Brissenden’s construction tourism, the other side of his story, is not implicated in the prostitution trade at all and remains strangely benign.

The most obvious examples of touristic cultures and tourisms entering the private and everyday through the television are, of course, programmes which relate directly to tourism and corporeal movement. The travelogue is a televisual genre which has many similarities with the established written travelogue genre as Michael Palin’s various totalising travelogues, *Round the world in eighty days*, *Pole to pole* and *Full circle* attest. In the final of the grand trio, *Full circle*, Palin aims to travel a full circle around the Pacific Ocean from north to south and back, starting and finishing at Little Diomede Island, Alaska. Little Diomede Island is not as isolated as one might think, and as Palin recounts: ‘these people have seen travellers before, this is just one more crazy departure’.
Palin is, of course, a traveller rather than a tourist. He even fancied himself as an explorer at the end of his previous adventure *Around the world in eighty days* but, unlike Phineas Fogg, the hero of Verne's similarly named novel and inspiration of the journey, Palin was unwelcome at the Explorer's Club when he returned from his eighty day global circumnavigation. As a non-exploring traveller Palin's journeys are 'belated' (Behdad, 1994) in that - as the doorman at the Explorer's Club had so succinctly recognised - he discovered nothing new. Palin begins his *Full circle* journey in romantic and authentic fashion, completing his first leg in a boat made of walrus skin before, in a self-reflexive burst of televisual reality which also nostalgically recalls the travelling requirements of the Victorian era, he loads seven persons and forty three bags onto the plane to Russia.

On day 104, during episode five, Palin travels from the Philippines to Malaysia. The realities of television production have now been well and truly subsumed under the generic conventions of both travelogue and televisual narrative and it is a lone Palin - minus six persons and forty one items of baggage - who climbs the gangway onto the ferry at Zamboanga. Palin is certainly a long way from home now, and otherness threatens everywhere. Whilst the natives have been friendly, the ferry is days later than scheduled, a temporal governance unlikely to be tolerated in the West. The ferry itself is a rust bucket, and the various buttons and dials on the bridge are all labelled in Japanese. It is indeed amazing that the young crew are able to navigate the vessel at all, after all, in another flaunting of Western maritime decorum and efficiency, none of the men on the bridge wear uniforms.
Most importantly however, they are steaming through dangerous waters:

The Sulu Sea has a fearsome reputation. The Sulu Sea is a frontier, not just between the Philippines and Malaysia but between Muslims and Christians. They’ve been fighting each other over this area for the last four hundred years and it’s still going on ... Add to that its reputation for piracy and smuggling and I’m quite looking forward to it.

Following the standard narrative of the boys’ own adventure, Palin somehow survives the journey and after disembarking at Sandakan, travels to Kuching, in Sarawak. The modern-day realities of Kuching are of little interest to Palin however. He trivialises the dragon boat-racing he observes by comparing it to Henley, and also the contestants, descendents of the Dyaks who ‘once terrorised the coast around this area, until the British taught them about regattas’. Palin’s gaze extends back through time, but to only two areas, remnant British architecture in Kuching itself, and Iban culture and the comic-book exoticism of headhunting.

Sarawak was the personal fiefdom of the Brooke family, purchased in 1841 and run by them until Japanese invasion one hundred years later. Palin happily subsumes the personal territory of the ‘White Rajahs’ under the grand aegis of British colonialism and claims British responsibility for the racial mix of Chinese, Indian, Malay and local tribes and also the ‘apparent harmony’ in which they live. But Palin has little interest in the city itself. He restricts his activities after the boat race to a trip to the bazaar - a regular attraction anywhere for any tourist - and a quick tour which included the Estana, the grand house of the Brookes, a statue which
is claimed to be the only known likeness of Charles Brooke, and then the British designed Fort Margarita, Post Office and Law Courts.

Whilst the exotics of Kuching city are firmly based in the glory of a British global domination from a past era, and the authenticity of a romantic history sullied by too obvious signs that the city is moving with the times, the full exotic potential of Sarawak can be revealed, beginning with an arduous canoe trip up river, ‘into the great, inhospitable heart of Borneo, one of the secret places of the world’. Palin further describes this journey up to a village longhouse as a ‘journey into the unknown’ and one which would be impossible but for ‘the guidance of local people’ and it is here, in and around the longhouse at Nanga Sumpa, that the romantic notions of adventure, the realities of television production and the expansive nature of the tourism industry come together with a resounding clash.

In the face of the imagined primitive, Palin’s commentary suddenly loses some of his flippant Britishness and becomes seriously ethnographic. He is concerned with the social and cultural order in the longhouse which is now not only exotic and different, but recordable. This then, is a twenty-eight door longhouse, housing twenty-eight families who use the outdoor areas communally, but do not share money or food. Some of the elders, men essentially, are ‘profusely decorated’ and Palin inquires through his guide and interpreter, about the tattoos, their methods of application and their meanings. Whatever the meanings, if any, may be for the old man, they turn him from person into object for Palin who feels free to treat him like
an item of material culture, running his hands over the decorations and turning him around and into the light for the benefit of the camera.

This interest in decoration, and the imagined or possible links with masculinity and status, enables Palin to move onto 'the contentious issue of headhunting'. Headhunting, in the terms of Palin's guide and translator is hardly worth the West's attention and means, 'nothing really, not sinister, just to show bravery'. The exotic authenticity of the residents of Nanga Sumpa is also critiqued in other ways, and Palin catalogues Iban worldly attributes: 'the Iban are not isolating ... the young men are encouraged to travel ... the woven blankets are likely to end up in London or New York ... there is little distrust of the outside world - they are curious about our curiosity'. These statements are supported by the obvious use of 'trade goods' such as kettles and plastic stools around the longhouse and the locals dress, which features western-style trousers and T shirts. Iban culture is far from untouched, remote and primitive, but Palin's 'journey into the unknown' becomes even more problematic when a special guest arrives for a feast prepared by the villagers at Nanga Sumpa. The guest turns out to be James Massey, the local Minister of Tourism.

Whilst the television production crew has been invisible for the majority of the series it now appears that there are more 'invisibilities' involved in the construction of Palin's adventures. Another major invisibility is the regular movement of people into 'one of the secret places of the world'. Palin the adventurer is actually caught in the web of international tourism but, like all self-proclaimed travellers, is eager to
erase any trace of his association with the tourism industry. Palin's excursion – to employ a touristic descriptor – has been organised by an established tourism company called Borneo Adventure. This company has been running tourism excursions in Sarawak for fifteen years and has been recognised by the British Airways Tourism for Tomorrow Awards (1995) and has also received a Green Globe Commendation Award from the World Tourism Council ('Borneo adventure', p.1). There is also a tourist lodge next to the longhouse at Nanga Sumpa, also invisible in Palin's account. Although Nanga Sumpa may be identified as a prime location in terms of eco- and cultural tourism, it is known, available and visited, contrary to Palin's initial descriptions.

The name of tourism is invoked across a number of television genres and consequently a variety of tourism types and attitudes to tourism are portrayed but, hardly surprisingly, it is the magazine-style programme exclusively dedicated to tourism which traverses the widest range of televisual tourism representations. This type of programming offers a window onto available tourism products and as such is often supported by tourism providers. In Australia at the present time each of the two major commercial television channels offer an Australia-wide tourism magazine programme. The Great Outdoors (TGO) is produced by TVW Channel 7 and Getaway is produced by TCN Channel 9. In the author's home state of Western Australia, TCN Channel 9 also produces Postcards, a magazine guide to Western Australian tourism attractions and, during the summer months, Just Add Water, highlighting local aquatic-related tourism activities.
Each of these programmes offers a series of short segments which range in scope from international to local destinations, from expensive and exclusive holidays to ‘family’ and budget holidays, from ‘sun, sand and surf’ relaxation-based holidays to the whole range of active and adventure holidays, heritage, cultural, nature-based and eco-tourisms. The presentation content may vary from a night in a local bed and breakfast to a fourteen day excursion from Argentina to Antarctica aboard a Russian icebreaker.

The wide-ranging and non-specific nature of the tourism products presented on these programmes is supported by the presenters, who almost all come from media or acting, rather than tourism backgrounds. TGO is fronted by Ernie Dingo, an established actor, and his support cast include Brigid Adams, an ex-model, Laura Csortan, a former Miss Australia, Diane Smith, a film and television actor, and Tony Johnston, an established children’s television host (‘The team’, 2001). Getaway, likewise, is presented by Catriona Rowntree, formerly a presenter with the youth radio station Radio Triple J, David Reyne, an actor and television presenter, Ben Dark, a radio journalist, and Brendon Julian, a former Sheffield Shield and occasional Test cricketer. Sorrel Wilby comes closest to possessing specialised tourism knowledge as a travel writer, photographer and ‘adventurer’ in her own right (‘Meet the team’, 2001).
Although *Getaway* used Tony and Maureen Wheeler, co-founders of Lonely Planet, as guest presenters during 2000, the presentation of tourism on television is relatively expert free. Other magazine style programmes deal with politics, the arts or sport, and the more domestically inclined skills such as cooking, gardening and home renovation. The veracity and popularity of these type of programmes relies to a great extent on the understanding that the guests and presenters are in some way 'expert'. The lack of specialised knowledge - and the understanding by television producers that a specific level of product knowledge is not required - in televisual tourism presentation suggests an interesting presumption on behalf of the television producers regarding the relationship between the presenters of television tourism programmes, tourists and the audience. This presumption, which extends beyond the magazine format and into Michael Palin's seven hour travelogue, is that there is no significant difference between producer, tourist and audience, as they all understand tourism equally.

This acts to domesticate tourism in much the same way as the morning magazine programmes use sets and personality to simulate domesticity. Tourism then, through its presentation in the domestic and through the non-expert viewpoint of its presenters, becomes part of everyday life. This firm articulation of the touristic and the wide range of tourism representations covered in both tourism and non-tourism devoted programming offers a departure point from which we can think about how the audience relates to this surfeit of televisual presentation of tourism sights and sites. Amidst the kaleidoscopic images of tourism it seems unlikely that the audience is totally passive in terms of unequivocal acceptance of the producer's
preferred reading. The sheer range of product presented on the magazine programmes, for example, with segments dealing within the range of homestay to the Hilton, requires some activity and negotiation from the audience in order to draw pleasure from the texts.

Levels of active reception may vary of course. Silverstone asks, 'so if I arrive home tired from the office, kick off my shoes and settle down for an evening in front of the telly am I passively engaging with the medium?' (1994, p. 153). The answer, in short, is 'no' but only if activity and passivity are understood – as Silverstone does - as not necessarily dichotomous in televisual terms, and that there are 'cultural spaces, and television both occupies and creates them, for individuals and groups, genders and classes, to be active, that is creative, in relation to what is seen and heard on the screen' (1994, p. 156). But the mechanisms and processes of this activity are subject to many variations and differences. In other words, the audience is, in de Certeau's terms, tactical and, as readers, 'are travellers, they move across lands belonging to someone else, like nomads poaching their way across fields they did not write, despoiling the wealth of Egypt to enjoy it themselves' (1984, p. 174).

In a more directly touristic sense the viewer may, for example, watch a television programme promoting Rajasthan in India. The programme may concentrate on an organised tour featuring the exclusive 'Palace on Wheels' train service and the palace hotels and havelis which offer upmarket accommodation throughout Rajasthan. Whilst the economic realities of touring utilising these services make the tour
unattainable for many - and the fact that this type of tourism can be constructed as unsavoury and inauthentic by many others - the romance, allure and exoticism - and ironically the authenticity - which the programme will invariably use to promote the tour, can be used tactically - poached - to promote a more attainable or less objectionable way of imagining Rajasthan. At least some of the pleasures of Rajasthan will thus be available to cheaper package tourists and independent travellers, and even to those who stay at home. In this way, the power of television is both critiqued and supported, the television becomes both strategic and tactical in that the television's strategic narratives of romance and otherness are incorporated into the everyday and adapted by some to produce the possibility of popular, tactical and accessible pleasures.

The television then allows the pleasures of tourism, of corporeal movement into the domestic places of everyday life in a way which combines the elements of home and away rather than separates them. Although at present the television screen is one of the most ubiquitous and regularly used communication devices adapted for home use there is another screen - the computer screen - which is becoming more regularly used in domestic settings. This screen also affords countless opportunities for 'out there' to become very much a part of 'in here', especially through cyberspace. The relationship between tourism, cyberspace and computer usage - both in work and domestic situations - and everyday life form the basis of the discussion in the following chapter.
Tourism and communications are two of the largest and fastest expanding industries at the start of the twenty-first century (Mowlana, 1997; Nielsen, 2001). The two industries are synergistic in many ways and a history of tourism development can, to some extent, be articulated as much in terms of communication technologies – the telegraph, the computer, the Internet – as in terms of a more obvious progression of technologies of transportation such as the train, motor car and aircraft. These communication technologies are most often considered in terms of business tools, as the province of the tourism provider and their intermediaries, and as a mechanism for communicating business information and financial data through the diverse elements of tourism provision and promotion. Although tourism is an information rich activity, this attitude allows tourists themselves a major role in the consumption of tourism information, but only a very minor role in the production and dissemination of tourism information. Data such as hotel standards, attraction value and transport options, for example, are regarded in management terms as being owned by the ‘supply side’ of the economic relationship and the sole responsibility of tourism providers.

Application of the notion of the ‘circuit of culture’ (Hall, 1997) to the movement of information in the tourism industry would suggest, to the contrary, that the tourist – the consumer – holds an important position in information ownership
and transfer. In travel guidebook production, the role of the tourist as information provider is openly acknowledged (see chapter 5), but this is an unusual relationship. The development of new communications technologies and environments such as the computer and the Internet has resulted in an information explosion which allows the availability and use of tourist-produced tourism information to be re-examined and extended beyond one-way broadcast models.

This chapter discusses Internet usage by both tourism providers and their potential and actual customers - tourists. Whilst technological communications synergies offer providers a powerful management and marketing tool they also offer a more expansive and non-broadcast communications environment for tourists. Cyberspace has been viewed as liberatory in many ways, especially in relation to new senses of community (Correll, 1996) and identity (Castell, 1995) and disembodiment (Kitchen, 1998). Whilst these types of developments are certainly apparent on internet sites related to tourism, the identity of many of the users of such sites remain firmly embodied and related to established social conditions and, as Rojek (1999) suggests, touristic opportunities available in cyberspace are 'dragged' into real life, rather than remaining apart from it.

The tourism industry is very much a product of modernity. The movement of persons from urban centres to rural beauty spots for pleasure and health is as much a signifier of modern life as was the concurrent movement of persons from rural to urban areas seeking employment. Similarly, the use of the steam engine in trains and
ocean-going vessels is as much a signifier of the movement of personnel for business and pleasure as it is a signifier of the production and transport of consumer goods. One signifying aspect of modernity which is often overlooked in mainstream histories is the development of communications technologies (Thompson, 1995). The development of the printing press and the spread of newspapers and periodicals is documented, especially in relation to the development of the bourgeois public sphere (Habermas, 1979), but the modern period – albeit slightly later - produced another communication technology which Tom Standage describes thus:

During Queen Victoria’s reign, a new communications technology was developed that allowed people to communicate almost instantly across great distances, in effect shrinking the world faster and further than ever before. A worldwide communications network whose cables spanned continents and oceans, it revolutionised business practice, gave rise to new forms of crime, and inundated its users with a deluge of information. Romances blossomed over the wires. Secret codes were devised by some users, and cracked by others. The benefits of the network were relentlessly hyped by its advocates, and dismissed by the sceptics. Governments tried and failed to control the new medium. Attitudes to everything from newsgathering to diplomacy had to be rethinked. Meanwhile, out on the wires, a technological subculture with its own customs and vocabulary was establishing itself. (1998, p. 1)

Standage uses this description of the telegraph specifically to allow the title of his text, The Victorian Internet, to resonate with timeliness, but he also makes a case to regard the telegraph, the first communications media to separate time from space (Carey, 1992), not the Internet as Kitchin (1998, p. 74)) suggests, as the greatest media revolution since the printing press. This new electronic medium was of particular benefit to the fledgling tourism industry and signified the start of an ongoing relationship between the use of communications technologies for the
transfer of information and the use of transportation technologies for corporeal movement in relation to both business and pleasure.

Thomas Cook's initial steps in the development of the tourism industry were undoubtedly due to opportunities he perceived through chartering locomotives and rolling stock and by identifying that rail transport could be used for the profitable movement of personnel – firstly excursionists, then tourists - as well as goods. Cook was a printer by trade, however, and his astute use of mass communications media such as printed advertisements, brochures and a series of self-published tourism newspapers, beginning with The Excursionist and Exhibition Advertiser, first published in 1850, (Swinglehurst, 1982, p. 20), may have been one of the major reasons for his continuing successes and ongoing expansion.

As the business developed, and as Cook & Son ventured further afield, the complexity of their managerial arrangements and the diverse location of their interests demanded a communications technology of similar complexity. Cook & Son's offices became significant users of the telegraph, to such an extent they devised a code for the transference of standard messages, not necessarily for reasons of secrecy as suggested by Standage (above), but more to allow fiscal savings on a substantial bill. By 1871, for example, 'addict', in Cook & Son's telegraphic house style, meant a request for a gentleman's berth on a P&O steamer, 'candour' was a request for a single room and 'dairy' meant a man should be sent to meet a passenger (Swinglehurst, 1982, p. 82). Through the communications methodologies afforded by
the telegraph Cook & Son were able to maintain centralised control over an empire which was spatially diversified.

Communication technologies have remained the allies of tourism providers and their intermediaries ever since then. Pauline Sheldon (1997) outlines five characteristics of the present day tourism 'product' which makes its provision an activity dependent on communication and information: heterogeneity, intangibility, perishability, the international scope of the industry, and an understanding that the industry is essentially a service industry (p. 4). All of these characteristics apply historically however, and were as relevant to Cook & Son in the 1880s, the first decade of organised international tourism, as they are today. Indeed, it was these characteristics of the tourism product – 'the trip' – which allowed the development of the travel agent as a tourism intermediary and, hence, the rise of Cook & Son.

Cook & Son initially acted as middlemen between the diverging interests of, for example, shipping companies, hotels, financial institutions, customs agencies, and the consuming tourist. Today, these same heterogeneous activities and interests continue to be performed with varying degrees of reliance upon communications technologies by tourism providers and travel agencies throughout the world. 'Potential customers are' also, 'unable to see, touch or feel a vacation ... and its components before they purchase it' (Sheldon, 1997, p. 5), and this intangibility of the tourism product has always ensured a vast number of tourism and destination representations flowed through the mass media to consumers. The quality,
desirability and suitability of the constantly changing and dynamic tourism product cannot be checked or sampled; there are no fourteen day "satisfaction or return" policies or any other method of "test driving" a holiday. Purchase of a holiday is a commitment to the product and the availability of - and credence attached to - information reduces the risks associated with tourism.

Just as information helps to combat notions of intangibility for tourism consumers, tourism providers can address the problem of perishability through information circulation. Sheldon suggests that "if an airline seat is not sold on a particular flight, then that seat can never be sold again" (1997, p. 7), and a similar situation applies to hotel room/nights, entry to tourism attractions, tourist restaurants, excursions and all tourism products associated with accommodation, transport and facilities. The tourism product, or at least the revenue associated with it, 'perishes' through non-use and the expiration of time.

Tourism providers use a number of communications strategies and technologies to manage perishability. Airlines, for example, can sell flights and packages which are close to perishing by discounting and mounting advertising campaigns aimed at the general public but offered through specific agencies, by dumping cheap tickets at 'bucket shops', and by selling direct to the tourist through Internet auction. In this way load factors and occupancy can be dynamically enhanced. High speed communications allows the circulation of information about
these sales methodologies and encourages purchase and enhances profit at critical times.

Tourism is also an international, or more correctly at the start of the twenty-first century, a global industry and hence global parameters need to be applied to the flow of information. Much of this is, as far as the tourism industry is concerned, related to the provision of hard data such as border control, visa regulations, currency and health controls, and also slightly more esoteric matters such as cultural practices and language requirements. Paul Fussell may have identified the issuing of the first British passports after the Great War as signifying the end of the era of true travel in (1980, p. 215), but the management and dissemination of information relating to the administration of a nation's physical and cultural boundaries is very much a part of a present day tourism providers' responsibilities.

The increasing globalisation of the international travel market also continues to highlight the importance of two-way communication flows between locations spatially distant and culturally distinct. Information which promotes difference in terms of the exotic and neutralises difference in terms of danger and discomfort flows to the tourist from tourism promoters, and information regarding tourists' needs and expectations in terms of food, hygiene and level of service, for example, flow from the promoters to the actual tourism providers. Substantial amounts of this information relates to service provision. Essentially a service - rather than a manufacturing - industry tourism relies on information to provide established service
standards in terms of current and reliable information. These matters range from positively confirmed airline reservations with window seat and vegetarian meal, to suitable day tours, to lists of recommended restaurants, theatres and shops, in an environment in which service provision reduces the risks associated with the exotic and unknown.

The technologies of electronic communications have continued to enjoy an harmonious relationship with the tourism industry, and there are two waves of development which have occurred in the latter half of the twentieth century. Firstly, the ‘computer age’ which roughly coincided with, and supported the establishment of, air travel as the technology of mass tourism, and secondly the ‘information age’, which coincides with developments in synergies of communications technologies, and a post-Fordist approach to tourism in terms of specialisation and niche marketing.

The first wave of tourism development which extended the spatial boundaries of the British ‘pleasure periphery’ as far as the Canary and Balearic Islands on the back of charter flights and package tours (Turner & Ash, 1975) also demanded increasing efficiencies in international communication. This tourism model, predicated on mass production, economies of scale and vertical and horizontal integration, was supported by communications technologies which were themselves rigid and monolithic. In the time of mass travel, computers began to perform many in-house management information functions such as accounting, financial control
and payroll. The hardware was embodied in stand-alone equipment such as telephones, telex, fax and back-office computers. Computerised Reservations Systems (CRSs) also were first developed during the 1950s - coincident with the first charter flights - but were limited in their ability to communicate with other systems. In this electronic communications environment, communication was essentially in-house and related to the modernisation of established management methodologies.

Synergies of information in the tourism industry began to occur when airline companies began to cooperate and share development costs and ownership of CRSs. This paved the way for diversified information-sharing and less hierarchical information architecture. The tourism industry, in accordance with its established role, continued to take a leading role in this new level of communication's activity. This communication's era - generically known as 'the information age' - is characterised by the integration of developing information technologies and methodologies into many elements of work procedures, leisure activities and everyday life.

Most of this communication occurs in cyberspace. Cyberspace is commonly imagined as a vast area populated by geeks and nerds, all electronically linked, who indulge in communications which each other under terms and conditions which remain relatively unknown to the rest of the population. Cyberspace is, however, much more mundane than that, and Nguyen and Alexander address this notion by asking:
Must we restrict cyberspace to the realm inhabited by users of the Internet ... Is it a freemasonry-type universe reserved only for those electronically linked to others? Or is cyberspace a more diverse and polymorphous reality, in which computer technology mediates practically every human action, speech, even thought? .... Do we not enter 'cyberspacetime' whenever we plan a holiday, buy a package tour or book an airline flight? (1996, p. 100).

Nguyen and Alexander manage to both point out the extent to which cyberspace is an active concept in communications methodologies, and also demonstrate, through their choice of example, the close relationship between communications and tourism industries.

Information is now regarded as an economic resource in the same way as land, labour and capital (Sheldon, 1997, p. 10). Amadeus, one of the earliest CRSs to be developed through airline cooperation, certainly recognise this as such, and their capacity to process diversifies information holdings enhances their position as an established multinational company involved in commerce on a global level:

The core of Amadeus is the central database, held on 130 mainframe computers at the data centre at Erding, Munich. The centre handles around 26 million transactions every day and has the capacity to handle nearly ten times this number. Customers are linked to the data centre by the global AMANET network, whose 15 main data links and many smaller networks carry information at up to 29 Mb/s. Together, this network connects over 180,000 travel agency and airline sales office terminals worldwide to Amadeus, allowing agents to book with 475 airlines, nearly 44,000 individual hotels and around 50 car rental companies. Tours, ferries and trains are the latest services, launched in 1997, the same year Amadeus opened a World Wide Web site, allowing travellers to choose their own flights and other services before booking through an on-line travel agent. (Amadeus, 1998, p.2)
The importance of information and communication technology in the tourism industry is now regarded as being of such vital importance that the take-up rate of Internet-based technologies is seen as an indicator of likely business success for travel agencies (Standing & Vasudavan, 2000). Not surprisingly, considering the historical relationship between information and travel, travel was the largest on-line sales area internationally during 2000, accounting for USD 13.8 billion in sales (‘Online sales’, 2001). Despite considerable stock market adjustments, a general lack of confidence in e-commerce and the short-lived downturn in air travel post September 11, 2001, it is still possible that the travel industry will account for thirty-five percent of Internet-based sales during 2002 (Standing & Vasudavan, 2000, p. 47).

Tourism industry managers and writers such as Aurelia Poon see the ongoing tourism information developments as a technology-based utopia where:

The system of information technologies (SIT) diffuses the following information sources: Computerised Reservation Systems; teleconferencing; videotext; video and video brochures, computers, Management Information Systems, airline electronic information systems, electronic funds transfer, digital telephone networks, mobile communications and interactive videotext (1993, p. 94).

An established multi-national company such as Amadeus and their affiliated intermediaries certainly show the benefits of such synergies, but the availability of the Internet allows tourism providers of all levels to be implicated in the communications revolution.
In some areas, the movement of management activity from real space to cyberspace is predicated only on scales of production, and makes little use of some of the characteristics of cyberspace. Examples of these are the giant electronic travel agencies such as Travelshop and Expedia. Internet sites operated by these companies, known as online travel agencies, are merely 'cyber-windows' through which retail travel selection and purchase can be organised without the traditional need for face-to-face or telephone communication with a travel agent. Information holdings and availabilities are restricted to specific information regarding carrier, timings and costs for airline travel and package holiday bookings only. This level of activity and information holding only reflects the revenue-gaining activity of a traditional travel agent. In many cases the available products can fail to reflect the heterogeneity of the tourism product and often fail to provide much information to alleviate the intangibility of the tourism product.

Whilst tourists may use these online facilities for simple point-to-point bookings, their use of these sites is, to some extent, dependent on their use of a number of other sites, run by public and private sector entities, which provide information of a broader nature as well as offer booking/enquiry facilities for downstream providers. The Western Australian Tourism Commission (WATC), a government entity operates such an Internet site at www.westernaustralia.net for example. Through this site, the WATC enhances its role in providing tourism and logistics information for potential tourists to Western Australia. The role of information and the use of new technology in tourism promotion has been readily accepted by the WATC. The Commission's Partnership 21 Tourism Industry Plan
(Western Australian Tourism commission, 2001) - initially released in paper-based, CD-ROM and online versions in 2001 – actively addresses the commission’s role as a global, electronically mediated, information provider.

Many of these sites claim they offer the opportunity for ‘virtual travel’ to their area of interest but this, like many of the other claims of cyberspace, may at this stage be slightly over-optimistic. Virtual reality, strictly speaking, is a specific technology, not the computer assisted availability and synergy of known technologies such as still photography and video, which are signified by the general usage of the term today (Kitchin, 1998, p. 86). However, these ‘virtual reality’ sites do provide a wide range of information, generated through different media, which the agency cyber shopfront does not. These sites provide specific information which is beyond the realm of the airline or package holiday provider’s interests. The information is essentially local in a global environment. The majority of these sites provide information about the weather, best seasons to visit, distance information and location of attractions and facilities. The majority of information is in text, but some still images and video footage are usually available. The WATC site, for example, offers images derived from still photography and from real-time video from a number of locations throughout the State. These sites also offer links, in a networked environment, which allow direct electronic communication with downstream providers for booking or further inquiry.
Tourism communication in cyberspace need not necessarily come from established and cashed-up businesses or government agencies however. Post-Fordist economic production is readily apparent in the dedifferentiated tourism market, especially when flexible production and niche marketing is supported by communication media. A cheap guest house in Thailand, for example, may enter the global marketplace on its own behalf by establishing a website. A guesthouse at 1/13 Sukhumvit Soi 11, Sukhumvit Rd, Bangkok serves as an example. Although operating in a communications environment vastly removed from the global alliances and sophisticated financial management systems offered through a CRS such as Amadeus, this guesthouse is able to communicate directly with its globally diverse clientele through a cyber-presence at www.suk11.com.

Although unashamedly aimed at the budget traveller (the cheapest bed is USD4!), this site provides a tariff list, photographs of the bedrooms and public areas in the guesthouse, an online booking service, maps of Bangkok and other tourism information, and a number of links to other useful Thai-related websites. This website operates as a financial service to the proprietors which in some ways helps them manage the perishability of their product. It also provides information for the budget traveller, who is able to ameliorate some of the problems which relate to the heterogeneity and intangibility of the tourism product through the information and directions available to them through the site.
This communications trend is becoming increasingly popular with accommodation providers, tour companies and attractions and facilities located throughout the touristic spaces. Further examples abound. Capricorn Kayak run sea kayak ‘adventures’ in Western Australia and operate a website at www.capricornkayak.com.au, and likewise in India, rural tourism operators Haritha Farms maintain two websites at www.harithafarms.indianet.org and at www.geocities.com/harithafarms. The opportunities for established tourism activities to operate —at least partially — through the Internet frees them from paying commissions and licensing fees to any number of agents or CRS operators and also allows the independent client the opportunity to stay within the discursive boundaries of individual travel and avoid anything they regard as ‘organised’.

There is, in general then, a huge amount of information produced and communicated to provide potential tourists with firstly, the capacity to make informed choices about tourism consumption and secondly, to support the logistical requirements of human movement. It would be a mistake, however, to regard information in the tourism sector as a commodity which is exclusively owned by the tourism provision sector, though this is often the case. Sheldon, for example, discusses typologies of tourism information in which information is static or dynamic, available pre- or in-trip, and generated through private or public sector involvement (1997, pp. 14-15). In these typologies, the tourist/consumer is identified only as one who has information needs. Information, in these terms, is owned by various companies involved in the provision of tourism services and is useful only when it is managed: ‘firms that have benefited most from the use of IT are ones who
recognise that information truly is an important resource that must be carefully managed' (1997, p. 10).

Sheldon admits that tourists do provide information to each other, and that this information is circulated or 'duplicated', but this is unmanaged and unofficial information without the imprimatur of the tourism provider:

As one traveller gives information to another about a favourite hotel, museum or beach, that information is duplicated and not lost by the giver. This information expansion can create opportunities or threats depending on the nature of the information and the receiver. The expansion of factual information serves to enhance a firm’s or destination’s position as its level of awareness is increased. The spread of subjective information creates positive or negative impacts depending on the perception of the information giver. Negative perceptions can of course damage, and positive ones further enhance a firm’s position. (1997, p. 11)

Although the possible impacts of such unofficial information holdings, both positive and negative, are acknowledged, tourism providers generally make little attempt to glean information from tourists, even in the ‘new’ tourism regimes. One of the few methods used by major tourism providers to ascertain tourism response is through post-tour questionnaires regarding customer satisfaction. This is a quantitative and often haphazard methodology and it is extremely doubtful that these questionnaires capture – or act upon - anywhere near the amount of information held by, and communicated between, tourists.

There is one special case however where information provided by tourists has always been regarded as useful - the tourist guidebook. John Murray, the guidebook publisher, actively canvassed tourist input to his guidebooks as early as 1920 (see
Chapter 5) and this notion of tourist input is continued into the present day by Lonely Planet and almost all other paper- and web-based travel guides. The providers of the actual tourism product, however, as opposed to the dedicated providers of tourism information such as guidebook publishers, remain unwilling to allow the tourists themselves to have a voice and allow information out of the framework of the exclusivised and managed resource.

Tourism-related information available in cyberspace is not restricted to information provided by tourism operators and their intermediaries. Some information is communicated online via electronically updated variations of established written genres. One of the most popular methods of circulating one's personal tourism experience through cyberspace is the self-published electronic travelogue. Electronic self-publishing operates in essentially the same way as the so-called 'vanity' presses, and allows the travelogue writer to become a producer of tourism knowledges in an environment unencumbered by the requirements and standards of the established travel press. An Internet search will result in literally hundreds of thousands of 'hits'. All of these sites can yield valuable tourism information for the dedicated searcher despite the fact that the majority of writers do little but re-enact their step-by-step progress with grinding monotony. Nevertheless, the production of such an artefact remains a claim to knowledge by the author through the inscription of the events, and whatever the literary merit, the information is available.
All of the methods of using the internet discussed thus far, whether representing an official or unofficial, professional or amateur, do not go anywhere near exhausting the possibilities of communicating tourism information through this medium. Despite the capacity exhibited by some of the more developed and commercial sites to exchange — or at least to absorb - financial data, all of the examples demonstrate a paradigm of communication which closely resembles that of other media such as newspapers, radio and television. These mass media environments produce a type of interaction which demonstrate two particular characteristics: they produce symbolic forms for an indefinite range of potential recipients and the communication flow is predominantly one way (Thompson, 1995, p. 84).

Thompson names these forms of communication 'mediated quasi-interaction', and although he notes that mediated quasi-interaction is still a form of interaction in that ‘it creates a certain kind of social situation in which individuals are linked together in a process of communication and symbolic exchange’ (1995, p. 84), he acknowledges that it doesn’t offer the same opportunities for reciprocity and personal specificity as other forms of communication. Internet communications technologies are, however, hybrid to some extent because whilst used for mass communication purposes, they can still offer more intimate and dialogic forms of communication which more closely approximate face-to-face communication or forms of mediated communication such as the telephone.
Tourists do however - and not at all unsurprisingly, as even Sheldon (1997) admits - communicate with each other. These communications occur on a face-to-face basis during a tour or holiday and are mediated through technologies such as letter or telephone to other tourists or to persons at home. In fact, exchanging pertinent tourism information is often the most sought after and extensive element of social interaction between tourists (Murphy, 2001). This exchange of information continues into cyberspace where Internet technologies and communications methodologies play a major role in the availability of ‘tourist-to-tourist’ information exchange.

The use of the Internet for this type of information demonstrates some of the hybridities inherent in the medium. The Internet offers both intimacy and universality. In some ways it operates like the telephone in that:

what distinguishes the telephone from the other great media is its decentralised quality and its universal exchangeability of the positions of sender and receiver. Anyone can ‘produce’ and send a message to anyone else in the system and, in the advanced industrial societies, almost everyone is in the system. (Poster, 1995, p. 81).

Contrary to the telephone specifically, and to mediated forms of dialogic communication generally, however, Internet communication can be directed to an indefinite number of recipients rather than to specific others.

The generically named ‘traveller’s café’ is one acknowledged physical space where the clients are primarily tourists. In this environment - and many other informal environments such as trains and waiting rooms for example -
recommendations and dissatisfactions, financial advice, logistical data and subjective assessments of tourism attractions are communicated between tourists. The spread of Internet technologies into the home and the rapidly increasing availability of the technology in the public sphere through Internet cafes, extends this style of tourist-to-tourist communication into cyberspace. It is no accident that many travellers' cafes are now equipped with computers and Internet connections.

Tourists need no longer rely on co-presence and face-to-face communication in order to share information. Communication can now occur in spatially distant environments and with a sense of timeliness and exclusivity – and breadth – which far exceeds that available through most other written communications media. Some of the communication methodologies adopted by tourists on the Internet, like some used by tourism providers, do little more than transfer established written genres into cyberspace, as is the case with the electronic travelogue, but others take advantage of the interconnectivity and interactivity offered by the technology. This form of two-way communication is extremely popular. According to Poster:

the phenomenon of communicating at a distance through one's computer, of sending and receiving digitally encoded messages, of being 'interactive' has been the most popular application of the Internet. Far more than making purchases or obtaining information electronically, communicating by computer claims the intense interest of countless thousands. The use of the Internet to simulate communities far outstrips its function as a retail store or reference work. (1995, p. 88)

Following the dimensions of this popularity, there are a wide range of locations in cyberspace which offer the type of interactivity and openness which affords these
new modes of communication in real-time. Bulletin boards, chat rooms, news
groups, multi-user domains and others are Internet-based communications
technologies which offer these new, interactive communications possibilities. These
locations can also challenge traditional knowledges about identity and community.
Through communication in the new arena of cyberspace it is possible that identity
becomes more fluid (Castell, 1996), 'virtual' communities are built (Correll, 1995)
and a new, vigorous public sphere emerges (Connery, 1996). These sites are also the
location for the return of public reading and the development of new forms of
rhetoric which provide a hybrid combination of writing within the conventions of
oral conversation (Knapp, 1996).

As new technologies and methodologies of communication continue to develop
then, cyberspace offers more than a new space for capitalist colonisation as more
communication occurs outside the parameters of the marketplace. Bulletin boards
and news groups demonstrate enormous variations in subject, style of discussion,
format and level of exercised authority. The uses to which tourists, both actual and
potential, put cyberspace forms the basis of the inquiry in the rest of this chapter.
The inquiry centres on the cyber presence of Lonely Planet Publications,
concentrating on their interactive site, the Thorn Tree (TT), a popular tourism-related
bulletin board. In an inquiry which considers notions of identity, community and
publicness, the ambivalence of the touristic uses of cyberspace becomes apparent.
Cyberspace is used and acknowledged by tourists in an everyday life which contrasts
extreme playfulness and fluidity with very grounded traditional notions regarding the
corporeal nature of tourism and identity which countermand any liberatory discourse of disembodied identities, virtual communities or publics.

The TT is named after a South African tree whose spiky leaves provide a secure place for leaving paper-based messages for passing travellers. It forms part of an extensive Lonely Planet Internet presence at www.lonelyplanet.com. This site also offers consumers electronic guidebook updates, online sales of Lonely Planet publications, and a selection of traveller's electronic 'postcards'. The TT is imagined by Lonely Planet and many of its users as a forum for the exchange of information related to tourism. The TT is divided into 'branches' which cover geographic locations, such as Indian Subcontinent, South East Asia (Islands) and the United States of America, or demographic groups such as Older Travellers, Kids to Go, and The Long Haul. The TT also allows discussion of topics not directly tourism-related through branches such as 'Your Choice', 'The Reading Room', 'Get Stuffed' (about culinary matters!) and 'Culture Vultures'.

The TT may form part of a new public sphere of cybercafes and cyberspace. This can be understood in the same general terms as Jurgen Habermas's (1989) explanation and location of a historical bourgeois public sphere emanating from the coffee houses and periodical press of early eighteenth century Europe. These coffee houses offered a place for discussion which was removed from the 'official' political culture of the Court and the State just as tourism-related bulletin boards and news
groups offer opportunities for discourse away from tourism providers whose views, in a consumption economy, represent the 'official' position.

Discussion in the coffee houses was fuelled by - and its own discussions likewise fuelled - reports in the recently established and burgeoning periodical presses, similar to the symbiotic relationship between the Internet and today’s news media. Many newspapers and magazines now operate websites which reproduce the information which they have put to press and, conversely, much information gleaned from the Internet is published in journals and newspapers and broadcast on radio.

For Brian Connery, in this way:

like the coffeehouse the Internet is a repository of information with a potential for unprecedentedly fast dissemination of this information that suggests an analogy with eighteenth-century newspapers and penny post mail. It lacks regulation, so that much of its information is unofficial and potentially authoritative. And it provides a social space in which discussion of the 'news' takes place both in virtual time, as in newspapers, and in real-time, as in coffeehouse conversations. (1996, p. 170)

For Habermas the bourgeois public sphere is a discursive space unregulated by established authority, in which all property-owning men regardless of status or identity are entitled to speak and to be heard. This Habermasian public sphere was by necessity both spatial and dialogic. The concept of publicness in the present day is, however, well separated from the constraints of shared locale and consequently from the notion of dialogism. John Hartley, for example, suggests that the mass media is the public sphere of today: 'television, popular newspapers, magazines and photography, the popular media of the modern period, are the public domain, the
place where and the means by which the public is created and has its being' (1992, p. 1).

The contemporary public domain, if understood as the popular press, returns to the notion of visibility from which it emanated, although this time through the mass media rather than the visibility of a dialogic co-presence. The visibility of the modern, mediated public sphere is one in which publicness is non-localised, non-dialogical, and creative and uncontrollable (Thompson, 1995, p. 246). The possibilities of cyberspace as public sphere removes the political nature of 'struggles for visibility' (1995, p. 247) which characterise the publicness of the mass media and offers instead a democratic cyberspace acting as a decentralised communications system where individuals are consumers and producers, interactive and dialogic.

The pragmatics of both the coffee house and of cyberspace fail to live up to these expectations though, and access to discussion and the topicality of discussion are subject to various authorial controls in both cases. The subject matter to some extent provides a system of authority. So that just as in relation to the eighteenth and nineteenth century coffee houses, where 'Garraways in Exchange Alley offered news on auctions, nearby Jonathon's had news on stocks and investments. The Grecian was frequented by would-be scientists' (Connery, 1996, p. 166) for example, so too are the news and interests of cyberspace segregated into 'likeminded' discussion forums.
The TT is no exception in this regard. It is essentially a forum for discussing tourism and travel, though it does have some boards which discuss areas unconnected with tourism. More importantly however, the authority of the managers of the TT is assured through the use of moderators. The TT under this regime of moderation becomes a part of Lonely Planet's public relations arm and fact-gathering methodology, rather than a free discussion area. As such, the TT is involved in the dissemination of views and attitudes which reflect Lonely Planet's commitment to the discourse of independent travel.

The perceived need for a formal regime of authority over the site has resulted in some recent changes on TT. After 28 February 2002 all users had to register a 'handle'. Registration allows the moderators of TT an enhanced level of control over what goes on – and what stays on – the board and who is authorised to post. In terms of what is actually allowed on the board, Lonely Planet have published conditions of use available on the sign-in page. There are, however, no corresponding policy documents available to moderators (personal correspondence with zuko@lp). In this environment moderation therefore occurs at the whim - and availability - of Lonely Planet's moderators who maintain a part-time and sometimes cursory watch over the board.

Although this haphazard methodology allows some freedom of rhetoric and heterogeneity in which cyber-based gestures such as flaming and trolling can cohabit
at least fleetingly with supposedly serious discussions of tourism-related matters, much authorial control is actually administered by the board users themselves. In other words, 'one’s right to speak, be heard, and possibly be believed, rests primarily upon one’s own self-authorisation and by the authority granted by the ... community or the reading public' (Connery, 1996, p. 166). Questions or statements outside the ambit of the established discursive parameters are met with silence. Many groups, including TI often:

handle the felt threat of flame wars by responding with silence to posts that challenge already established consensus. Though these groups are theoretically open and public they are carefully — though to an extent unconsciously — monitoring who will be included in the conversation. Their silence in response to a flame silences the writer and establishes an authoritative norm. (Connery, 1996, p. 173).

These dynamics suggest that positing a new public sphere in cyberspace may be utopian at this stage, but certainly suggests possibilities for new forms of virtual and imagined communities in cyberspace.

Howard Rheingold, one of the early explorers of the utopic possibilities of cyberspace, understands the relationships developed on Internet bulletin boards as ‘virtual communities’ and states: ‘I can attest that I and thousands of other cybernauts know that what we are looking for, and finding in some surprising ways, is not just information but instant access to ongoing relationships with a large number of people’ (1993, p. 61). In his excitement over the possibilities of virtual communities, however, Rheingold suggests that virtual communities will somehow replace the dystopic ‘real’ communities of the present day (1993, p. 62). Notions of ‘the real’ are always hard to justify, and in relation to communities, Benedict
Anderson's (1983) demonstration of the role of the imaginary in the development of one of the major 'real' communities - the nation - suggests that community is no different. Virtual communities exist, but they often bear a striking resemblance to the social relations and spatial locales of everyday life in the physical world.

One such virtual community is a bulletin board known as The Lesbian Café (LC), discussed by Shelley Correll (1995). The imagined social and physical dimensions of the LC are firmly based on actual conditions in a bar, 'the LC was clearly created to resemble a bar .... there was the bar itself, highly polished so that she (the bartender) could slide drinks down to her patrons. The pool table was to be a gathering place, but 'no one was to knock the balls off the table' (Correll, 1995, p. 279). The protocols of the real world were also observed and adapted, such that anyone entering the LC ordered a drink, not to consume of course, but to announce a presence, to engage in 'cyber-sociality'. Patrons generally ordered coffee in the morning and alcohol in the evening. In this way, the practices and structures of everyday life shape online life. Strangely, patrons of the LC can imagine they are in a bar, and can imagine the spatiality and sociality in terms of a twenty four hour bar, but cannot imagine having an alcoholic drink in the morning (1995, p. 281)!

Although the Lonely Planet TT does not define any physical environments in which the narratives and social activities of the TT are played out, there is a definite sense of connection between the real and the virtual community. Many rhetorical devices employed on the TT suggest a constancy which locates the TT in the same
discursive space as the conversations one would expect to encounter in a ‘real’ travellers’ café in whichever country one happened to be located at the time. Discussions here are about the established interests of tourists in terms of embodied identity and within the confines of established power relationships, many of which reflect the anxieties of everyday life on the road and the mundane nature of the established social arrangements of the independent traveller.

In this way, the virtual community of the TT often reflects the values and attitudes of the imagined ‘community of travellers’ which is Lonely Planet’s primary market. Many postings relate to ‘guidebook information’ and cover the general logistics and costs of an independently organised journey. The tone and wordings of the questions suggest that there is an established traveller’s ‘patois’ and series of value judgements associated with this language. To be ‘on a budget’ for example, means a shoestring budget, and that understanding is presumed. Other questions display the same presumption of uniformity of interests and desires and take the general shape of ‘Where is a good place to stay in ...?’ and ‘what are the must sees/dos in ...?’ and ‘how long should I stay in ...?’. As the tourist, quite reasonably, seeks to dispel some of the intangibility and perceived risk of independent travel, discussion regarding travel in countries populated by ‘Others’ is inevitably overlaid with established Orientalist tropes. This is articulated through discussions about touts, ‘rip-offs’, unsanitary conditions, unhygienic food preparation and the general lassitude of tourism providers. The TT
also reflects the social conditions which inform the traveller/tourist debate. In fact much of the flaming which occurs is directed against posters who step outside the discursive parameters of the independent travel discourse.

One major event which demonstrates the rigidity of these conditions occurred during 2000. The Archaeological Survey of India introduced a two-tier pricing policy to entry fees to the Taj Mahal and entry fees for Westerners rose nearly 1000 per cent. This caused outrage on the TT. Various posters vehemently condemned the avarice, greed, corruption and racism of the involved authorities. The price rise was seen as being 'OK for fat American tourists', but unsuitable for travellers. Any posting which attempted to support, or show any sympathy for, the new position was vigorously attacked. The Taj Mahal enjoys an obvious, if not iconic, status as a tourism site, and even self-defined travellers wish to visit it. It is one of the ironies of the independent travel discourse that a site such as the Taj Mahal, touristic to the extreme, should cause such a furore on a website which features often repeated requests for information about sites and sights which are 'not too touristy', an obvious appeal for spatial separation in a defined touristic space which offers little chance of it (See chapter 4).

As these types of virtual communities demonstrate many similarities with the 'real' it seems likely that the individuals who populate these communities will also be grounded in a corporeal, real-world identity. Communicating in cyberspace can, however, be understood as offering experiences with transcendental and liberating
effects. In this environment, identities can become fluid, ephemeral and empowering because modernist notions of identity being forged, established and fixed in terms of characteristics such as ethnicity, gender, class and bodily shape are no longer valid in the postmodern, disembodied and non-visual communicative environment which cyberspace offers (Poster, 1995). In many ways cyberspace also offers the chance to construct your own identity - or at least to choose how you are to be represented - and possibly to project different aspects of one's lives into a multiplicity of decentred personalities. In an apt technological metaphor, Kitchin (1998, p. 81) suggests 'we can have several different windows open at once all running separate programs within the same machine'.

Many of the suggestions that new identities are forged in cyberspace are based on the notion that identity is essentially non-visual and non-corporeal and 'knowledge of the self is unfixed from its corporeal base and the identity of the cybernaut is rendered both ambiguous and amorphous' (Hinton, 1998, p. 3). This notion of disembodiment causes many problems for the relationship between the corporeal and the subject, a situation which puts the more utopian cyber theorists such as Michael Benedikt, who sees cyberspace as a common mental geography of pure information (1991, p. 3) at odds with a branch of current cultural thought which is attempting to reinscribe the corporeal into understandings of the self. Sandy Stone, for example warns against rash disposals of notions of the body, figuring it as an act 'that has unpleasant consequences for those bodies whose speech is silenced by the act of forgetting' such as women and social minorities (1991, p. 113). For Vivian Sobchack (1995) also, the body is not to be dismissed lightly - we do not
merely have bodies, we are bodies. Bodies are not transcendable, they are constituent of being.

Claims of new identities emanating from new technologies also bear the stamp of technological determinism. Just as the virtual social worlds of cyberspace demonstrate a resemblance to real-world locales so too do on-line identities resemble ‘real-life’ subjectivities:

There is no denying that cyberspace makes an interesting area to study identity, but the medium does not fundamentally challenge how self-identity is constructed – we still use the same rules of engagement, the same consensual protocols that we use in everyday life. While identities are fluid, contested and multiple, on-line identities are shallow and detract from life in the real world. (Kitchen, 1998, p. 82)

Indeed, much of what is discussed on bulletin boards is, in fact, directly related to, and aimed to instigate or adapt action on the corporeal level. The tourist, for example, inevitably uses cyberspace to elucidate and discuss the physical activity of tourism in relation to an embodied spatiality.

Adopting a new ‘cyber-identity’, or performing communicative acts under pseudonym or anonymously, whilst demonstrating the importance of naming in relation to identity, really only re-enacts Joseph Addison’s journalistic activities in the physical coffee shops of the late eighteenth century. When searching for information, Addison would leave his own identity and occupation of journalist at the front door in order to adopt a new identity as merchant, clergyman, scientist or politician, depending on the particular interest of the coffee house clientele (Connery,
Addison’s experimentation with identity failed to cause any real diversion or transgression from his embodied occupation and identity and were only for a short time—similar to those of the cyber traveller. Whilst any one embodied person may adopt any number of cyber-identities and use the time afforded by cyberspace to craft and construct believable personalities:

On line identities are not completely separate from identities within embodied real space, going online does not ‘flatline’ a person, immobilising the body and suspending everyday consciousness. In other words, you do not suddenly turn into somebody different like some modern day Jekyll and Hyde. (Kitchen, 1998, p.83)

Whilst Addison’s masquerades were essentially to enable him to perform a function of work, the cyber-identity can be adopted for playful purposes as part of the postmodern pastiche of everyday life (Jameson, 1992). Who on the TT, for example, is thinking of taking a cast of characters named as wombat3, Felix the Cat, Smart Sally, duck or Isaac Cox too seriously? This playfulness may have more sombre implications, as with documented occurrences of deep cyberspatial relationships developing between one imagined and one relatively grounded persona (Kitchen, 1998, p. 85), but this legerdemain occurs in relation to established social and political situations, not in terms of ‘a self-contained and autonomous realm of technology’ (Robins, 1995, p. 146).

Adopting a new and fluid identity with which to inhabit cyberspace is also far from compulsory! Many people never take the opportunity to play with their personality and identity on line. In this way cyberspace reverts to a mere information
tool which is either passively or actively engaged. Kawakami (cited in Kitchin, 1998, p. 83) suggests for example, that 83% of all news list users prefer to ‘lurk’ and have never ever joined any discussion topic, and that 66% of active users have posted less than three times. Kawakami considers the reason for this reluctance to speak to be the same as in ‘embodied’ spaces and a reflection of normal social interactions: reluctance to join conversation with strangers; lack of expertise and fear of peer group evaluation; difficulty determining a suitable level of exposure; concern about their capacity to express themselves; and fear of being criticised by others.

In this way social life in embodied space is again related to, not distinct from, cyberspace. In the tourists’ case, cyberspace and the real experiences of tourism are so closely aligned that when Robins suggests cyberspace:

> represents a familiar old appeal to an imaginative space in which we can occupy new identities and create new experiences to transcend the limitations of our mundane lives. It is the aesthetic of fantasy gaming, the fag-end of Romantic sensibility, (1995, p. 139)

He ironically echoes some of the more conservative and established notions of tourism, which identify tourism itself as encompassing the same mode of departure from the alienation of modern life and the mundanity of the everyday, into another world of meaning and connectedness, excitement and romance.

As tourism-related bulletin boards such as the Lonely Planet TT have been shown to have close discursive and social connections with practices of real-life socialities and communities such as the independent traveller and travellers’ cafes, it
is no surprise to observe that some of the established notions which affect subject formation are also apparent on these bulletin boards. Two of the most important are race and gender and here again, rather than demonstrate the liberatory opportunities which a genderless and raceless cyber-identity may offer, travel-related bulletin boards regularly deal with concepts of gender and race in a routine, modern and socially grounded manner.

Gender politics on the TT reflect a number of established notions, but it is in terms of the relationship between European women and the male, foreign 'other' that it is most regularly articulated. Women have played an important role in exploration (Pratt, 1986) and have used tourism services in large numbers since the inauguration of Thomas Cook's international tours (Buzard, 1993). In contemporary tourism however the single woman traveller is imagined, not least by themselves, as a production of contemporary society and as particularly vulnerable. A typical post to the Indian Subcontinent branch of the TT may ask, 'I am a single, 23 year old Canadian girl travelling alone. I am thinking of visiting India. I have heard a lot about harassment. Is this safe? Do you have any suggestions/recommendations?'

This post demonstrates a number of qualities of an established sense of identity. The poster is not playing any games with identity as she expects a reply from cyberspace which will reflect the real social conditions of travel in India. Her understanding of what the real social conditions may be is influenced by established discourses which render the Indian male as a devious and highly sexualised, yet frustrated figure, and her own sense of vulnerability may be fuelled by an established paternalistic
discourse which places her own status as 'single woman traveller' outside the aegis of correct deportment.

This query will probably elicit a number of responses, the majority of which will offer sympathetic advice. All of the advice will, however, accept the established knowledge of the independent travel discourse, which is that the Indian male is, for some reason, particularly attracted to a European woman and that 'eve teasing' as it is quaintly known throughout India, is a particular problem for European women tourists! The standard response, which includes advice to wear local clothing such as a sari or salwar kameez, is suggestive of this. Minor — but nonetheless confronting — sexual harassment is, however, prevalent throughout India and is one of the reasons why seating on buses is segregated — males at the front, women at the back and middle class women, more representative of the tourist than any other category, basically do not go in the streets alone!

Cyberspace and the TT are also far from free of discussions relating to racial identity. Both the Indian Subcontinent and South-East Asia branches have been subject to serious race wars during 2001. In these cases, presumably white, but anonymous, posters have attempted to stop native Thai and Indian posters from using the bulletin board. In this way, presumably white correspondents have attempted to silence the Oriental other and to claim knowledges about the international touristic spaces and the activities of global and cyber flânerie as theirs alone. The first case, in early 2001, involved a poster called Anil — the proprietor of the guesthouse at
Sukhumvit Soi 11 – and a concerted campaign against his person and his business. These anti-Anil posts, which swamped the TT day after day, belittled his character, the quality of his information, the conditions in his guesthouse and ironically, his actual existence as a 'real' person!

A number of Indian posters, notably ones known as archits and beggarhere have been subject to the same sort of treatment. The discussion on the Indian Subcontinent board has been conducted in a much more vitriolic manner than the attack on Anil. Anil maintained his position with patience, and the eventual support of a number of other users of the board. The Indians have, however, given as good as they've taken and argued the race question with vigour. This has lead to much more forceful moderation and intervention on behalf of Lonely Planet. These outspoken Indian users also cut and paste information from on-line journals which address the current political and social conditions in India, for which they are also berated for being 'off topic'. Interestingly, Indian users who fulfil the role of dedicated tourism information provider post with impunity.

The discourse of independent travel, and the power relations inherent in the discourse, is therefore transposed into cyberspace. The TT accepts the Indian in the role of subaltern information provider but rejects the notion that the conditions of everyday Indian life in the present day is relevant to the discourse. The strength of the discourse is further demonstrated by the fact that the Lonely Planet moderators
actually allow these 'race wars' to occur and moderation, when it does occur, is often of postings from Indians.

Cyberspace offers much to the tourist whether actual, potential and returned. The uses are ambivalent however. The new and utopian paradigms which some regard as becoming available through technologies and communications methodologies such as the Internet may not be attainable at this stage of development, but there is still room for the new publics, communities and identities. These new considerations do not, however, represent radical departures from the established knowledges, communities, forms of interaction and corporeality already established and understood in the 'real life' worlds of advanced capitalism. These new environments and attitudes are sometimes adopted for playful purposes as a reflection of the more postmodern characteristics of contemporary life whilst others are firmly based in the seriousness of the recognised uneven power arrangements of modernity. The tourists' use of cyberspace reflects both these trends but, for them, the major use is in terms of grounded identities and corporeality which reflect the physical acts and subjective status associated with touring. The importance of corporeal tourism is such that even major upheavals such as the 'events of September 11', the subject of the next chapter, seem to provide only passing anxiety to the tourist.
CHAPTER TEN

AFTER SEPTEMBER 11: TERRORISM AND THE SURVIVAL OF TOURISM

What are now euphemistically referred to as ‘the events of September 11’ have had a profound effect on international relations, especially relations between the major Western, Christian powers and the Arabic, Islamic nations. The crisis precipitated by the destruction of the World Trade Centre was not, however, restricted to the sometimes rarefied and exclusivised domain of international relations, it was felt in the everyday lives of all Western citizens, whatever their spatial relationship to the World Trade Centre. For many Westerners the al-Qaeda network and its leader, Osama bin Laden represented the face of all Islam and of all evil. Whilst the rhetoric of the President of the United States, George W Bush, eventually insisted upon a difference between Islam and evil in his call for a war on terrorism, many individual Westerners took the opportunity to consolidate a personal worldview which imagined the global environment in the simplistic, essentialised and Orientalising terms of necessary conflict between good and bad, Christian and Muslim, Westerner and Other.

Since the spate of hijackings which characterised the terrorist activities of the 1970s abated, air travel for most persons had been conducted in a relatively safe and politically neutral environment until September 11 2001. One of the effects of the actions of that day was an immediate and substantial decline in air travel for both business and tourism purposes. In the light of the perceived new threat to the power
and sovereignty of Western nations and, consequently, established notions of modern life under Western political formations, the nature of everyday life post September 11 may have faced substantial and ongoing change. These changes can, in part, be understood as possibly challenging the notion of spatial corporeal movement as one of the signifying practices of modern life and specifically as questioning the desirability and efficacy of international tourism by Westerners.

The immediate effects of the attacks were significant in terms of downturns in the international aviation industry, the closely allied tourism industry and the travel plans of international tourists. All sectors of the tourism industry have, however, demonstrated a remarkable resilience which has been empirically demonstrated by tourism bodies throughout the Western world. War and political instability, understood as a threat to personal and national security, have always had adverse effects on tourism numbers and the perceived threat of Islam on a global basis certainly engages Ulrick Beck's (1992) notion of modern societies as societies being now defined in terms of risk rather than national boundaries. However, the easy rebound of the tourism industry after September 11 supports the continuation of the understanding of corporeal mobility as a signifying practice in the cosmopolitanism of everyday life for contemporary Western societies and critiques Lash and Urry's suggestion that tourism, in the long term, may be a 'risk loser' (1994, p. 33).

On September 11 2001, terrorist attacks were launched against a number of targets in the United States. In one and a half hours after 8:45 a.m. Eastern Daylight
Time, American Airlines and United Airlines lost two aircraft each. Two were crashed into the towers of the World Trade Centre in New York and another into the Pentagon in Washington. Another aircraft crashed in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. The immediate result of these actions was chaos across the United States. Airports throughout the country were closed and flights cancelled. The Stock Exchange was closed, as were all schools, bridges and subways in New York City. Rudolph Guiliani, the mayor of New York at the time, urged all New Yorkers to stay at home until the next day if possible (September 11 - Chronology of fear, 2001).

U.S. Defence forces were mobilised immediately. Five warships and two aircraft carriers left the U.S. Naval Station in Norfolk, Virginia, to protect the East Coast from further attack and to reduce the number of ships in port. The two carriers, the USS George Washington and the USS John F. Kennedy, headed for the New York coast. The other ships were frigates and guided missile destroyers capable of shooting down aircraft (September 11 - Chronology of fear, 2001). The acknowledged death toll at the time of writing is 2998, with sixty seven still listed as missing. The fatalities originate from 31 different nations (‘September 11 victims’, 2002, p.1).

The whole world expressed its outrage as the results of the crashes began to be assessed and explained. The crashes were quickly identified as the work of terrorists associated with the al-Qaeda network, a fanatic group of anti-U.S., Islamic extremists under the leadership of Osama bin Laden:
The principal aims of al-Qaeda are to drive Americans and American influence out of all Muslim nations, especially Saudi Arabia; destroy Israel; and topple pro-Western dictatorships around the Middle East. Furthermore, it is bin Laden's goal to unite all Muslims and establish, by force, an Islamic nation adhering to the rule of the first Caliphs. ('Al Qaeda', 2001, p.1)

The successful attack on the World Trade Centre was certainly rich in symbolism for the al-Qaeda organisation. The total collapse of the twin towers, even considering the relative failure of the attack on the Pentagon and the crashed aircraft in Pennsylvania, must have been beyond the expectations of bin Laden in terms of the destruction of one of the central symbols of forms of global capitalism and Western political economies dominated by the United States.

On September 20, George W Bush addressed a joint sitting of Congress and suggested that the world had substantially changed since the attacks:

On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars, but for the past 136 years they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war, but not at the centre of a great city on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks, but never before on thousands of civilians. All of this was brought upon us in a single day, and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack. ('President Bush and Congress', 2001, p.1)

Whilst George W Bush addressed general concepts of freedom in this speech, one of the freedoms which these events challenged most directly was freedom of movement. Airline passengers may have been used for political advantage by terrorist groups many times before and some aircraft passengers had been murdered by terrorists - an event which extended to the Achille Lauro cruise ship in 1985 - but the use of an aircraft as an actual weapon of destruction rather than as a negotiating tool put the dangers associated with hijack into a completely different realm.
For a resident of Western Australia such as myself, the news of the attacks began to come through in the evening of September 11. My partner and I were watching television in the Morleyesque sense, that is, the television was on, but so was the stove and the computer. In other words, the evening meal was being prepared and the television was providing a backdrop to a number of other activities (Morley, 1992, p. 180) in the domestic environment. In the circumstances of this passive engagement the actual content of the broadcast took some time to become apparent. What at a distance appeared to be a science fiction film - or modern sci-fi spoof - drew attention to itself only - and eventually - by the constant repetition of the image of an aircraft colliding with a skyscraper. This event turned out to be an unplanned media event par excellence, one to which the Australian Broadcasting Commission dedicated itself for over a day of continuous broadcasting.

This all-consuming programming was only one of the ways - and a relatively minor one at that - in which the everyday lives of Western citizens, even those far removed from the proximity of the World Trade Centre, were affected by these events. My own personal situation was complicated by the largely unrelated collapse of Ansett Australia on September 13. Ansett Australia was one of the major Australian domestic carriers and one of which I held a ticket to fly to Townsville on September 14. Whilst I substituted this domestic holiday with a short international holiday in Muslim-dominated Malaysia and Southern Thailand, departing Australia
on September 14, my confidence and lack of fear regarding both modes of transport and cultural circumstances was not shared by many Western tourists at that stage.

Across the world there was a general and substantial drop in travel numbers as tourists and business travellers alike appeared to be a little more reticent to travel than I was. To most travel and tourism related businesses the immediate results of the attacks were catastrophic. Some airlines already in financial trouble such as Sabena and Swissair collapsed. The only airline to show an increasing share price for the months immediately after September was Qantas, benefiting from an almost total lack of competition on its domestic routes since the collapse of Ansett. Airlines reduced schedules to many destinations and cancelled others. U.S. airlines were flying at 40% to 50% capacity, even after drastically reducing their scheduled flights. Across the U.S., 25% of conventions and meetings scheduled before the end of 2001 were cancelled and U.S. figures suggest that travel agencies were losing an estimated $51 million per day in sales with a 50% fall in corporate travel projected to January 2002 (Travel Business Roundtable, 2001, p.1).

This loss of business was reflected in loss of jobs, especially in the tourism and hospitality trades. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics found that by December 29th there were 408 extended 'mass layoff events', involving 114,711 workers, directly or indirectly attributed to the attacks. Among the workers laid off because of the terrorist attacks, 42%, or 44,756 workers, had been employed in the scheduled air transportation industry. An additional 28%, or 32,044 workers, had
been employed in hotels and motels (‘September 11 effects on BLS data’, 2002, p.1). Lonely Planet Publications registered a fall in guidebook sales of over 40% during December 2001. In the opinion of Co-founder Tony Wheeler, ‘there is no question that September 11 was a bigger hit on travel worldwide than anything in the past’ (Dabkowski, 2002).

Australian tourism operators also felt the pinch. 2001 was the first year in which Australia failed to record an increase in visitors since World War Two and the industry faced an AUD one billion loss in the face of the September 11 events and the Ansett collapse. Industry figures for the December quarter showed a 15% decline in arrival numbers compared to the corresponding quarter in 2000 (Tourism hit for $1bn., 2002, p.1). At the World Tourism Conference in Hobart in November 2001, Ken Boundy, managing director of the Australian Tourist Commission, told the meeting that new travel bookings to Australia were down by an average 23%, and ‘it will be at least 2004 before we get back to the pre-11 September position’ (Darby, 2001).

Britain tourism industry also showed a large decline. A study by the English Tourism Council reported that nearly one million Britons changed their plans after September 11 and opted to holiday in the UK rather than go abroad (Osborn, 2001). Even the supposedly more adventurous traveller was affected. *Wanderlust* magazine conducted an e-poll of readers in late September 2001. Whilst *Wanderlust* considers that *Wanderlust* readers are generally more experienced travellers than the average
travel consumer', it nevertheless feels that 'these results speak volumes for how a substantial part of the British population is reacting to world events and how travel patterns may change in the months ahead' ('September 11 – the aftermath', 2001, p.1). In this poll, 7.5% of correspondents had cancelled trips, many (21.5%) preferring to replace their planned trip with safer options. 12.5% said they would stop travelling to any Muslim country: 'We went to Barcelona instead of Bangladesh', 'I was considering an eight week break in India and Pakistan, but have changed this to a trip to South America', and 'I am cancelling a trip to Delhi and Sariska in India scheduled for January 2002. I am considering a trip to South Africa instead', are examples of responses elicited in the poll (2001, p.1).

The Western publics then, were reassessing their needs for transportation, their motivations for movement and their choice of destination. War and political unrest in the past had always been regarded in a national sense and it was nations which became unsafe and not suitable for tourism. After September 11, however, the conceptualisation of what an unsuitable destination may be broadened beyond the national in the face of risk taking on a global dimension. Whilst the United States could be seen as an unsuitable risk in national terms due to the recent history of dangerous activity, there were many other places which became undesirable due to a perceived connection between el-Qaeda and all Islam. During his joint address to Congress the US President did, however, assert that his call to arms was not a religious 'crusade':

I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme
the name of Allah. The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends. It is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists and every government that supports them. (‘President Bush and Congress’, 2001, p.1)

Many potential tourists nevertheless continued to imagine the threat as such.

The culturally established distrust of the Islamic other as identified by *Wanderlust* through their on-line poll was apparent in other tourism-based communications. The Lonely Planet Thorn Tree, for example, was awash with questions from concerned tourists seeking reassurance and advice regarding proposed trips to Muslim areas. Whilst concerns for personal safety are always pragmatic, the construction of where the risks lay and the magnitude and regularity of the risks are probably less so. In the months after September 11, trouble seemed to be possible in every Islamic corner of the world. These areas included Malaysia and Southern Thailand which are areas with established tourism industries and with stable political institutions but also with a majority of Islamic populations. The distrust of many potential tourists to these areas proved to be unnecessary however as many tourists, including myself, holidayed there with no discomfort and without witnessing any signs of political instability or terrorist activity. It was unfortunate in these circumstances that the essentialist Orientalist drives which inform the Western distrust of Islam in their perceived strongholds overruled the pragmatics of the economic importance of tourism to these areas and the ideological notion of rationality supposedly inherent in Western thought.
National governments took the threat to tourism seriously and initiated positive attempts to eliminate the risks associated with international travel. Security through covert and overt surveillance was extended at all international airports — including those in Islamic countries — creating a necessary discomfort for travellers as check-in times were dramatically extended. Tourism agencies and operators developed strategies to attract local and international tourists. In New York, Governor George E. Pataki released a ‘A Season of Savings’ savings booklet filled with coupons and special promotions to bolster local attendance at New York theatres, restaurants, hotels and retail businesses (‘Governor introduces tourism playbill’, 2001, p.1). In California, The Los Angeles County Visitors Board (LACVB) organised a campaign aimed at attracting visitors who live within driving range of Los Angeles. The LACVB liaised other local County Visitor Boards and other organisations including the Hollywood Chamber of Commerce and Universal Studios Hollywood to bring the plan to fruition. The campaign included print advertising in journals with a circulation of more than 10 million and advertising during peak radio times (‘Year-end estimates;’ 2002).

Australia also sought to encourage Australian tourists to visit their own country. The Federal Government injected an extra eight million dollars into the ‘See Australia’ domestic tourism initiative and a subsidy scheme to reward domestic tourists for holidaying in Australia through the Holiday Incentive Program which offered a 150 dollar rebate for travellers booking a land component over 750 dollars was initiated (Industry brief, 2001). The tourism sector in Australia was also supported by the launch of a number of campaigns aimed to attract tourists from
firstly Asia in late 2001, followed by the U.S. and Europe in early 2002. The campaigns were valued at 27 million dollars and, according to the Australian Tourism Commission managing director Ken Boundy:

"close monitoring of the shifts in consumer attitudes and sentiment to travel in each market has driven the tactical campaigns and will ensure that we maximize the new opportunities to build our share of the travelling public. The promotions focus on Australia as a friendly and welcoming destination, highlight the diversity of experiences across the country and feature holiday packages which will encourage consumers to book their next holiday to Australia." (‘ATC tactical campaigns’, 2002).

However, by early 2002 tourism numbers had already begun to recover across almost all sectors. As early as January 30 the trade magazine Traveltrade, investigating the Australian tourism environment, reported:

"with optimum levels rising, Adventure World general manager Robert Mackay last week said the company had ended a four-day working week introduced after the events of September 11. Peregrine, which was forced to lay off six employees following the terrorist attacks on the U.S., said it was now recruiting seven staff for new positions. Marketing director Max Roche said Antarctic, South East Asia and China were all selling well whilst Africa and Egypt were recovering fast. ‘India and Nepal are disappointing because they are perceived to be too close to the action. But our sales for January are better than for the same time last year’. (Rhodes, 2002)

By April, Australian Tourist Commission-KPMG Leading Indicators research suggested that tourism businesses have defied the industry’s dismal global outlook and predicted a 45 million dollar boom in overseas visitor spending in the current quarter (Tourism defies global gloom, 2002). Many other nations with a similar reliance on tourism reported similar returns to tourism. The British Tourism Authority for example, predicted a ‘turnaround year’ due to ‘pent up demand’ (Bayes, 2002).
This fairly easy recovery in the tourism market cannot be sheeted home to the efforts of the tourism industry and their intermediaries alone however. Whilst the efforts of these organisations and agencies certainly demonstrate the importance of tourism and its associated activities to many nations, businesses and individuals in the present day when expressed in economic terms, this economic status is supported by cultural constructions. Human movement in general and tourism in particular cannot even in the strained circumstances after September 11 be entertained in terms which merely rationalise their status in terms of the economic without reference to the various aspects of the 'circuit of culture' (Hall, 1997).

Tourism in its present form is one of the manifestations of globalisation. Globalisation is often essentialised to mean the global transfer of capital by multinational corporations and the associated notions of globally defined - but often spatially diverse - production and consumption regimes. Globalisation involves more than the global movement of goods and money however, it also involves the global movement of bodies, knowledges and representations, all of which are implicated in international tourism. Contemporary Western identities are forged against this backdrop of globalisation and one of the ways in which identities are shaped are through the movements and representations associated with tourism.
A present day Western citizen doesn't necessarily have to move to be subject to the representational aspects of the modern tourism industry of course, but the increasing regularity with which persons do become actual physical tourists, and the continually increasing diversification and commodification of tourism enterprises, is making the actual act of tourism available for more and more members of Western societies. In these circumstances everyday life for such persons, both through corporeal movement and the movement of representations, becomes more imbued with knowledges, experiences and artefacts traditionally associated with the Other - with other places, other peoples and other lives. In the contemporary Western world then, tourism plays a major role in bringing self and other closer together and through the same dynamic the traditional defining lines of home and away become correspondingly blurred.

Whilst roles become blurred and identities become less defined ironically many knowledges and power structures remain in place. Increased exposure to notions of otherness and to experiences beyond the traditional, does little to ameliorate established notions of power nor change the ways in which many of these things are characteristically viewed. The discourse of tourism is written by a Western hand and viewed through Western eyes. The tourist retains the right to knowledge and to experience the world on their own terms. In this way the primitive remains primitive, the Orient remains sexualised and exotic, the Other remains purchasable and available for scrutiny and their artefacts available as souvenirs. The spaces of tourism are, as ever, available for the knowing and aestheticising flâneurial gaze of
the tourist and the knowledges derived from this gazing serves a defining role in the establishment of everyday life in the contemporary world.

Tourism and being a tourist are full of ironies however, and this is quite adequately shown by the so-called individual ‘independent traveller’ and their desire to herd together and established traveller’s enclaves and ghettos even in the face of their derisive attitude towards anything associated with the notion of ‘mass’ and its connection with tourism. It is doubly ironic here then that one of the most cruelly caricatured areas of tourism – and one also cruelly neglected in this coverage – ocean cruising, should provide telling evidence of the blurring of the boundaries between home and away and the establishment of tourism as a part of everyday life.

Luxury cruising has always associated with the lives of geriatric multimillionaires, especially women, and as a type of nostalgic liminal zone in which the elegance of past lives is relived through a circuit of tours ending eventually – and only - in death. As contemporary cruising itself becomes more diverse and the combination of transportation and destination offered by cruising becomes ever more spectacular, a new concept in luxury cruising has arisen. The ResidenSea company is now offering for private sale one hundred and ten suites aboard its new luxury cruiser ‘The World’. Under the slogan ‘Travel the world without leaving home’, ResidenSea, an international company comprised mainly of U.S. and Norwegian, interests aim to:

offer the comfort and privacy of a luxury vacation home, the personal service of a world-class resort and the mobility of a grand ocean liner that
circumnavigates the globe. It houses an exclusive community of discerning adventurers committed to enjoying life to the fullest. With its 110 spacious, fully furnished luxury residences, The World of ResidenSea provides a unique lifestyle and an exciting new way to travel the world. It offers the advantages of owning a home with an ocean view in more than 100 countries - without the maintenance, logistics, and other inconveniences typical of vacation-home ownership. (The ultimate address, 2002).

For some perhaps the gentle art of strolling, albeit with a slightly rolling gait, will again become the definitive way of seeing and understanding the world without having to leave home, a fiènérte at home, and away.
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