

Privileged Mobilities

Privileged Mobilities:

Tourism as World Ordering

Edited by

Mekonnen Tesfahuney
and Katarina Schough

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To the memory of Allan Richard Pred (1936-2007)

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PREFACE

For some, travelling is taken for granted, a right. For others, travelling is a growth industry. It is said that we live in a “borderless” world of free mobility and travel opportunities to faraway lands and cultures. Tourism is said to be a manifestation of this (“happy”) state of affairs.

For many more, travelling is barely conceivable; mobility is not “free”, and access is carefully regulated. Only some are able to enjoy global mobility, many more cannot. Mobility is always structured and carefully regulated. Global mobility is a privilege for some, but not for many. The tourist is the embodiment of privileged global mobility, and, like all privileges it has its price.

The *vuvuzela* of our times trumpets loud and clear—value, growth and efficiency, creativity, and competitiveness. This is also the case in studies of tourism. We would like to thank the contributors to this book for making it possible to discern such dissonant tunes. We therefore would like to extend our thanks to the KuFo—the Culture Research Group at the University of Karlstad—for providing financial support for the proof reading of the manuscript. Our thanks to the late Professor Emeritus Lennart Andersson for commenting on the manuscript and his wise “senior disobedience”.

This book was published in Swedish in 2010. It is our hope that the English version would reach a wider audience and add to current debates on tourism.

Mekonnen Tesfahuney & Katarina Schough
December 2015

UKRAINE, MAY 2006

LARS LERIN

No, the Yalta place was not really my cup of tea, at least not at this point in time. Bars and gates, locks and keys, barriers and concrete. An environment strictly designed for entertainment and pleasure. No less than seven bars at the hotel itself, pool after pool, beach cafés and 2,400 rooms. To reach the beach, you had to take the lift from the hotel and make your way through a dark tunnel. The sea was goddamned grey and the fog made you wet. Normally, I like hopeless places like that; but, eventually, I had to abandon the idea of a holiday and instead survive by observing.

So I started making an inventory of the beach lines, the harbour areas, checking out the vendors and tourist sharks, jobs with beer bottles reeling about in the morning. Men with fishing tackle. (They used a pin as hook, baited with shrimps, or worms, and caught little wriggling silver fish.) Small and large ice cream bars, pasty vendors, the odd gritty, grey cat, some stray dogs, accordionists, chess players, chestnuts, palm trunks, hotel facades (terrible buildings under construction with gaping black window openings and rebars).

In the square you could have your picture taken with an owl or a minx on your shoulder. A gang of rascals manhandled the poor, chained animals. An ape hugged me. I was fascinated by his black nails—like beetles, shining.

The most popular thing to do in Yalta seemed to be reeling around with a beer bottle in your hand. There were many alcoholics and down-and-outs in their twenties.

One morning, two dolphins splashed by, outside the pier, as if to entertain us. I was in the care of the hotel masseur—a mild-eyed, square-set Russian with a thick golden crucifix round his neck and white eyebrows. He didn't know many words in English, but he did say

“relax,” and proceeded to pat, squeeze, caress, and anoint me until I smelled like an oil painting. I particularly liked having my hands massaged. Rounding it up, he touched my face, tenderly stroked my forehead, nose, eyes, mouth, and kind of waved a blessing over me and gave me peace.

If I had access to a Russian at home, with a pinch like that and white eyebrows, things would be different. There is something magical about being kneaded and pinched, made visible, revealed by someone’s gaze. You’ll become your own secret in the end.

“It was like love,” I said to him. He laughed, embarrassed.

“Come back tomorrow!”

But I was to join the travel group for a one-day excursion to Sevastopol—an enormous three-dimensional painting of a battle, over one hundred metres long and forty metres high. Monasteries, caves. Gorbachev’s summerhouse.

“I wish you could come with me to Sweden!”

But I don’t think he understood. Afterwards, born again and delirious, I went to a coffee shop and stained my clean white trousers from Bangalore, forgetting to pay.

This morning everything was desolate. The Black Sea greyish. The sunbeds empty. Passenger ships like high-rise buildings on the roadstead. The German hit parade.

An old lady told me that she had been married to a sailor’s chaplain in Brazil. In a botanical garden, we all tailed the guide, Lena, who knew everything about all the trees in the park, how old they were and from which continent they derived. Frogs croaked in the water lily pond. Later, we were treated to candied roses and other local delicacies, walnut butter and fig jam. The paths were delineated with beautiful shadows of leaves.

In the afternoon I took a photo of a crow on Stalin’s bronze head. Giant beetles with nut-brown wings and striped chests invaded the airport in Kiev. They landed in people’s hair and handbags and spread unease among passengers and personnel. So I waited indoors for the connecting

flight. I met a south Indian (bound for Sundsvall) and lost him at Arlanda.

Airports are strange places—states of being, becoming, waiting, encountering, hope. Every possible and impossible escape/homesickness. And a constant sadness?

This morning I sat in a 24-hour café feeling like crying, nibbling on a cheeseburger. “Strangers in the Night” on an accordion.

(It would have been so easy to order a double whiskey ...).

CHAPTER ONE

PRIVILEGED MOBILITIES: TOURISM AS WORLD ORDERING

MEKONNEN TESFAHUNEY
AND KATARINA SCHOUGH

That the native does not like the tourist is not hard to explain. For every native of every place is a potential tourist, and every tourist is a native of somewhere. Every native everywhere lives a life of overwhelming and crushing banality and boredom and desperation and depression, and every deed, good and bad, is an attempt to forget this. Every native would like to find a way out, every native would like a rest, every native would like a tour. But some natives—most natives in the world—cannot go anywhere. They are too poor. They are too poor to go anywhere. They are too poor to escape the reality of their lives; and they are too poor to live properly in the place they live, which is the very place you, the tourist, want to go—so when the natives see you, the tourist, they envy you, they envy your ability to leave your own banality and boredom, they envy your ability to turn their own banality and boredom into a source of pleasure for yourself.

(Jamaica Kincaid 1988, 18–19)

In our touristified world, tourist spaces, activities, needs, and wishes have become mundane events. We are all tourists—whether we want to be or not—and are brought up to see, experience, and act accordingly even “here at home,” and/or are enlisted to serve tourism’s needs. Contemporary global control and discipline and surveillance apparatuses are also moulded under the sign of tourism. Disciplinary technologies shape, regulate, and normalise ways of being and acting (Foucault 1977). The disciplinary apparatuses mould the tourist subject and its needs, tastes, and fancies, as well as the flow of bodies, goods, information and values (economic, normative, etc.). Tourist spaces are thus re-produced. Wherever tourism treads, it transforms the world. This anthology describes the tourist and the touristified world order.

In the current literature on tourism and tourism studies, the key question of “who is the tourist?” does not figure prominently. There is a dearth of critical and analytical exposés of the tourist subject and the huge material apparatus and imagined geographies in the trail of tourism and the experience economy at large. Both in its various forms (adventure, war, space, and sex tourism, along with ethnic, nature, and eco-tourism, etc.) and as an area of study, tourism ought to raise a series of questions regarding privileged mobility about who travels, where, and why—not least from the perspectives of class, gender/sexuality, nationality/ethnicity, and age. Studies into tourism can be systematised in a number of different ways (e.g. Enzensberg 1958; Wolf 2001; Findlay & Crang 2001; Grinell 2004; Williams 2004; Hall 2005; Hannam 2008). As a matter of principle and by analogy with other social science theories and developments in the spheres of politics, culture, economy, and society, we can discern three overarching paradigms (schools) in tourism studies.

(1) The Modernity Paradigm

This paradigm focuses on modernity, urban life, and the living conditions of the modern human. In these theories of tourism, also known as structuralist perspectives, the focus lies on the attributes of places of departure and destinations from a dichotomous here-and-there logic—the boring, routine and superficial modern “here,” against the genuine and natural untouched “there”. Tourism is viewed through the lens of conceptual binaries and categories such as genuine/fake, work/leisure, home/away, workdays/holidays (Wang 2000; Cederholm 1999). The paradigm is characterised by notions of technological progress, freedom, desire, flight, and authenticity, characteristic of the discourses of the modern and the primitive. In that sense, such theories about tourism and the tourist subject rest on ideologies about primitivism and romanticism. The holiday destination offers the primitive, authentic life and romantic, untouched nature.

Dean MacCannell (1976) is a key theoretician of tourism in relation to modernity and urban life’s artificial, dull, and monotonous state. He believes that that which drives tourism is the desire to flee this monotonous existence and its pre-arranged spaces. We are taught to think of the tourist as seeking “authentic” places, cultures, and peoples along with “real” experiences. Modern life’s existential emptiness, alienating character, and superficiality spur people into looking for something meaningful, authentic, and real—located in the time of the past and

geographically in “primitive” space. This striving for meaning and authenticity lends travel a sort of holy or religious aura, and the tourist emerges as a sort of pilgrim (MacCannell 1976, 48 ff.).

An early, more nuanced but less-known depiction of tourism in this genre is Hans Magnus Enzenberg’s classic article, “A Theory of Tourism” (1958). Enzenberg says that the view of travel as an escape from the suffocating hold of modern life with the glorification of the untouched and the authentic can be traced back to German, French, and English romanticism. Travel had until then been associated almost exclusively with a purpose, such as work, trade, conquest, or had darker connotations, such as exile and slavery. Enzenberg says that the modern view of travel as a goal in itself emerged at the end of the eighteenth century, at the same time as travel was being depicted as a search for untouched nature and the simple life. Because of this, travel and tourism were associated with a romantic spirit of pioneering and discovery (1958, 124, 127). The touristic style of thinking did not come about until the eighteenth century, and the driving force behind the idea was modern life. “Tourist flows are nothing more than a gigantic flight from the type of reality that our society surrounds us with,” writes Enzenberg. He was way ahead of his time and predicted many of the key issues that tourism studies would later deal with. Already in the 1950s, he thought he could see a transition from “classic to late capitalism”; that is to say, a transition to what we would now call postmodernism. Enzenberg sketched a few of the distinguishing features of late capitalism as: entrenched commodification; increasing touristification of the world; and the staging, steering, and control of tourist flows and places. He maintained that the core paradox in the narrative of tourism—the search for the untouched, genuine, and new in order to consume it—was self-defeating (1958, 131).

John Urry (2002) and Zygmunt Bauman (1996) provide postmodern variants of the tourist as one who seeks extraordinary or new experiences. While tourism is a temporary escape from, and a suspension of, routine everyday life, with its chores and duties, yet even modern society offers extraordinary and new experiences. The narrative of tourism is quite simply the search for something above and beyond the ordinary. Urry (2002) is the most well-known representative of this view. “Being a tourist is a typical aspect of modern experience,” writes Urry (2002, 4). For Bauman (1996, 29) the tourist, “is a conscious and systematic seeker of new and different experience; of the experience of difference and novelty—as the joys of the familiar wear off and cease to allure.” Whereas

MacCannell (1976) highlights the role of the symbolic and authenticity in the designation of places of interest in his account of tourism, Urry stresses “the tourist gaze” and tourism’s visual economy in his account, while Bauman concentrates on experiential novelty. Ironically, the paradigm holds—albeit indirectly—that “non-modern” people never grow bored, do not feel the need to escape from their own dull routines and chores, and do not long for different and/or stimulating experiences. In other words, the quest for something above and beyond ordinary experience is reserved for modern people.

Apart from the above theories, this modernity school of thought also presents models based on the tourists’ motives and behaviours. Such depictions result in typologies of travel based on the tourist’s behaviour and type of journey, but also on the tourist’s role-play in situ. Erik Cohen’s (1979) work constitutes the template for these. Cohen identified four typologies: the mass tourist; the individual mass tourist; the explorer; and the drifter. These days, there is a wealth of such catalogues of tourist types. A Swedish example in the same genre is Wolf (2001), who identifies five styles of tourist: the recreational tourist, the cultural tourist, the compromiser, the action tourist, and the individualist. An exhaustive account of these typologies in tourism studies is given in McCabe (2005).

Yet, the prevailing theories of tourism and depictions of tourists’ motives and behaviours in the modernity paradigm are made up of theories about utility maximization, growth, and the view of the tourist as *homo economicus*. Their *homo touristicus* is a “rational”, calculating, and utilitarian individual driven by price, choice, demand, and symbolic value. The idea of *homo touristicus* informs different educational programs in the tourism industry, marketing, investment in tourism, and development of destinations—all the way from the World Tourism Organisation (WTO), the World Bank (WB), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to aspiring mayors (see, for example, Weaver & Opperman [2000]; UN-WTO’s annual reports along with the IMF’s and WB’s development strategies for tourism).

(2) Critical studies of tourism

Who is entitled to be a tourist, where, why, and with what consequences? The second paradigm is made up of—albeit marginal, although growing number—critical studies of tourism. Tourism is, in this school of thought, emblematic of privileged movement and the uneven global order of

mobility. The tourist subject embodies the self-evident right to access the world. Being a tourist means not just having privileged access to various spaces but also that people and societies are arranged according to the tourist's values, norms, needs, desires, and fantasies. The price of being a tourist is, in other words, that others remain non-tourists and caterers of the tourist's various needs.

Critical theories and studies highlight the history of travel and tourism and their global spread as an important part of colonialism and empire building (Said 1993; 1995; Enloe 1989; Gregory 1999). Colonial and racialised conceptions of other places and people as inferior, primitive, and different form an important part of the repertoire of images, fantasies, and beliefs associated with tourism (hooks 1993; Crick 1989; Grinell 2004; McLaren 2003). The tourist is described as the latest in a series of travellers who follow in the tracks of colonialism and empire building and emerges as the heir to the conqueror and colonialist:

Explorers, traders, missionaries and colonialists came first, to discover, exploit, convert, and colonise, and are followed by ethnographers and eventually tourists, who come to study or just observe the Other.

(Brunner 1989, 438)

In this paradigm, there are also critical depictions of the ideologies of tourism and tourism's contemporary development along with the tourism industry's power and influence as an expression of a global "master-slave" relationship and order. Tourism is considered as key to cultural imperialism and an important instrument for the spreading of the culture, tastes and lifestyle of the West as a global norm. Post-colonial theory and feminist studies lay bare travel, tourism, and the tourist subject as a sign of a masculine and racialized power and mobility order, and as a driving force for this order's continued global reproduction (Kincaid 1996; 2000; McClintock 1995; Tesfahuney 1998b, Eskilsson & Fazlhashemi 2001, Biemann 2002; Alneng 2002; Ramqvist 2002; Grinell 2003). The paradigm also deals with the economic consequences of tourism. "The leakage effect"—the proportion of income generated from tourism in the Global South that winds up in the North—lies between 50 and 75% (Patullo 2005; McLaren 2003). Global tourism has, among other things, been studied from the point of view of world-system theory along with centre-periphery relationships (Lundgren 1974; Freitag 1994; Harrison 1995). The fact that tourism is seen as a priority development strategy and source of growth in the South comes across as doubtful when seen through the spectacles of this critical paradigm. The answer to the question "Who's

paying for the party?" cannot be given in pure monetary terms without also considering child labour, environmental destruction, and widespread prostitution (Jeffreys 1999; Honey 1999; Aitchison 1999; McLaren 2003; Dielemans 2008).

The commodification and staging of places, cultural inheritance, and history—including slavery and genocide—in the name of tourism, are further themes that are studied within the field of critical tourism studies (Meethan 2001; Etchner & Prasad 2003; Agyei-Mensah 2006; Ek 2007). In the critical paradigm, tourism and nation building are also objects of study, along with the role of tourism in nationalism and internal colonialism and racist notions of national minorities (Löfgren 2001; Franklin 2003 Favelo 2007; Schough 2008). Also, there are studies of how tourism is mobilised within the EU in the creation of a European cultural identity and community (Verstraete 2002). It is not just a matter of, “what happens out there in the former colonies,” but also of how the primitive (including living people) are freighted and exhibited like display objects around the West. Neo-colonial traveling exhibitions have been making the rounds to various museums and cities in the West not to mention the wax museums, dioramas, and panoramas (Furlough 2002, Pickles 2003; Pred 2004). The tourist does not even need to venture out to reach the authentic, the untouched, and the extraordinary; instead, all this can be experienced at home, inside the spaces of modernity. (Neo)colonial tourism on the home front was, and is, the forerunner of today’s virtual tourism (Bruner 1989; Furlough 2002).

(3) The hybridity paradigm

The third paradigm is made up of theories revolving around tourism practices, encounters, and hybridity related to geography. In this school, the tourist is regarded not just as a passive participant and consumer of tourist attractions, but as an active agent that creates tourist spaces as well. The tourist may use their position to challenge, put up resistance, and transgress established limits, frameworks, and ways of being (Crouch 1999; Edensor 2002; Hannam 2008; Mattsson in this anthology). One example consists of the voyages of female travellers into the world in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries, which stand as pioneering achievements and symbols of women’s liberation in the West (Pratt 1992; Matthis 2001). Another example is how tourism is put to use as an effective instrument in boycotting fascist regimes, e.g. Franco’s

Spain, and racist and colonial regimes, e.g. the former Apartheid state of South Africa and the Apartheid State of Israel today (*Arbetaren* 2004).

Here, there are also studies of how hedonism, pleasure, sensuality, and sex relate to tourism and charge tourist spaces. Other issues here include the body, tourism's embodied practices, and power as an important part of tourism (Veijola & Jokinen 1994, Pettman 1997; Johnston 2001; Diken 2005). Flows and networks creating heterogeneous spaces and new ways of doing tourism off the beaten track are studied, sometimes with a concept of space that goes beyond the Euclidean (Lash & Urry 1994; O'Dell 1999; 2002; Edensor 2001; Franklin 2004, Brandin 2009). Travel is understood as a pairing that dissolves dichotomies/hierarchies such as here-there, then-now, we-them, and work-leisure, and engenders heterogeneous spaces, transnational networks, and new ways of being and acting. Of late, what we denote as the hybridity paradigm has found expression in the so-called mobility turn in the social sciences as well as in studies of tourism (Virilio 1986; Cresswell 2006; Hannam, Sheller, and Urry 2006; Ek & Tesfahuney 2008; Adey 2010).

Ironically, the question "Who is the tourist?" does not take the prominent position that it deserves in these paradigms. That is perhaps not so strange, since both tourism as a territorial order and tourism studies with its theoretical constructs, conceptual apparatus, central problems and orientations have the "white" man and Westerners in general as their starting point and norm.

The contributions in this book share certain features with Paradigms 2 and 3, but emphasise above all tourism as a territorial order and tourism as geo- and bio-politics. Our understanding of tourism as a global privilege and world order is inspired by geo-philosophy and critical geopolitics, where processes of de- and re-territorialisation and the multiple re-codings of the (social) body, flows, places/spaces, as well as the touristification of existence are central. Tourism is understood as a material and ideological framing of the world (Enloe 1989, 28), and incorporates a number of phenomena that together shape cultures, histories, economies, and environments for its own ends (MacCannell 1992, 1).

Our reasoning has the following basic premises. We maintain that tourism is much more than just the world's largest industry and that it involves much more important things than short-lived escapes from the daily grind, the hunt for authentic experiences, and the search for excitement and

attractions of various sorts—as the modernity paradigm would have it. In this book, tourism and the tourist are placed in a broader context. Tourism is described as a force of de- and re-territorialisation, a process that involves the conquest, transformation and transcoding of the world and life itself under the sign of tourism and in the service of capital accumulation. Everything—from the ocean floor, social relations, places, and cultures, to life sequences and outer space—is touristifiable; that is, everything can be transcoded and transformed into a consumer product and be utilised in the interests of tourism. The prevailing unequal order of mobility is at the same time a precondition for, and a consequence of, tourism and the increased touristification of earth, life, and human beings.

The contributions in this book describe tourism as an expression of the world order and depiction of the human in our time. In the first contribution, Tesfahuney and Schough present the mobility apparatus that constitutes tourism's driving force. They describe tourism as a territorialisation process and maintain that it can be understood in geopolitical terms. Through the notion of *Nomos*, they describe the basic features of a thoroughly touristified world—conquest, integration, and exploitation.

In the chapter, “*Veni, Vidi, Adios: The Tourist and the Three Privileges*,” Josefina Syssner and Khalid Khayati present three of Western tourism's privileges: the privilege of voluntary mobility, the privilege of selective gaze, and the privilege of the immediate exit. To be able to come and go as one likes, to choose the places one wishes to travel to, and to be able to leave when one feels like it are so taken for granted in tourist practice that it is difficult for us to imagine a different order of things, the authors write. They argue for the need of further studies of how the privileges of tourism are manifested in different parts of touristified local communities, and how those privileges can cause both accommodation and resistance.

In his philosophically informed piece, Richard Ek writes: “There is a system of simulated places or enclaves emerging, spread over large physical distances but which are bewilderingly similar.” Ek discusses the cruise ship industry and “all inclusive” tourism in the light of bio-politics and post-politics. He notes that all-inclusive tourism has the camp as its primary spatial and organisational template or principle. Ek's contribution is innovative in Swedish tourism research in that he sheds light on tourism from the standpoint of Agamben's arguments about “the camp”.

Tourism appeals to the tourist's dreams about liberation and enhanced sensuous experiences. In the chapter "Holiday Utopia," Katarina Mattsson shows how "all inclusive" tourism's space consists of non-places, apparently without connection to the language of the place and its religion, political situation, or contemporary context. These "paradise villages" are off-limits to the local population. All-inclusive resorts are non-places created and marketed for the heterosexual female customer needing to get away from it all. Tourism's neo-colonial power relationships constitute a tacit precondition for liberation from another power structure—the "gender contract" prevailing back home.

In the chapter "A Sense of Africa," Mattsson changes perspective. In contrast to the non-places, we encounter the images of "exotic Africa" (Palmberg 1987; 2000). A place for dreams and longing, which speaks to the little child who read about Africa in school and watched films and looked at pictures of wild animals; but also a space where feelings are presumed stronger and more intense than in other places. Mattsson introduces the notion of "colonial emotional geographies" and describes experiences of frustration and fervent delight when the tourist's expectations are fulfilled to varying degrees.

In the book's concluding chapter, Mekonnen Tesfahuney muses on the idea of the tourist as the ideal subject of our time. *Homo turisticus* is in this sense a template for how to relate to life and being in the world. Ironically enough, this subject position is under theorised. Tesfahuney envisages the tourist as a privileged, white, and hedonistic creature of the market. The tourist is a creature of our time—at once privileged and subjugated, free and bound, granted and denied sovereignty.

CHAPTER TWO

THE *NOMOS* OF TOURISM

MEKONNEN TESFAHUNEY
AND KATARINA SCHOUGH

The world is the tourist's oyster.

(Bauman 1996, 295)

A Touristified World Order

In this chapter we describe the triumph of tourism, from having been “just” one of many ways of travelling to functioning as a template for how the world should be ordered. Tourism is more than an industry with its own way of thinking, infrastructure, and politics; it also functions as a norm for ordering the world and shaping people's lives. This is happening in an epoch characterised by the transition from capitalism to hyper capitalism, from colonialism to neo-colonialism, from the era of the European national state to the era of globalisation, or from modernity to postmodernity. In tourism studies, we speak of a transition from tourism to post-tourism. The essence of this shift is that it is becoming increasingly harder to draw clear-cut boundaries—analytically or empirically—between tourism and other activities; to distinguish tourists from other consumers; and to distinguish the consumer from the citizen and human being. By deploying Carl Schmitt's geo-political notion of *Nomos*, we hope to shed light on tourism as a world-ordering force and an agent of re- and de-territorialisation.

From Jules Verne to Michel Houellebecq

Two literary accounts can illustrate the transformation of tourism from just one of many ways of travelling to becoming a territorial world order. In Jules Verne's novel *Around the World in 80 Days* (1873), tourism comes

across as a template for travel with its roots in the infrastructure of colonialism. The novel is often used in descriptions of early tourism, and the World Tourist Organisation (WTO) had *Jules Verne* as a theme for its World Tourism Day in 2005. The event was blessed by the Vatican, and, in the spirit of Jules Verne, WTO general secretary Francesco Frangialli stressed the blessings of tourism:

Travel enables us to enrich our lives with new experiences, to enjoy and to educate ourselves, to learn respect for foreign cultures, to establish friendships, and above all to contribute to international cooperation and peace throughout the world.

In Verne's novel, we encounter Londoner Phileas Fogg and his valet, Passepartout (whose name means "goes everywhere"). Together, they make a sensational trip around the world. Passepartout is an embryonic tourist, a travelling man from a time when tourism was, so to speak, still in its infancy. One precondition for Passepartout's trip was the British Empire, with gentleman and employer Phileas Fogg as trailblazer. One could say that without Mr Fogg there would be no Passepartout. The gentleman traveller of the Empire paved the way and acted as role model for the budding tourist, Passepartout. At the same time, the duo of Fogg and Passepartout symbolise one of the tensions which accompanies the history of tourism—that between the categories "traveller" and "tourist vulgaris," the upper class's individual travel patterns versus mass tourism.

"Empire Fogg" is described by Jules Verne as a mysterious, although typical, Englishman, who embodies the very best of the British Empire. Mr Fogg is wealthy, well-travelled, and urbane—a citizen of the world: "Nobody knew the map of the world better than he." As the story unfolds, Mr Fogg is leading a discreet, comfortable life in London where he dines, reads, and plays whist at the Reform club. He plays for the sport of it and gladly donates his winnings to charity. Mr Fogg's most distinguishing characteristic is, however, a sense of orderliness that finds expression in punctuality, exactitude, and careful manners. He is hyper competent and seldom mistaken. Right at the first meeting with Passepartout, it is Mr Fogg who decides whose watch has the correct time. Mr Fogg decides himself that he is going to travel around the world, finances the trip, gains access, deals with the authorities abroad, calculates and checks movements in time and space, and harvests the fruits of his travels—or, to be more precise, wins the bet, gains the glory and the hand of a beautiful woman to top it all off.

Gentleman-traveller Fogg moves mostly within the Empire: “Around the world there runs a belt of more or less strongly English influenced cities” (1960, 78). In this space, he has full control. “He moved in his mathematically calculated orbit around the earth without attaching himself to all the satellites who followed his race” (74). His chums at the club have certainly been worried about such fickle elements as weather, head winds, shipwrecks, and railway catastrophes, not to mention the possibility that: “Hindus or Indians [might] pull up the rails ... stop the trains, pillage the luggage-vans, and scalp the passengers!” Mr Fogg has it all worked out. He gets around run-ins with local authorities by stepping in and putting up bail money. He is a British subject, a fact he does not fail to mention every time he speaks to the police or to a magistrate (62). Phileas Fogg floats around his world in, “the most majestic and unconscious indifference.” His focus is on duty and the task at hand. As a philanthropist and gentleman, he steps in resolutely and rescues a beautiful widow with European looks and English upbringing—she even plays whist—from a horrific death. He offers her protection in Europe. Mr Fogg is not only a traveller, he is also a body in orbit and a symbol of empire, and the point of his journey is that he can calculate his return to the minute.

Mr Fogg’s valet, Passepartout, can, as we have mentioned, be seen as *turistus vulgaris* in embryo. He has been given his name because of his ability to get where he needs to and manage in different situations. Passepartout belongs to the lower classes, is uneducated and has meagre finances, and is in touch with the forms of travel used by the *hoi polloi*, such as touring singers, circus show riders, acrobats, and tightrope walkers. At the same time, he is spry and particularly loyal towards his master. On the other hand he is, of course, unable to act with the same nobility and refinement expected of a gentleman. When the duo arrive in Bombay, Verne writes: “He stared and he listened in order to see and hear as much as possible—yes, his whole being expressed undisguised amazement” (37).

Unwittingly Passepartout, the tourist, goes into a temple off-limits to foreigners (37) and is put on trial. He is rescued by his master who is deft at dealing with authorities and released on bail. Passepartout would never have been able to find the money for his release on his own, but the Empire keeps a protective eye on him. Things go awry when Passepartout leaves this protection on one occasion and disappears among the throng. These were important privileges which *turistus vulgaris* was granted by the Empire—the chance to bask in the glory of the British Raj, the chance

to be part of the upper class's ideological project, entry into the Empire's privileged mobility and the chance to avail oneself of a predictable itinerary which could be purchased as a commodity. Another benefit was being free to tell oneself that travel was made possible by individual endeavour. When *Around the World in 80 Days* was turned into a film more than a hundred years after the book was published, Fogg was represented as an individualistic inventor and entrepreneur. We are not allowed to see the infrastructure built up by the Empire; instead, one is to think that Fogg blazes a trail over the world all by himself.

Today, almost 150 years on, the tourism industry has stabilised and offers the tourist predictable, packaged lifestyles in various price ranges and tastes. Today's mature mobile consumer is an accomplished child of the market and whose many needs (food, shelter, experiences, relations, well-being, identity, and a feeling of context) are provided by the market. In Houellebecq's novel *Platform* (2001), we encounter the ultimate consumer of travel, experience and pleasure.

The narrator, Michael Renault, organises his life with regards to the thoroughly touristified world order of our time. He is fed up and leads a life of indifference. He is portrayed as a child of Europe who wrestles with both anxiety and shame. Renault states that his West is full of maximisers of gain who not only act out of financial interest to meet certain pre-defined needs, but are also consumers for whom every purchase is a celebration. Westerners live in a constant state of want, Houellebecq writes. Michel Renault's only contact with humanity is sex, a product that he evidently is used to buying. To seduce a woman just to get laid usually only leads to hassle, complication, and endless prattle. It is simpler just to avoid romance and go to prostitutes. He says himself that enthusiasm for what he calls "pussy" is one of his last recognisable, fully human, traits.

Michel likes travelling, or, rather, engaging in tourism (29). His dream is to go endlessly from "passion trips" to "à la carte entertainment" via "colorful places." Michel notes that he is an object for the tourist industry's enjoyment and products that bring happiness. He believes that he has firm philosophical-ideological grounds for his enjoyment maxim. As a thinking traveller, he distances himself from duty, enlightenment, and metaphysics in order to fulfil the rights and expectations of himself as well as others. "Enjoyment, a right" is his motto (225). The meaning of existence is, as far as possible, to make a good life for oneself—it may well be through the legalisation of the sex trade or the right to choose from

a buffet of exotic destinations that satisfy his desires and dreams. “I liked holiday brochures, their abstraction, their way of condensing the places of the world into a limited sequence of possible pleasures and fares” (11). Michel plays around with various theories about consumption (Alfred Marshall, Torsten Veblen, Melvin T. Copeland, Jean Baudrillard, and George Becker), conscious of the fact that his behaviour has been made transparent and he has been diagnosed as no more than an object who figures in various marketing analyses and prognoses (11). Michel writes a poem (93): “Shortly after waking, I feel myself transported/ To a different universe, its contours ruled and picked/ I know about this life, its details are all sorted/ It’s very like a questionnaire, with boxes to be ticked.”

While on holiday Michel meets Valerie, who he believes is the last uncorrupted woman from the West. She sits there in her tourist hotel and longs for a new master. Women who can enjoy themselves and give pleasure to others are few and far between these days. Valerie is a last exception from a trend that cannot be halted, Michel recounts. Rather, women will become more and more like men. Michel loves the gentle side of her nature. She never takes it out on Michel when she works hard, she never gets angry and never has one of those attacks of nerves that makes dealings with women so demanding, so pathetic.

Michel enjoys being a tourist, particularly the excellent sex service. It is, of course, the goal of travel firms to make people happy for a set tariff during a set time frame. Michel thinks, therefore, that it would be masochistic and dishonest not to affirm the opportunities for abandon and enjoyment which tourism offers. The other tourists sometimes feel that everything is too touristy (35). This makes Michel mad, since they are denying the facts. He laughs at the “double-blind” paradox of the tourists’ frenetic search for un-touristy places whose authenticity disappears the moment the tourist turns up. Everything is touristy—packaged, superficial, and monotonously arranged. The world is going to look more and more like an airport and a shopping arcade—a *non*-place (Augé 1995). Michel explains that airport shops present a groomed version of nation-states, complete with barcodes—totally reconfigured to satisfy tourists (Houellebecq 2002, 93–4).

Nothing annoys Michel Renault as the fact that the consumption of certain goods is still charged with feelings of guilt. He reads *The Hitchhiker’s Guide* and is irritated by its double standards and hypocrisy as it does not affirm things as touristy but, rather, harks back to the domain and era of

the traveller. It sneaks in what everyone knows the tourist wants—blithe, unabashed sex. Michel affirms pleasure without guilt. Propaganda against child sex as in the White Paper “Inquisition 2000” is idiotic and, anyway, there isn’t more child sex in Thailand than in Europe, Valerie says (73). And it is not sex slavery, she insists—surprised, but not reproachful. They are not that poor; some even remodel their breasts, and that doesn’t come cheap (67). For the manipulative Western masochist, it is not enough that he suffers—everyone else has to suffer too (Nietzsche 2002), which is completely unnecessary and meaningless, according to Michel.

Michel and Valerie get the opportunity, via Valerie’s work, to sketch out a tourism concept that does not entail such masochism. Now, Michel can get an outlet for all his fantasies and realise sex tourism on a grand scale. He believes that it is not just an antidote for Westerners’ boredom but also important for, “the future of the world” (2002, 77). Regulated according to the supply and demand of an “invisible” hand and veiled as “friendly tourism”, sex tourism is going to be a global success. On one side of the equation, there are hundreds of millions of Westerners who have everything except sexual satisfaction—they search and search. On the other hand, there are billions of people who have nothing to sell except their bodies and their intact sexuality—an ideal (market) exchange situation. European companies fight for this space. Such is the nature of capitalism—if you’re not moving forward, you’re dead, so it is a matter of acquiring a distinctive competitive advantage. Will it never end? Michel wonders. In the eyes of the locals, the tourist comes across as a wallet on legs (161). Michel cites Ramid Amirou and says, “tourism is ... a system for a graded, codified and non-traumatized apperception of the outside and the other.” “Apperception” entails absorbing an observation whose image you already have inside of you. When the tourist goes adventure travelling or buys sex, prejudices escalate. In other words, tourism is not at all, “fatal to prejudice, bigotry and narrow-mindedness” as the Enlightenment travellers believed (Mark Twain, cited in Franklin 2003). One of Michel’s fellow tourists points out that one of the first effects of travelling is to reinforce or create racial prejudice. “Racism seems to be characterized first by an accumulation of hostility, a more aggressive sense of competition between males of different races; but the corollary is an increased desire for the females of the other race. What is really at stake in this racial struggle is neither economic nor cultural rather something brutal and biological. It is competition for the cunts of young women” (83). Tourism spaces are the arena where this global phallic war plays itself out. Houellebecq’s protagonist philosophises that sex tourism and racism are