

2007 ASA Conference  
Draft Paper for Panel on *Hospitality, culture and society*  
directed by Peter Lugosi, Bournemouth University

## **Fanta Orange for the Ancestors: Ingesting the ‘Mad’ Stranger in Southwest Madagascar**

David Picard  
Leeds Metropolitan University

In this paper, I will focus on the underlying strategies and symbolic implications of hospitality cultures and practices in South-West Madagascar. I will focus in particular on the ongoing contact between, and the co-presence of, Western strangers (tourists, anthropologists, conservationists, development agents, missionaries) and the heterogeneous populations living in Madagascar’s Menabe coastal area. I will argue that from a Malagasy coastal community perspective, these foreigners are frequently seen as ‘mad’; they manipulate complicated truth machines (computers), drive motor engine cars, fly planes like birds, have little respect for ancestors and *fady*, protect seemingly worthless ‘stones’ (corals), have powerful doctors, have access to potent Malagasy politicians, and dispose of seemingly endless economic resources. In this context, linking in with the world of Western strangers through forms of mimesis and material transculturation, by wearing their cloths, by imitating their behaviour, by fetishizing drinks like Fanta Orange during ancestor rituals, seems to become a means to appropriate this ‘madness’ and make it work for personal or collective local agendas. The paper aims to demonstrate that hospitality towards Western strangers – and I include here for instance the local participation in (modernist) environmental protection programmes run by Western strangers – manifests less a cultural involution, impact or acculturation to Western values than an active strategy to make strangers and their power work for diverse local agendas (among whom, in the Madagascan context, to solve the fishing crisis and the problem of the ‘reversal of the sea’ (coral bleaching)).

### **Anthropological approaches to tourism**

Anthropologists have usually approached tourism from three particular perspectives: the tourist journey, the host culture or the tourism production system. While the increasing body of studies adopting any of these three perspectives has led to the establishment of a theoretically grounded tourism studies field (Nash 2007), the actual ‘object’ of study often remains almost mythically flue (Miller & Auyong 1998). Few anthropologists have indeed managed to grasp the complexity and multipolarity of tourism and the largely despatialised and fragmented contexts in which it evolves. It seems obvious that tourism is about more than the tourist experience of the journey *per se* or a set of pervasive representations naturalising a particular world order. Also, tourism seems to be about more than an internationalised re-creative infrastructure reproducing power relations at different scales of a global capitalist system. Finally, tourism appears to be more than a mere impact on ‘local’ culture and society, leading to the development of local tourism cultures.

Tourism takes place in many places and on different scales at the same time. It involves different institutions and social actors and hence engenders simultaneously a multitude of social and political dynamics. In this sense, tourism needs to be seen as a

multilayered and multipolar phenomenon taking place at a variety of interconnected scales. This makes it necessary to think of tourism (and other global phenomena) beyond a space-based ontology of difference and overcome our empathy with the classical dichotomies of inside and outside, of subject and object, of ‘Self’ and ‘Other’, of ‘host’ and ‘guest’ as mere intellectual constructions. At the same time, the very nature of this particular ontology of distance, frequently dominating the discourse and epistemology of tourists, but also of scientists and Western geographical imagination in general, become a pertinent object of study (Rabinow 1986, Rosaldo 1993, Jackson 1998).

From this point, I suggest approaching tourism as a set of symbolic, economic and social connections within a complex multi-scaled globality rather than as a unilateral dynamic emanating from a particular spatial centre or history (Appadurai 2003). To study tourism ethnographically, consequently, means to embrace the complexity of relationships, collaborations, and frictions between all actors at a particular scale. In this context, the classical ethnographic scale of ‘locality’ remains a pertinent frame of observation, as it is ‘where things happen’ (Lanfant 1995). On this scale, ethnographic work needs to study how ‘locality’ is constituted through the contact, co-presence, mutual relationships of, but also the friction between, diverse actors rather than as a positive ethnographic object *per se* (Pratt 1992, Tsing 2005). To study the realm of such ‘contacts zones’ (Pratt 1992), all actors need to be considered at an equal level, including the observer him or her self. The acceptance of the anthropologist to be part of this social reality, precisely as an anthropologist or, in a broader sense, as a particular type of stranger, seems fundamental for this kind of approach. From this point, the participating anthropologist observes the realities that unfold within a social context of which he or she is part.

### **Studying ‘hospitality’**

This text is based on research that was carried out in a fishing village in Madagascar where I was hosted as a visiting researcher by a Western non-governmental organisation (NGO) working within the field of marine conservation. This research was part of a wider multi-sited programme on the politics of marine conservation in the Western Indian Ocean. The particular position of ‘visiting researcher’ allowed me to follow the NGO’s group of marine biologists and fee-paying volunteers and observe their daily interactions with different types of villagers, Malagasy and international tourists, political and economic stakeholders, and Western missionaries and expatriates. It also gave me access to other Western research and conservation organisations working in the village and allowed to observe how contact and connections were established between these different actors.

Within the local context of this village, I was considered as a particular type of stranger, a white European male usually associated with the marine conservation NGO that was hosting me. Embracing this particular social performance within this context enabled a participant observation of hospitality. I did not pretend to be a ‘fly at the wall’ or any other kind of ‘neutral’ observer, but engaged with people precisely in terms of me being a stranger. Doing fieldwork thus became a form of intersubjective participation. This ‘strategy’ naturally enabled a pertinent frame for a participative observation approach to Malagasy hospitality cultures and practices. This approach equally legitimated the use of a video camera to record the interactions, which was useful at a later stage to study, in a dialogical fashion engaging the subjects of the study, what happened when I arrived with my camera. I believe this kind of approach goes beyond a Jean Rouch style *cinema vérité* approach, because

while it creates its own milieu in which the filming takes place, this milieu is not experimental, nor alien to the local subjects which are part of it. It is a temporary milieu in which I am performing a role of interested and respectful stranger, whereas my hosts act out particular forms of hospitality performance.

At the same time, I am not a tourist even though I may look like. I am an anthropologist trying to understand the political, symbolic and economic underpinnings of local hospitality and of dealing with strangers in general. While I would rhetorically admit, in a postmodernist, self-ironic fashion, that all anthropologists, me included, are fundamentally driven by a tourism paradigm, I am not a tourist precisely because I stay longer, observe more carefully, more methodically, and more goal oriented. I am aware of the ethical dilemmas involved in this type of approach. I have learnt pertinent techniques to approach ‘hosts’ and penetrate their social and cultural intimacy. I bring gifts and respect hospitality protocol. I play out the role that is attributed to me, in the spaces attributed to me. I tell subjects what I am doing (studying tourism contact zones and development) with the frequent effect that I am considered as an even ‘more important’ stranger. This often induces the performance of even more sophisticated hospitality practices, which gives me an even better or thicker understanding of such practices. Yet, while the subjects control what is shown to me, I control what I will do with what is shown to me. In this intersubjective spiral, the more ‘serious’ I am taken as a stranger, the ‘better’ my data gets. After a long ‘hospitality session’, after recording what I considered as very ‘good’ data, where subjects gave away new or deeper insights into their meanings of accommodating strangers, I often felt bad because I knew these subjects didn’t know – or didn’t care – about the ‘power’ of their words or performances when translated into an anthropological text. In this sense, I often felt like considering the footage of some spectacular or rarely observed sacrifice or ritual like a precious ‘fieldwork trophy’, I would be able to edit and put into a compelling ethnographic story.

### **Malagasy ontology of danger and distance**

Contact with local and international ‘strangers’ and the establishment of ongoing relations are not new phenomena in Madagascar’s south-west coast. Fishing populations in this area have only recently given up a semi-nomadic life-style, in which the negotiation of social and political alliances and the accumulation of spiritual and political power were fundamental for the organisation of social life.

In the Malagasy worldview, people alive poise the power legitimating their social and political position in society from the power socially attributed to their ancestors (Koechling 1975, Lambek 1993, Astuti 1995, 2007). Consequently, the notable lineages that first arrived in a particular area also were seen to have the most powerful ancestors. The common belief in the efficiency of this magico-spiritual system can hence be said to be at the basis of the social and political organisation at a local level. Newly arriving people, usually migrants from other parts of Madagascar, subsequently submitted themselves to this form of rule, usually by becoming part of the notable autochthon lineages’ clientele and joking relationships (Fauroux 2002). Until not too recently, the migration of outsiders hence contributed to further increase the power of these autochthon lineages and reaffirmed local power structures. However, the massive increase of internal migrations since the 1980s, caused in particular by draughts in the country’s South, and the establishment of large migrant communities in the West of Madagascar have frequently led to an erosion of this form of governance (Blanc-Pamard & Fauroux 2004). In many cases, the notable

autochthon lineages were unable to ‘absorb’ the sheer number of migrants and subdue them to their rule. This erosion of power was further amplified by the emancipation of new patriarchs (*mpanarivos*) often within the autochthon lineage groups. The latter often quickly gained economic wealth and political power, frequently through cattle rustling (Fauroux *et al.* 2003), hence challenging the established form of rule.

The contact with Western strangers can be seen from within this perspective. Several interlocutors told me about the ‘madness’ of the Westerners, their ‘power’ to know and subdue the invisible world. I had long conversations about technology, about how one could build a plane that ‘flies like a bird in the sky’, about computers that ‘predict the truth’ in advance, of car engines that turn without visible power input. I was told stories by elderly Malagasy about how they feared the Western strangers when they were younger, wild rumours about Westerners eating the hearts of Malagasy children or drinking their blood to gain their power<sup>1</sup>. The very notion of ‘foreigner’ or ‘stranger’ needs to be seen as *emic*, as a symbolic category enchanting the distance underlying social relations and order (Jackson 1998). The phenomenon of treating strangers and strangeness in terms of ‘madness’ seems to be grounded in an ontology rather common in human society (Simmel 1950). It has in particular been related to the political constitution of social subjects (Foucault 2000). A famous example has been provided by Jean Rouch in his study of Hauka possession cults<sup>2</sup>. I will argue that hospitality culture and practices in southwest Madagascar are based upon the constitution of the Other, the Western stranger, as ‘mad’, powerful and potentially contagious and dangerous. Hospitality strategy will consequently aim to ‘master’ the power and danger of this madness, sometimes by consigning it to certain spaces, sometimes by making it work for the political and symbolic purposes of the hosts. In the following I will show some examples of manipulating the power inherent to the ontological difference of the stranger, through mimesis, amicable manipulation in ceremonies (Fauroux 2004) and the appropriation of material culture.

### **Malagasy strategies to master ontological difference**

During the ceremonies (*fumba*) held before the opening of the octopus fishing season, various objects were ritually sacrificed or brought into the ritual performance. Among them, Fanta Orange and rum, sponsored by the Western NGOs, were offered as gifts to the ancestors (*razana*). It is the drinks of the Westerners, I was later told by the lineage chief who had established the relation with the supernatural. Our ancestors have seen Western strangers consume these drinks and have then asked us to provide the same drinks so they could try them. They liked them, he further explained, and from then on we used to offer them these drinks. In this sense mobilising a particular material culture of the stranger was integrated to the symbolic and spiritual realm of the ceremony.

One of these ceremonies took place on an island housing the spirits of a very powerful and important family of ancestors. I was invited with other ‘important’ strangers and

---

<sup>1</sup> Similar stories have been reported from other areas in Madagascar (Freeman 2004).

<sup>2</sup> In his *Les Maitres-Foux*, an ethnographic motion picture shot in and outside Accra, Ghana, Rouch films a large annual possession ceremony of the *Hauka* cult. During the ceremony, people are possessed by spirits of colonial administrators and act out these respective roles. In extremis, a dog is eaten, illustrating, according to Rouch, that the colonial masters are considered as the mad (going so far as to eat a dog) mastered by the *Hauka* priests. In an interview with John Marshall and John Adams, Rouch later explains the *Hauka* cult as a contemporary reworking of traditional religion within the contemporary colonial context, as a way to mobilise the power of colonial figures for various political and economic causes (Adams 1978).

while participating in this ceremony, I observed wooden model boats put on one of the tables that served as shrines for these ancestors. I later went back to this island to enquire about these shrines. I was told that the children in the village often fabricate such boats and when tourists saw the children play with them, they often asked whether they could acquire one to take it home as a souvenir. Having seen that, the ancestors had asked to have such boat models as well, put on their tables. Similarly to the first example, the attribution of value to a particular type of material culture passes through the stranger's association with these objects. They only become 'powerful' through this association and are consequently integrated to the symbolic and spiritual realm of the ancestors.

On day, one of my main informants invited me to a cattle sacrifice ceremony organised to ask the ancestors to help a young child to recover from disease. He asked me to bring the camera and come with two other strangers to manipulate the reflector and the sound equipment. During the ceremony he advised us how to shoot the sacrifice, mainly by situating us at centre stage of the ceremony. In addition he wanted a large number of photos of him, us and selected member of his lineage being taken. Obviously we were not considered as an 'invisible' camera crew ought to record the ceremony for future memory, but as highly visible participants in this ceremony. Hence putting our expensive camera equipment and us on display, ostensibly performing gestures of friendship and closeness with us strangers (touching us, shaking hands, smiling, guiding us around, joking with us), he seemed to use us as part of the ceremonial ostentation. He later explained me that it is 'good' to be seen with the 'foreigners' (*vazaha*) cause people in his family and other important invitees then will think that he, himself, is becoming like a foreigner.

The appropriation and transculturation of Western material objects, their autoethnographic use in local formulations of the self, but also the mimesis of Western 'styles', practices or ways of doing or the 'staged' integration of strangers to friendship and joking kinship relations, could consequently be related to a strategy of making the alleged power of the stranger work for local political and economic agendas. One could push this explanation even further and suggest that the local participation in Western 'nature' or 'culture' conservation agendas manifests less an acculturation to environmental and conservationist values or a calculation of more economical uses of fishing resources than an active strategy to make the foreigners and their power work for local agendas. One of these agendas is to solve the current fishing crisis. Indeed, the fishers in the village are very aware of the environmental crisis related to coral bleaching, which they frequently attribute to the weakening power of the autochthon lineages and their ancestors (*razana*). Most of them seem perfectly aware of the impact coral bleaching has had on fish populations. This changed situation is usually explained by a 'reversal of the sea' where the bottom of the sea has been turned upside down. The participation in the strangers' conservation projects thus can be seen as a mode of appropriating the stranger for his or her 'power', in a desperate attempt to solve the ecological crisis (for autochthon lineage chiefs) or further the erosion of local political power structures (by migrants and newly emerged patriarchs).

## **Conclusion**

While anthropologists have often approached tourism in a compartmentalised way, usually from the particular perspective of tourists, hosts or the tourism production system, I have suggested in this text to study tourism as a complex social phenomenon that 'comes to life' through a multitude of connections at different

scales. Adopting Anna Tsing's term of 'friction' (Tsing 2005), I have focused on the meeting, interacting, collaborating and rubbing of different actors at a local scale 'where things happen'. Through a juxtaposition of a series of cases in which the Malagasy respectively engage in relationships with the Westerners, I have tried to show that the ontological difference of the Western Other is used within a local social and political framework, and how hospitality cultures and practices work at mastering the 'madness' of the Western stranger. This text is work in progress based on ongoing fieldwork. Further data will be collected on the spatial practices of hospitality, on the Malagasy approaches to hygiene, contagion and danger, and on the politicisation of hospitality performance in the contemporary tourism contact zone. Furthermore, the observations will need to be confronted to, and dialecticised with, academic debates on strangeness and ontological difference (Simmel 1950, Levi-Strauss, Bahbha 1983, Sahlins 1994), on contact and transculturation (Pratt 1992, Bruner 2004, Tsing 2005), and on tourism and material culture. Also the question on the ethics of this particular approach will be treated with more detail.

**Bibliography (not all entries are quoted in the text)**

- Adams J. (1978) Jean Rouch Talks about his films to John Marshall and John Adams. *American Anthropologist* 80(4): 1005-1020.
- Appadurai A. (2003) Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a transnational Anthropology. In his *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, pp. 48-65.
- Archdeacon S. (1964) Erotic Grave Sculpture of the Sakalava and Vezo. *Transition* 12:43-47.
- Arno, R.F. (ed.) (1980) *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism. The foundations at home and abroad*. GK Hall, Boston.
- Astudi R. (1995) "The Vezo Are Not a Kind of People": Identity, Difference, and Ethnicity among a Fishing People of Western Madagascar. *American Ethnologist* 22(3): 464-482.
- Astudi R. (2007) La moralité des conventions: tabous ancestraux a Madagascar. *Terrain revue d'ethnologie de l'Europe* 48 :101-112.
- Bahbha, H. (1983) The Other Question: The Stereotype And Colonial Discourse. *Screen* 24(4).
- Blanc-Pamard C. and Fauroux E. (2004) L'illusion participative. Exemples ouest-malgaches. *Autrepart*, 31: 3-20
- Bruner E. M. (2004) *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Butcher Jim (2003) *The Moralisation of Tourism: Sun, Sand... and Saving the World?* Routledge, London.
- Clifford J. (1987) Of Other Peoples: Beyond the Salvage Paradigm. In H. Foster (ed.) *Discussions in Contemporary Culture*. Seattle: Bay Press.
- Clifford, J. (1997) Spatial Practices: Fieldwork, Travel and the Disciplining of Anthropology. In his *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*
- Clifford, J. and Marcus G.E. (eds.) (1986) *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography*. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.
- Cohen E. (1988) Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism. *Annals of tourism research*, 15: 371-386.

- Cohen E. (1992) Pilgrimage and tourism: convergence and divergence. In Alan Morinis (ed.) *Sacred journeys: the anthropology of pilgrimage*. Westport, Greenwood.
- Crick M. (1985) Tracing the anthropological self: quizzical reflections on field work, tourism and the ludic. *Social Analysis* 17: 71-91.
- Crick, M. (1991) Tourists, locals, and anthropologists. Quizzical reflections on 'Otherness' in tourist encounters and in tourism research. *Australian Cultural History*, 10: 6-18.
- Duffy R. (2002) *A Trip Too Far. Ecotourism, Politics & Exploitation*. Earthscan, London.
- Duffy, R. and Smith, M. (2003) *The Ethics of Tourism Development*. Routledge, London.
- Englin, A.R.P. (1937) Les Vezo ou “enfants de la mer”: Monographie d'une sous-tribu Sakalava, Madagascar. Librairie Vincentienne et Missionnaire, Bellevue
- Enzensberger H. M. (1964) *Eine Theorie des Tourismus. In his Einzelheiten I – Bewusstseins-Industrie*. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, pp. 179-205.
- Fabian J. (1983) *Time and the Other: How Anthropology makes its Object*. New York, Columbia University Press.
- Faubleé M. and Faubleé J. (1950) Pirogue et navigations chez les Vezo du Sud-Ouest de Madagascar. *L'Anthropologie* 54 : 432-54.
- Fauroux E. (2002) *Comprendre une société rurale. Une méthode d'enquête anthropologique appliquée à l'Ouest malgache*. Gret, Paris
- Fauroux E. (2004) Festive Ostentation and Amicable Manipulation of Strangers in Madagascar. In M. Robinson and D. Picard (eds) *Journeys of Expressions III: Tourism and Festivals as Transnational Practice* (Conference Proceedings CD ROM). CTCC, Sheffield
- Fauroux E., Fiaina, Tsiebo M., Charles, M., Samisoa (2003) *Voleurs de Bœufs, Etat et Paysans dans l'Ouest et le Sud-Ouest Malgaches*. IRD Regards/CNRE/IRD, Pessac, France and Tuléar, Madagascar
- Featherstone M. (1990) Global Culture: An Introduction. In his (ed.) *Global Culture*, Sage, coll. “Theory, Culture & Society”, London, pp. 1-14.
- Foucault M. (2000) Madness and Society. In J.D. Faubion (ed.) *Aesthetics. Essential Works of Michel Foucault 1954-1984*. Penguin, London and New York, pp. 335-342.
- Foucault M. (2000) Governmentality. In J.D. Faubion (ed.) *Power. Essential Works of Michel Foucault 1954-1984*. Penguin, London and New York, pp. 201-222.
- Freeman L. (2004) Voleurs de foies, voleurs de coeurs. Européens et Malgaches occidentalises vus par les Betsileos (Madagascar). *Terrain Revue d'ethnologie de l'Europe*. 43 : 85-106.
- Galani-Moutafi V. (1999) The self and the other: travellers, ethnographers, tourists. *Annals of Tourism Research* 27: 203-224.
- Graburn N. (1989) Tourism: The Sacred Journey. In V. Smith (ed.) *Hosts and Guests, 2nd ed.* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, pp. 22-36.
- Graburn N. (2002) The Ethnographic Tourist. In G.M.S. Dann (ed.) *The Tourist as a Metaphor of the Social World*. CAB International, Wallingford, pp. 19-40.
- Grandidier A. and Grandidier G. (1917) *Ethnographie de Madagascar*. IV(3)
- Greenblatt S. (1980) *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago University Press, Chicago.
- Greenwood D.J. (1976) Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological Perspective Tourism as Cultural Commoditization. In V.L. Smith (ed.) *Hosts and Guests: The*

- Anthropology of Tourism*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, pp. 129-137.
- Hannerz U. (1996) *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*. Routledge, London.
- Hutnyk, J. (1996) *The Rumour of Calcutta: Tourism, Charity, and the Poverty of Representation*. Zed books, London.
- Jackson M. (1998) *Minima Ethnographica: Intersubjectivity and the Anthropological Project*. Chicago University Press, Chicago.
- Keyes & Van Den Berghe P.L. (1984) Tourism and Ethnicity (special issue) *Annals of Tourism Research*, 11
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett B. (1998) *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. University of California Press: Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.
- Koechlin B. (1975) Les Vezo du Sud-Ouest de Madagascar. Contribution a l'étude de l'écosystème de semi-nomades marins. Cahier de l'Homme xv. Mouton, Paris.
- Lambek M. (1992) Taboo as cultural practice among Malagasy speakers. *Man* 27(2): 245-266.
- Lanfant M.-F. (1980) *Tourism in the Process of Internationalization*. International Social Sciences Journal 17, (1) pp. 14-43.
- Lanfant M.-F., Allcock J.B., Bruner E. (1995) *International Tourism: Identity and Change*. Sage, London.
- Lanfant, M.-F. and Graburn, N. (1992) International Tourism Reconsidered: The Principle of the Alternative. In V. L. Smith and W. R. Eadington (eds.) *Tourism Alternatives. Potentials and Problems in the Development of Tourism*. John Wiley & sons, Chichester, pp. 88-112.
- Lash S. and Urry J. (1994) *Economies of signs and space*. Sage, London.
- Latouche S. (1996) *The Westernization of the world: the significance, scope and limits of the drive towards global uniformity*. Polity, Oxford.
- Levi-Strauss C. (2001) *Tristes Tropiques*. Pocket, Paris.
- Lilette V. (2006) Mixed Results: Conservation of the Marine Turtle and the Red-Tailed Tropicbird by Vezo Semi-Nomadic Fishers. *Conservation and Society* 4(2): 262-286.
- Tsing Lowenhaupt, Anna (2005) *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey
- MacCannell D. (1976) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. Schocken, New York.
- MacCannell, D. (1992) *Empty Meeting Grounds. The Tourist Papers*. Routledge, London and New York.
- Marikandia M. (2001) The Vezo of the Fihereña Coast, Southwest Madagascar: Yesterday and Today. *Ethnohistory* 48(1-2): 157-170.
- Miller, M.L. and Auyong, J. (1998). Remarks on tourism terminologies: Anti-tourism, mass tourism and alternative tourism. In M.L. Miller and J. Auyong, (eds.) *Proceedings of the 1996 World Congress on Coastal and Marine Tourism* (19-22 June 1996, Honolulu, Hawaii, and USA). Washington Sea Grant Program and School of Marine Affairs, University of Washington and Oregon Sea Grant College Program, Oregon State University, pp. 1- 24.
- Millot J. and Pascal A. (1952) Notes sur la sorcellerie chez les Vezo de la Region de Morombe. *Mémoires de l'Institut Scientifique de Madagascar Série C, Tome I, Fascicule 1*, pp. 13-28
- Nash D. (1989) Tourism as a Form of Imperialism. In V. Smith (ed.) *Hosts and Guests, 2nd ed.* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, pp. 37-52.

- Nash, D. (2007) *The Study of Tourism: Anthropological and Sociological Beginnings*. Elsevier, London.
- Picard D. and Robinson M. (2006) *Remaking Worlds: Festivals, Tourism and Change*. Channel View, Clevedon.
- Picard M. (1992) *Bali. Tourisme culturel et culture touristique*. L'Harmattan, Paris.
- Picard, D. (2001) *Les Nouveaux Jardins Sacrés. Une Approche Anthropologique du Tourisme International a La Réunion (PhD thesis in anthropology)*. Université De La Réunion, Saint Denis.
- Picard, D. & Robinson M. (eds) (2006) *Remaking Worlds: Festivals, Tourism and Social Change*. Channel View Publications, Clevedon.
- Picard D. (2007 forthcoming) La relation a l'étranger à La Réunion. In C. Ghasarian (ed.) *Anthropologie de La Reunion*.
- Powdermaker H. (1966) *Stranger and Friend: The Ways of An Anthropologist*. Norton, New York.
- Pratt M.-L. (1992) *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Routledge, London and New York.
- Rabinow, P. (1986) Representations are Social Facts: Modernity and Post-Modernity in Anthropology. In J. Clifford & G.E. Marcus (eds.) *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Robertson, R. (1990) Mapping the Global Conditions: Globalization as the Central Concept. In M. Featherstone (ed.) *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*. Sage, London, pp. 15-30.
- Robinson, M. & Picard, D. (eds.) (2007 forthcoming) *Tourism and Photography*. Ashgate, London.
- Rosaldo, R. (1993) *Culture and Truth. The Remaking of Social Analysis*. Beacon, Boston.
- Sahlins, M. (1994) Goodbye to Tristes Tropiques: Ethnography in the Context of Modern World History. In R. Bolton (Ed.) *Assessing Cultural Anthropology*. McGraw Hill, New York.
- Saïd E. (1978) *Orientalism*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
- Simmel G. (1950) The Stranger. In *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (Translation by Kurt Wolff). Free Press, New York.
- Tedlock B. (1991) From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation: the Emergence of Narrative Ethnography. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 47(1): 69-94.
- Turner V. (1973) The Center out There: Pilgrim's Goal. *History of Religions* 12(3): 191-230.
- Turner, V. (1977). *The ritual process: Structure and antistructure*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Turner L. and Ash J. (1975) *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery*. Constable, London.
- Turner V. & Turner E. (1978) *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Urry J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze*. Sage, London.
- Van den Berghe P. L. (1980) *Tourism as Ethnic Relations: A Case Study of Cuzco, Peru*. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 3, pp. 375-392.
- Viard J. (2000) *Court traité sur les vacances, les voyages et l'hospitalité des lieux*. Aube, Paris.
- Wang, N. (1999) Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience. *Annals of tourism research*, 26(2): 349-370.

- Wheeller, B. (1993) Sustaining the Ego. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 1(2):121-129.
- Wheeller, B. (1998) Eco/Ego/Sustainable Tourism: The Complete Confidence Trick. In Franck Michel (ed.) *Tourismes, Touristes, Sociétés*. L'Harmattan, Paris, pp. 45-55.

Dr David Picard  
Senior Research Fellow  
Centre for Tourism and Cultural Change  
Leeds Metropolitan University  
Faculty of Arts and Society  
The Old School Board  
Calverley Street  
Leeds LS1 3ED  
United Kingdom

[d.picard@leedsmet.ac.uk](mailto:d.picard@leedsmet.ac.uk)