

# **The Political-Economy of Enchantment: Formations in the anthropology of tourism**

## **1. Framing the Field**

### Clearing the Ground

Social anthropologists have, from the early days, been concerned directly and indirectly with travel and travellers. The discipline is, after all, anchored to such ethnographic moorings as the journeys of the Kula ring, the seasonal and other forms of travel that are integral to pastoralist societies, routine movements associated with work and visiting kin, together with such historical journeys as those of imperial explorers and pilgrims. Questions about the nature of hospitality, of solidarities within groups of travellers, the relation between travel and the natural world, and the intersecting structures of travel, trade, labour, and conquest have all been of interest. So too have questions about the boundaries of social groups in the face of strangers, about the ways in which family and kinship networks have been maintained in contexts in which members are geographically dispersed, and about the politico-economic structures which give rise to and contextualise mobility. All of these, with others, are issues of long-standing and continuing anthropological enquiry.

One substantial stream of work within this wide field has, for the last half-century or so, been conducted under a rubric of the anthropology of tourism. Keeping the wider compass (of mobility in its various forms) in mind, the principal aim of the present paper is to discuss the formation and theoretical contours of this subject, and to speculate about some of the future directions it may take. The intention is not to provide yet another general summary of the field (Nash, 1996, Burns, 1999) nor overly to rely on the most frequently quoted sources. Rather it is to sketch out, in the first part of the paper, how various disparate concerns were brought together to form a more or less coherent subject and, in the second slightly lengthier part, to trace its more recent development using a select body of anthropological work. Emphasis is placed throughout on the centrality of detailed ethnography. This is why the central section of the paper consists of (necessarily brief) readings of five full-length monographs in which tourism takes a leading role.

Acknowledging (sparingly) the insights from neighbouring disciplines when these fit into the main thrust of the paper the aim here is to concentrate

specifically on anthropological approaches, implying along the way that “thinking through tourism”<sup>1</sup> also allows occasional opportunities to ‘think through’ aspects of social anthropology.

The paper is grounded upon the general proposition that a primary concern of anthropological studies of tourism lies with the symbolic and politico-economic processes surrounding the transformation of ‘raw materials’ - including time, space, human and geographical capital, into products of the tourism industry at global and local levels.

The particular theoretical concept used to generate insights into this process is that of enchantment. Given the history of the sociological and anthropological uses of this term it seems a rich enough tool with which to approach a subject relating to an industry that is fuelled by, *inter alia*, ideas, values, and symbolic structures the purposes of which are to enchant: to attract, to shape imaginations, interpretations, and memories, and to otherwise enhance processes of cognitive and emotional transformations. Its use here is partly inspired by Gellner’s (1979:41) acerbic description of the then fashionable cult of ethno-methodology as a “re-enchantment industry”. Gellner himself was never directly concerned with the present field<sup>2</sup>, but tourism is clearly also another good example of an “enchantment industry”. There will be more to say about the term and its analytical potential shortly.

Before that, however, and to clarify the title of the paper, it bears observing that today’s tourism industry is also, self evidently, shaped by global and local and global economic and political relations. The emphasis here on processes of enchantment is thus accompanied both by an attention to the politico-economic contexts in which these occur.

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<sup>1</sup> To quote from the title of 2007 conference on tourism organised by the Association of Social Anthropologists.

<sup>2</sup> Although the author recalls a moment during an event at the Institute of Contemporary Arts where, in the context of a comprehensive demolition of post-modernist thought, Gellner complained that during a recent car journey from Prague to London he had to look hard for an ‘authentic’ working class quarter of a French town he was passing through in order to find suitable accommodation for the night, much of the town having been gentrified and decorated with an eye to capturing tourists. In this passing reference he touched on issues (gentrification, authenticity, hospitality, for example) of routine interest to anthropologists of tourism.

At this point a note needs making about the terms tourist and tourism themselves. Here there could, if we chose to make it one, be a problem. In the first place there are, of course, many different types of both. Speaking about either thus needs to be accompanied by a variety of caveats and nuances. Nevertheless, providing these are constant companions to the discussion, it still seems worthwhile to follow writers, such as MacCannell (1976) and others, who have discussed both tourism and tourists generically. Secondly there are those, notably Rojek and Urry (1997), who have questioned the very category of 'tourism' itself. They have a point. Tourism is, as they put it (imagining what Marx might have said), a "chaotic conception". It is worth noticing, however, that having established an expectation amongst their readers that their work might deconstruct the term (and perhaps with it the field) these authors then pass on with apparently undimmed enthusiasm to write lyrically of "the lightness and adventure that still animates tourist activity" (op.cit.19) and thereafter to present us with a sparkling collection of studies about aspects of tourism, most of which contain the term. Perhaps we can simply follow their example and decide to live with the fact that the terms tourism and tourist are less than perfectly clear (what terms are?) but that they tend to provoke and be surrounded by lively debates and discussions.

### *Enchantment*

Bennett (2001) opens her authoritative Enchantment of Modern Life by expressing her unease with the idea (which most would ascribe to Weber) that the world is in some way 'disenchanted'. She finds little evidence, for example, to support the view that the world is emptying itself of magic<sup>3</sup> or that 'rationalisation' and 'secularisation' are proceeding as fast as Weber might have wished us to assume. For her, enchantment implies several qualities: attachment, surprise, wonder, the suspension of time and bodily movement, as well as elements of fear. Bennett argues that we may locate enchantment in "surprising encounters, pleasurable feelings, and the sense of being disrupted from one's default dispositions". It is associated with feelings of "fullness and liveliness, of being 'tuned up', and of being thrust back into a state of childlike excitement". She quotes with approval from the historians Daston and Park who "note that, in early modern Europe, the terms for wonder and wonders - *admiratio, mirabilia, miracula* – seem to

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<sup>3</sup> The German *entzauberung* implies a disengagement from religious superstition and myth

have their roots in an Indo-European for smile” (op.cit.:5) and also observes that the ‘chant’ of enchantment is derived from the French, sing, and that chanting is by nature emotionally, psychologically, and possibly sociologically, transformative. She further argues that Weber’s theory of disenchantment comes with two linked assumptions: that disenchanted modernity is normally thought to be radically distinguished from a ‘traditional’ golden (and magical) age, and that many human beings in the present look back with nostalgia at that age.

Bennett’s story of enchantment is both attractive and convincing but there are two possible difficulties, both of which concern the relationship between enchantment and reason (op.cit.:139). The first problem lies with Bennett’s espousal of Schiller’s criticism of the Kantian insistence on the moral primacy of the intellect. How is it, she asks with Schiller, that in an age supposedly of rational enlightenment we still witness acts of ethical barbarism? What reason needs, she argues, is a ‘champion’, namely enchantment. This, she argues, provides human beings with what she calls “ethical generosity” and the capacity, in Schiller’s words, not only to “accept” truth but also to “adopt” it. The problem (in my view) is that human beings may be as enchanted as much by lies and fear as with truth and rational discussion. A recent example of this follows from Comrade Rumsfeld’s appellation for the bombing of Baghdad in 2003 by the United States as “Shock and Awe”. One of the points here is that Rummy and his cronies calculated (rightly in the case of the British authorities) that those who would be “awed” by the bombing would include not only the inhabitants of the city but other populations and governments around the world who would be awed, very precisely, by the scale of military might it represented. In this sense the bombing appears as an act designed, quite precisely, to disengage reason and diplomacy from the international political stage and to assert the primacy of an enchanted version of political legitimation that rests on rank force alone.

The second difficulty follows closely. It starts from the thought that, following Bloch’s (1975) dissection of the form, one space in which enchantment is readily to be found is in the realm of political oratory, the purpose of which is also precisely to ‘enchant’. Bloch argues that the “formalisation” of speech characteristic of political oratory differs markedly from the openness of everyday speech acts. Whilst the latter permits speakers to choose whether they speak loudly or softly, to select their intonation, to use any words they like, and so on, the former is associated

with fixed loudness patterns, limited choices of intonation, partial and limited vocabulary, and so on (op.cit.:13). In these senses political oratory effectively “freezes” the full range of possibilities inherent in unrestricted and open speech. All of this makes, we might add, rational and democratic exchanges more difficult. Thus, whilst acknowledging, in the spirit of Bennett’s optimistic usages of the notion of enchantment, that oratory can, indeed, have ethically beneficial consequences we all know of cases of political oratory being used to ‘enchant’ audiences away from rational states of mind towards irrational and ethically barbarous dispositions.

One particular type of oratory finds its way into expressions of nationalism. For several writers on the subject (Kedourie, 1960, and Anderson, 1983, being amongst the most prominent) nationalism is one of the first cousins to enchantment. Thus, for example, a recent study of Finnish nationalism by Valenius (2004) argues that nationalist painters of late 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries represented the Finnish landscape as an amalgam of lakes and rugged wild forests in an attempt cognitively and emotionally to, as she puts it, “enmesh nation and nature” partly by eliding the struggles of nature with those for the nation. Her argument that “landscape is not only seen, gazed on, and imagined but politically constructed” is one shared by many anthropologists of landscape in the last decade or so. She further argues that Finnish nationalism involves mobilising support not only for enchanted visions of nature and the nation (ie the body politic) but also of the physical body itself. We will return to this particular argument, and the way that is relevant to the anthropology of tourism, shortly.

Anthropologists have worked with the term enchantment in a variety of ways. Gell (1999) writes that a work of art may exercise a compelling agency over viewers by “captivating” and/or enchanting them, adding that a work of art is at its most compelling when it is thought by the viewer to represent the prototype of its subject. Gell’s work has given rise to subsequent anthropological studies of art and music, several contained in a volume of essays assembled in his honour (Pinney and Thomas, 2001) on the art and technologies of enchantment.

The purpose of these few words is principally to draw attention to some of the uses of the idea of enchantment by social scientists, including anthropologists, and summarily to indicate that it is a both rich and problematic term.

Having thus opened up one or two lines of thought, we may productively return to our consideration of the anthropology of tourism and move to consider various points of origins of the field as a whole.

### Some precursors to the Anthropology of Tourism

As already implied the anthropology of tourism has a number of points of origin. Here are four.

First of all there is the work by historians and anthropologists, often using the work of diarists and travel writers, concerned with the history of travel and tourism, including the historical formation of the tourist him- or her self. Looking at travel and tourism historically is a productive starting point not just because it reminds us that in the past journeys have been undertaken for a variety of reasons - religious, scientific, diplomatic, pleasure and status seeking, for example - but because (as will suggested throughout much of what follows) this diversity gives us considerable insight into the several overlapping and interpenetrating dispositions of contemporary tourists.

Secondly, coming from the classics<sup>4</sup> and more recently from anthropology itself, there is a lineage of writings concerned with hospitality. This is a topic that implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, pervades much anthropological work<sup>5</sup> and is a useful one for all sorts of reasons.

Thirdly, anthropologists have been bequeathed a rich seam of work by semiologists on such topics such as imagery, material objects, landscape, and the body.

Fourthly, there is the work by political-economists (as well as policy makers concerned with development, and others) on the place of tourism in global and local economic and political systems.

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<sup>4</sup> . In different ways, both Plato and Homer are associated with hospitality, the former by association (the participants of the Symposium were guests hosted at a banquet of distinguished Athenians hosted by Agathon), the latter, more directly: one of the main pre-occupations of the Odyssey being the proper structures of hospitality in the domestic sphere as these were challenged and disrupted by Penelope's suitors.

<sup>5</sup> In such areas as gift and food exchange systems and practices, for example.

We could range beyond these disciplines – to literature, art history, archaeology, and beyond – before exhausting a discussion of the points of origin of the subject. But, staying for present purposes with these four (and always seeking a language and method to link them together) we may look at each a little more closely in order to come to a view about how anthropologists have gathered the various streams together and marshalled them into a more or less coherent body of work.

### *Historical Sources and Referents: Myths, diplomacy, and science*

In her essay on the historical roots of travel and tourism, Adler (1989) lists pilgrimage, scientific expeditions, diplomatic journeys, the long traditions of independent travel, and (from the northern European perspective) the Grand Tour, as being precursors to contemporary tourism. In her view tourism may thus fruitfully be seen as being based, *inter alia*, on the search for mythical landscapes, scientific knowledge, relationships with persons and polities outside (and, indeed, inside) one's own, an interest in how societies work and how they may be controlled, and with artistic and other cultural productions that are at once familiar (as reminders of imagined 'origins' of 'our' culture) and exotic. All of which makes such writers as Ibn Batuta, Geoffrey Chaucer, Mark Twain (1871), Charles Darwin, Ivo Andric, amongst many others, progenitors of the *genre*: a noble lineage indeed!

However, as Melton (2002) perceptively writes of Twain's Innocents Abroad, what is interesting is not *just* the travel itself but rather the way in which it is politically, economically, and socially constituted and symbolically composed and reported. Twain's reports from Holy Land, for example, are steeped in his own romantic visions and preconceived notions of what the place should look and feel like. It is a frame from which "all evidence of modern daily life has been carefully removed" (op.cit. 68). Indeed when daily life does threaten to intrude (as in his visit to Bethlehem) he removes himself with despatch. Some things have changed since Twain and some have not and the emphasis on what Melton terms "touristic ways of seeing" is useful. In this regard while the claim by Nash (1977) that tourism is a form of imperialism, if stated that baldly, is one dimensional (some contemporary tourists may indeed have colonial eyes but there are other kinds of eyes too) it does remind us, as Low (2003) has pointed out in the case of Japanese tourism and colonial expansion, of the historical links between colonialism and tourism.

There are various ways to follow Adler's magisterial sweep. In the present context we may take up one feature common to all the types of tourism she lists, one of the prime building blocks of the anthropology of tourism, namely hospitality.

*The Divinity of the Guest and the Nature of Hospitality*

Two anthropologists more responsible than any others for launching anthropological analyses of hospitality, AM Hocart (1927) and J Pitt-Rivers (1976), both took their initial inspiration from the Greek classics.

In his "The Divinity of the Guest" (1952, originally 1927) Hocart explored the relationships between hosts, guests, and strangers. Observing that they had a single term for all three, Hocart reminded us that the ancient Greeks believed that strangers were accompanied by Zeus and thus tinged with divinity. Hosts regarded guests as potential future hosts (in the days before hotels travellers were dependent on long-term reciprocal hospitality) and the relationship between host and guest, once initiated, was one that was inherited by descendants of the original parties. Hocart claimed that out of this hereditary guest-friendship relationship developed the consular system, observing that the state gave consuls the title of state-host in return for services rendered to its own citizens when they visited the consul's state of origin (79).

50 or so years following Hocart's ground breaking essay, Pitt-Rivers returned to the theme of hospitality. His own essay on the subject was written partly from the point of view of the Spanish village in which he had conducted his field research and partly from the lessons he drew about the nature and structure of hospitality from the Odyssey. As to the latter it is worth remarking that although Homer's epic concerns the voyages of Odysseus a large part of the text concerns his home and family, culminating in his homecoming and restoration as master of the house. For Pitt-Rivers the structure of the Odysseus' return reveals a culturally universal structure of hospitality: the feast, the challenge to the guest, combat (actual in the case of the Odyssey, normally symbolic), the execution of the guest (once again actual in Homer, more routinely symbolic), and finally the restoration of peace and order.

One particularly fine example of the anthropology of hospitality, set just beyond the borders of the Mediterranean but acknowledged by its author to

be influenced by, and part of the school of hospitality studies founded by Pitt-Rivers, was Kanafani's (1983) ethnographic study of the relationships between the senses of smell, touch, and taste deployed during the *fualah* (feasting) ritual in the United Arab Emirates. The author tells us that the *fualah* is central to the hospitality tradition in the UAE and proceeds to show, with considerable precision, how bodily rituals are constructed to engage the company of hosts and guests in heightened olfactory, gustatory, and tactile experiences which serve to articulate the social and spatial relationships of those present at the feast. Recalling that the prophet himself used perfume (particularly musk, ambergris, saffron, aloe wood, and camphor) Kanafani describes how women individually compose their own particular mixtures of scents, and how the senses in which perfume, along with bodily decorations and the food itself, are part of an aesthetic landscape in which both pleasure and purity are present in complementary relationships. She further observes that what she terms the "socialising odours" are part of an olfactory system into which also fit odours associated with sexual relations between husband and wife. As she puts it "the wife's aesthetic skill" (in her composition of odours and colours) "is an attempt to safeguard the marriage and to reinforce ties of the family" (93).

What is remarkable about Kanafani's work is not so much the account of the way food preparation and consumption articulate social relations (we are very familiar with this theme thanks to a line of authors ranging from Levi-Strauss to Bourdieu, and Marriott to Douglas) but how her ethnography lifts the study of hospitality out of the more conventional structuralist paradigms associated with the work of these and other authors into one in which the physical body appears at the core of the construction of the sensual and, at times, erotic landscapes in which hospitality occurs.

Work by Pitt-Rivers, Kanafani, and others, thus placed the body centre stage in hospitality studies. It was a line of thought taken up by others, concerned more directly with tourism itself - most notably by Cohen whose (1971) examination of the social and physical relations between foreign (Swedish in this case) tourists and Palestinian residents in the coastal town of Acco was the first in a stream of (continuing) publications by him on various aspects of the anthropology of tourism<sup>6</sup>. The substance of his Acco study was that Swedish tourists were the cause of shifts in the sexual dispositions of young

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<sup>6</sup> A more mature flowering of Cohen's concern with sexual relations between tourists and locals is his (1995) work on prostitution in Thailand.

male Arab residents formerly constrained in their relations with women by relatively traditional family and kinship structures. The originality of this work lay in the weaving together of the sexual, economic, and political changes brought to the town by independent tourism. It was a theme taken up by Bowman (1995) in his study of the relations between shopkeepers and foreign tourists in the Old City of Jerusalem. For Bowman, the lack of political power in a setting of Israeli occupation was imagined by his informants partly to be redressed metaphorically by sexual conquest.

I have dwelt at some length with hospitality as I think it helps reveal a *motif* that anthropologists are well enough placed to address. The anthropology of both hospitality and tourism (fundamentally interrelated as they are) are concerned with the way that the *self* (host, guest, tourist, other actor in the field, combinations of these) is constituted in particular political, economic, social and cultural spaces and settings. These latter may be very varied, as Urry and his associates<sup>7</sup> have begun to explore, for ‘hospitality’ is term equipped fruitfully to apply to relations at a wedding feast, relations between refugees and ‘host nations’, or relations between a resort and its summer visitors. The meaning of any one of these can usefully involve comparative consideration of any other.

### *Bodies, Objects, Images, Landscapes, and Other Attractions*

Emphasis on the body, and on the articulation of physical and social spaces in hospitality and other contexts, leads us (back) into the work by the semiologists, pre-eminently Barthes by way of his slim duet of Mythologies and La Tour Eiffel, into a much larger metaphorical field inhabited also by objects, images, landscapes, and other attractions.

Barthes’ argues that Citroen cars, wine bottles, and other objects of everyday life in 1950s France are totemic. These are objects that ‘enchant’ – that move and inspire and that serve as markers of identity and belonging. They are iconic. So too is the strip-tease dancer. But here we are directed towards another aspect of enchantment, for the denouement of Barthes’ strip show is not the sexual relationship seemingly heralded by the succession of clothing removed but the jewelled g-string remaining in place at the conclusion of the show. The audience is, so to speak, served with an emotionally engaging narrative that has no satisfactory resolution. In that sense the closing curtain

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<sup>7</sup> In the recent series of ‘hospitality’ workshops at the University of Lancaster.

is a sign, precisely, of a *faux myth*. A comparable process is at work in the readings by tourists to Spain of the *Guide Bleu*. Barthes argues that the way in which this publication introduces the country to travellers is highly stylised and builds on centuries of stereotypical northern European ways of seeing and understanding. In short the strip show and the *Guide Bleu* promise sex and Spain but deliver neither.

But the tourist gazing out from the summit of the *Tour Eiffel* seems to have regained control of his/her own imagination (although it is, of course, an imagination brought to life by Barthes himself). Looking down on Paris from the tower allows the tourist/visitor to see Paris “as a whole” and almost “like a body” thus enabling him/her to find temporary relief from the fragmented and often disembodied urban existence at a day-to-day street level. The view from the top of the tower thus heralds, and delivers, a substantial and deeply satisfying mythical journey.

Barthes’ insights provided the foundation for MacCannell’s (1979) reflections on the ways that the tourism imagination was stirred, a question that led him and subsequent authors to reflect of what makes a place, site, or experience attractive. MacCannell argued that tourists, generically defined, are driven to a considerable extent by nostalgic yearnings for the imagined ‘wholeness’ and order of pre-modern and modern social formations. According to MacCannell such motivations shed light on the conditions of contemporary ‘post-modern’ life. Selwyn (1994, 1996) has commented on MacCannell’s contribution to the subject at some length elsewhere.

The issues of what makes a tourist site attractive, and how these are represented, have been approached by a number of writers looking at fields as various as the human body, landscapes, as well as monumental and non monumental tourism sites themselves. Many, including Graburn (1977) and MacCannell (op.cit.), have directly and indirectly followed Barthes and have built their work on assumptions that owe most to Durkheim (1915) with traces of Marx.

Two other topics, tourism related imagery (Selwyn, 1996) and the mass of ‘serious’ and ephemeral objects that routinely pave the route of the tourist, deserve particular mention – not least because discussions of them have a degree of kinship with anthropological analyses of colonial photographic imagery and objects discussed by authors such as Pinney (1997) and Poignant (1966).

But we would do well, once again, to adopt a cautionary approach to semiological enthusiasm, however seductive. As Hirsch (2004) has recently and cogently observed, the ‘meaning’ of photographs (as, we may add, of objects, images, and all the other material vehicles of the tourist imagination) needs careful ethnographic and social contextualisation.

### *Political Economy*

From the early days anthropologists of tourism have been concerned with aspects of the political economy of tourism. de Kadt’s (1979) Tourism: A passport to development, for example, effectively opened up a field subsequently mined by various authors including, more recently, Harrison, (1992,\*\*). Of most interest here is that which focuses on the relation between politico-economic structures and process, on the one hand, and the symbolism deployed in their articulation, on the other. The following are two examples of ethnographic work in this field. The first is extremely local, the other almost global in its ethnographic reach.

The former is found in a volume consisting of a collection of fine grain ethnographic studies that combine historical, politico-economic and semiological investigations of hospitality in particular (mostly village) settings. The collection edited by Winter and Bouquet (1987) included, amongst other ethnographic jewels, three studies located in the English West Country: by Ireland, Gilligan, and Bouquet herself. Each is a minor classic, placing the practices of the then emerging tourism industry in Devon and Cornwall within tightly focussed and analysed ethno-historical considerations of the parishes and towns of Sennan, Padstow, and Hartland.

We may take Bouquet’s essay as paradigmatic of the set. Her detailed descriptions of hospitality practices in the farms of Hartland offering bed and breakfast followed her previous work (Bouquet, 1985) on the economic and political transformations of a region shifting from agriculture to farm tourism. Her analysis picks out the shifts in the often ritual-like settings shaped by both class and kinship. Thus, for example, 19<sup>th</sup> century farm dinners at harvest time served symbolically both to include farm servants as part of the ‘family’ and to maintain (by subtle metaphorical indicators such as the position on the table of the salt cellar – one of the classic markers of class division in the etiquette of English commensality) “intense marked degrees of belonging and seclusion” (97). Such indicators are refracted in

various complex ways in more recent relations between farm hosts and tourist guests. For one thing the symbolic meaning of the salt- cellar has changed. By becoming a mere member of the dish of cruets placed on the tables of the guests for their evening meal, rather than a powerful symbolic marker of status and power, it has (to use an Indianist expression) become ritually “cool”. She also traces the ways in which relations between spouses was fuelled and shaped by the entry of tourism into the agricultural economy, describing how these relations were marked out by the intimate arrangements of hospitality practices in the spaces, and with the objects, within which these were carried out.

A second seminal volume on the political economy of tourism took us, as it were, from the level of West Country living rooms to a whole continent. Using Kipling’s famous observation that “wildest dreams of Kew are the facts of Kathmandu”, Richter (1989) considered how tourism had moved into the political economy of various Asian nations, exploring how international institutions such as the World Bank had encouraged tourism in the interests of, *inter alia*, enhanced employment, increased foreign exchange, and regional development (171) – a formula that has proved extraordinarily durable in funding applications and aid grants to the present day. Richter built on her earlier examination of tourism and land reform in the Philippines (1982) in which she documented the failure of the latter and the ‘success’ of the former in the “New Society” of Marcos’ martial law period. The development was described of the large number of five star hotels in Manila, in which prominent Philipinos held interests and which were financed by seemingly inexhaustible government credit alongside a programme of land reform that simply collapsed. Crucially, Richter contrasts the structure and function of the state agencies, the Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) and the Department of Tourism (DOT), as they managed and/or mismanaged the two fields.

The full significance of Richter’s work extends well beyond the scope of the present essay taking us into the heartland of a global politico-economic and symbolic system that privileges such temples of consumerist individualism and national pride as five star hotels and all the paraphernalia with which these are associated. There is of course much to say on this level – but not here. Suffice to observe in present contexts that Richter’s analysis grew, and grows, out of a concern with land ownership, the conflicting interests about the uses (in both agriculture and tourism) of land, and the very physical transformation of land itself.

### *Theoretical Consolidations*

Part founded on the approaches outlined above, theoretical work in the anthropology of tourism grew apace in the 1980s and 1990s. Nash's (1996) Anthropology of Tourism developed his previous ideas (1981) about tourism as a system of production and consumption shaped culturally by relations between leisure and class and defined the subject as a combination of studies of economic development, individual cognitive and emotional transformation, collective representation, and policy.

Graburn (1983) developed both his own seminal considerations on the association of tourism and religion as well as on themes shared by early Nash – particularly in relation to tourist related art and other objects – whilst Selwyn (1994) argued for an approach to the anthropology of tourism that started from the various practices of anthropologists in the tourism field: as operators in the belly of the tourism industry itself (one Cambridge trained student of Edmund Leach made it to Managing Director of a leading mass tourism company in the late 1990s), as academic and cultural *repetiteurs* in the field - museum curators, tour guides, and other such specialists – as ethnographers in the towns, villages, and other sites of tourism activity, and in the corridors of the various levels and institutions of government concerned with tourism. He argued that one aim of this exercise was to find an analytical language to connect up these settings and suggested that two particularly fruitful areas of study to aid such a search lay in the political, economic, and symbolic processes associated with the formation and presentation of self and place.

Two writers, Boissevain (1977, 1998) and Kousis (1997, 2000), both responsible for persistent interrogations of tourism related developments in the Mediterranean region pursued questions relating to land, investment in its transformation for tourism purposes, and the politics of environmental resistance to such developments. We will return to some of these authors shortly.

## **2. Five Ethnographic Monographs on Tourism**

One way of clarifying and bringing a measure of coherence and depth to the field we may now step back into familiar anthropological territory and consider five influential and full length ethnographic monographs that have

tourism as a central focus. Following this we may identify some of the common theoretical denominators before reaching a concluding part of the paper that considers more recent work and offers some suggestions about the directions in which the subject may be moving.

### *The Tooth Relic and the Street Worker*

Crick's (1994) account of the tourist shaped Sri Lankan town of Kandy, and its surrounding Buddhist monuments, including the Temple of the Tooth Relic, subject of Buddhist pilgrimages for centuries, documents the local tourist economy of a town caught up in a global market place of 'resplendent sites'. Finely drawn observations from a vantage point, amongst other field sites, of the street corner, of people engaged in the informal tourist economy (street sellers, informal guides, prostitutes, money-changers, and so forth) their ways of working, and their relationships, are placed alongside descriptions of the practices of tour operators, hotels, restaurants, and other branches of the more formal parts of the economy. In turn, the manner in which shadows of UNESCO and other international agencies and institutions hang over the scenery is described. Not only did international tourism play a leading role in the spectacular growth of the Sri Lankan economy between 1966-1982 but it also entered into party political rhetoric in a significant way, leading politicians making grandiose claims about the economic and political benefits of tourism, tragically ironic in a period when the island was literally going up in flames. Furthermore the post 1970s tourism industry was effectively the handmaiden of the liberalisation of the Sri Lankan economy and the corresponding decline of economic nationalism and welfarism: Buddhist monuments found themselves as set pieces in a burgeoning market and service economy.

### *Roads, Property, and Identity*

Waldren (1996) followed Crick by looking at the relation between tourism and political economy in the Mallorcan village of Deia. Two significant pieces of the context for her study came from the mass tourism resorts (Magaluf included) on the island and the growing popularity of the village with second home-owners. Her study examined the relationship between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' or, to use the local terms, *Deianencs* (people born in the village) and *Estrangers* ('strangers', foreigners, people from outside). A third local term, *Foraster*, is used to denote Spaniards from other parts of

mainland Spain, sometimes even applying to mainland Catalans.<sup>8</sup> Waldren demonstrates, with reference to particular events taking place within a changing politico-economic landscape responding to regional, national, and international developments (pre-eminently the arrival on the island of various forms of tourism) that notions of identity are flexible and changeable. Her argument is that “people categorise one another according to the situation and desired results” – in short that terms (associated with ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’) are “basically circumstantial” (xiii). This is most effectively demonstrated in a detailed chapter concerned with construction in the village, in particular road building and widening (213-244). This matter goes to the heart of what Deia ‘means’ to insiders and outsiders (and different categories of both). Is it, for example, the ‘paradise’ associated with the myths of such celebrated ‘outsiders’ as Robert Graves or is it the ‘reality’ of a village in which property prices have risen to an extent that makes it impossible for young residents to buy a house? If it is the latter, is not a programme of development suggested that will bring employment opportunities, concomitant building, and greater housing access for younger ‘insiders’. How, in turn, does this relate to the declared environmental policies of local and island governments? It is within the political cut and thrust around these issues that some Catalan settlers from outside the village find themselves labelled *forasters*, effectively outsiders (237).

### *Nationalism, Internationalism, and Sensuality*

Although Edensor’s (1998) study of tourism and the Taj Mahal is arguably a work more of cultural geography than anthropology his examination of the organisation of tourist space and tourist practices at the Taj fits well into the present paper. He describes, *inter alia*, the relation between three features of tourism experience that may at first sight seem distinct and less that closely related. The first is the sensuality of the experience of western visitors (58ff). The second concerns the extent to which the Taj is subject to competing nationalist narratives, one relating to the kind of multi-cultural nationalism associated with India’s founding fathers, the other relating to

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<sup>8</sup> The Balearic Islands (Mallorca being one) are part of Catalonia, the language Mallorquin being a variant of Catalan. For a Catalan to be termed *foraster* would thus be seen by many as being a contradiction in terms. However the fact that in certain circumstances Catalans termed *forasters* makes Waldren’s point that we are dealing with mobile terms that shift according to material and political circumstances.

emerging claims of specifically Hindu nationalist narratives<sup>9</sup>. The third relates to the the international efforts by such organisations as UNESCO as guardian of the Taj as World Heritage Site. As to the latter Edensor observes that “ the imperatives to develop tourism seem increasingly to be informed by a Western, globalising, discourse of conservation, theming, and spatial regulation” (198).

### *Enchanted Landscapes*

Tucker (2002) describes the tourist-based economy of a village in the Turkish province of Cappadocia. Goreme is both a world heritage site (managed by UNESCO) and National Park (managed by the Turkish Ministry of Culture) and is set in a “moon-like landscape of giant rock cones and the historic cave-dwelling culture embedded in the landscape”(2). It is on the map as a cultural tourism destination for certain types of back packing tourists who the author tells us “imagine Goreme to be stuck in a pre-modern time” (63). It is also a place in which some women tourists come for sex with local men. Tucker describes the “sense of enchantment” surrounding such sexual encounters and tells us that “the women are in a magical land of fairy chimneys and caves, and the men are in the tourist realm where they are free to play and experiment with roles and identities” (139). There is a locally held idea that, in this highly aestheticised landscape, looking for romantic contacts, European girls “wash the eyes of the men”. Tucker follows Bowman (op.cit.) in arguing that “sex relations in the tourism context are embedded in the cross-cultural complexities of gender, sexuality, and power” (137), showing how this triangular relationship is manifested in the streets and houses of Goreme in codes governing dress, public deportment, gossip, and so on.

### *Fishers under Glass*

Nadel-Klein (2003) takes us to the north-east coast of Scotland, and describes the long-term decline of fishing in the face of the North Sea oil industry, dwindling fish stocks, and the entrance of local, regional, and national authorities invoking the ‘heritage’ card as a response to the economic crises of the coastal villages. Nowadays ‘heritage trails’ attract tourists to savour the remains of “man’s last great hunting activity” (183) in

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<sup>9</sup> According to one Hindu nationalist historian the Taj is of “hoary Hindu origin, typical of buildings that have been ascribed to this or that Muslim ruler” (89).

exotic hidden villages which have latterly become “among the most photographed areas of Scotland” (186). The participation of local former fishers in the enterprise is recorded, especially as these increasingly come to take part in the construction of local fishing museums - or what she nicely describes as the placing of “fisherfolk under glass” (171). This is part of an enterprise of “heritage memory” work that demands a radical re-ordering not just of space (harbours into heritage trails) but also of time: as the motto of the Buckie District Fishing Heritage Society has it “Our Future Lies in our Past” (loc.cit.).

One of the more arresting passages in Nadel-Klein’s account concerns the growing gap between the memories of the experiences of fishing by the older generation of fishermen and the experiences of their sons and grandsons. The question is: “who will inherit the legacy” (of the older generation) of skills and sea lore?” (172) as the young generation leave fishing for other employment. Contrasting the intensity of the embodied memories of the older men (some of whom are said pace up and down turning at the length of a boat) with the growing lack of awareness and feeling for fishing on the part of the youth Nadel-Klein suggests, using Connerton’s (1989) juxtaposition of social memory and history – a contrast that we will return to shortly in considering Scott’s analysis of the Canabulat museum in Farmagusta - that the “only recourse” of the elders “is to transform social memory into historical reconstruction” (loc.cit.). In short they “feel compelled to concretise and embody their memories in texts, collections, performances, and displays .. in museums .. so that their own descendants .. will not forget them” (173).

### Common Denominators

A common denominator of the ethnographies referred to above is concern with the processes by and through which local economies and societies are being drafted, with the active participation of local, regional, national, and international public institutions as well as private investors, into the global political economy of tourism – and how tourists, individually and collectively, engage, are engaged by, these processes. At issue are processes that have, amongst other things, the following characteristics. First, there is the physical re-ordering of space: the hotels and roads of Kandy and Deia are examples of spaces of (capital) investment and accumulation typical of most local tourism sites. Second, there is the tourism inspired mobilisation of landscapes that are presented variously as aesthetic, sensual, mythical,

and so on: enchanting in one way or another. Third, there are the ideas and interpretations (in the form of maps, textual explanations, brochures, visitors' books, and so on) of sites by the various interested parties – promoters, tour-operators, government tourist authorities, tourists themselves, residents. Fourth, there is the widespread deployment of 'objects' (literally, all the objects surrounding a tourist in a tourist site - from objects in a museum to souvenirs to goods in shops) in the tourism field. The fifth theme underlying these ethnographies stems from the central part played in each by the human body ("resplendent" and iconographic in Kandy, "enchanted" in Goreme, heroic in the context of former Scottish fishermen, "sensual" at the Taj) located as it invariably is of shifting and emerging politico-economic processes and structures.

Before looking at each of these five processes in relation to recent work in the field, we may pause to make a general reflection on what the anthropology of tourism had achieved up to the last five years or so.

To start with, a research field had been found. Granted the field was multi-faceted, one intention of a number of authors – all of those who produced the full-length ethnographic monographs we have considered above - has been with how to connect up the parts with each other. This field was sometimes, but not always<sup>10</sup>, located in particular geographical locations – from homes to particular sites to regions to whole nations and continents. One research path was the investigation of the individual and collective dispositions of tourists, residents, and others in tourist destinations. Another path led to an examination of the contexts (historical, political, personal) in which these were formed. A third involved looking at political and economic processes more closely, often with the aim of analysing the role of tourism in local and global economic and political structures. Fourthly, each of these was (inevitably) embedded within and inseparable from the complex symbolic fields in which tourism activity took place. Whether the issue at hand was the offering of hospitality, the exchange of desirable objects and artefacts, the presentation and representation in tourism related images or museum exhibits, the physical and metaphorical place of the body, the mobilising of landscapes, and/or the deployment tourist related attractions, each case arguably amounted to a study of the political economy of enchantment.

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<sup>10</sup> Undergraduate anthropologists are routinely warned off the arm-chair: some anthropologists of tourism, on the other hand, have used arm chairs to good effect. That said, the emphasis in the present paper is on ground level ethnography.

Most of the above was nicely summarised in an engaging introduction to one of the latest journals devoted to the social scientific study of tourism<sup>11</sup>. On the grounds that it is often useful for anthropologists to look across at the work of close disciplinary colleagues, it is worth summarising what the authors (both of whom are cultural geographers) have to say.

Franklin and Crag (2001) argued that since the collapse of Fordist economics most of us find ourselves in a world shaped to an increasing degree by the demands of tourism. These may be primarily economic (now that the mines have closed we all need to 'sell' our culture) but have wide ranging political, social, and cultural implications. One of the consequences of this – reflected in various types of quotidian discourse – is that we are now faced with a world spoken, thought about, and advertised as “interesting”, “entertaining”, and “attractive”. Observing that an exponentially expanding number of people are globally mobile, they argue that “tourism studies should search for links with other fields founded on mobility: commuting, flexible labour markets, migration, diasporas”, and so on. The authors then, inevitably, find their way to the primacy in tourist studies of the body. If the world is to be “exciting” and “attractive”, they argue, we need to become emotionally and physically engaged with our surroundings and invite those who visit us to reciprocate in similar fashion. Thus sensations such as taste, touch, smell, and sound need to be brought into the service of an economy increasingly founded on pleasure. This is the point at which, as they once again rightly say, the sexual and erotic emerge into centre stage. They conclude by observing that material objects have increasingly become a focus for tourism studies and argue for more detailed studies of tourism imagery.

Their summary is useful for two reasons. First, it seems powerfully (if inadvertently in the case of these authors since they mention anthropological work only sparingly) to acknowledge the substantial achievements of fifty or so years' work by anthropologists interested in travel and tourism. Second, it confirms the direction in which tourism studies are, and indeed should be going. We can only applaud their recognition that, as they say (following a number of comparable formulations by anthropologists, not least Nash (1981) some twenty or so years earlier), that tourism is best viewed as “ a productive system that fuses discourse, materiality, and practice” and their

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<sup>11</sup> Tourism Studies

identification of the body, objects, and imagery as being amongst the principal 'raw materials' of the field and, hence, its study.

### **3. The Political Economy of Enchantment**

The third part of the paper picks up the themes that we identified following the brief reading of the five ethnographic monographs. Under the aegis of a general concern with the drafting of social and economic systems into the tourism system the five particular thematic threads that seemed to underlie most if not all of these were: the ordering and re-ordering of space for tourism purposes; the mobilising of landscapes, the production, reproduction, and consumption of maps; the trajectories in tourism related contexts of objects and images; and the primacy of the body as a metaphor in tourism activity. We may look at each in turn.

#### *Spaces of Accumulation and Resistance*

The physical transformation of land, both rural and urban, is a concern shared by many of those who have worked on the ways in which coasts, mountains, and lakes have been put to use by the tourism industry as well as with tourist related building – from resorts to hotels to the built 'heritage' of tourist cities. Bianchi and Talevera (2004), Kousis (2004) and Boissevain (2004), for example, follow Waldren's (op.cit) discussions of the political, economic, social, and environmental consequences of the involvement by public authorities and private development capital in the tourism field.

These and other authors have placed their discussions of the physical transformation of land and space together with considerations of tourism related transformations of time, kinship, and economic structures within tourist localities. Thus Bianchi and Talevera (2004) weave together descriptions of the shift in the Canary Islands from fishing to tourism, with the concomitant changes in kinship ideas and practices (including the relations between kinship and capital investment) within the developing orbit of global tourism. Kousis, as part of a long standing pre-occupation and engagement with environmental groups, particularly in the Mediterranean (2000, 2001) has written at length about the successes and failures of such groups in terms of their resistance to property developers in the region. Boissevain too, over an equally long period, has carefully documented many of the movements against tourism development in Malta – including the recent quite scandalous case of the Hilton Hotel's ravages of part of the

coast near Valletta in the name of the benefits to be gained by a tourism related boating marina.

### *Mobilising Landscapes*

Studies of landscapes are now part of an anthropological mainstream (Hirsch, E. and M. O'Hanlon, 1995, Bender, B. and M. Winer, 2001) and have also become well represented in literature within the anthropology of tourism. Some authors have examined the relationship between tourism, landscape, and nationalism. Palmer's (2003) reading of tourist experiences in Churchill's Chartwell (with its tradition of a cigar lit daily in the study aromatically to bring his presence closer), and (home of Anne Boleyn) imaginatively promote a southern English landscape which breathes a particular kind of narrative of an 'England' with clear blue water between itself and continental Europe, satisfied with its relatively well marked out borders and hierarchies: no refugees, asylum seekers, or war wounded in sight. The primary colours of the Britain evoked by these sites call to mind Pinney's (1944:49) list of national attributes that he suggested should be taken up by the English Tourist Board following the second world war: "the monarchy, parliamentary institutions, the armed forces and the trooping of the colour, the English Bible, Shakespeare, the English countryside, English servants, and the arts of gardening and tailoring".

In a different geographical context, but similar theoretical frame, Clarke (2000) has examined how Palestinian and Israeli tour guides use the landscape in and around the Palestinian city of Hebron to construct alternative narratives. Whilst Salim directs the gaze of tourists in Hebron to the carving up of the landscape by the checkpoints and road closures of political occupation, Naomi frames her stories from the midst of a Jewish community whose view of the Palestinians in the market (positioned beneath the modern Jewish settlement in the centre of the old city) paints them variously as traditional, poor, and dangerous. As Clarke observes these views are "created, quite literally, from the political geography and architecture of the city" (17).

Attention has already been given to Valenius' (op.cit.) fine analysis of the mobilisation of the Finnish landscape for nationalist purposes. The additional insight to which we promised to return derives from her suggestion that Finnish nationalist landscape paintings of the Golden Age are effectively views from "on high". That is to say the painter, and thus the

viewer, look down on the landscape rather than view it from the inside. She claims that the former is a particularly male way of looking at the landscape whilst the latter is correspondingly female. Part of this “outside looking down” perspective involves scientific-looking taxonomic representations of natural species rather like that which is found in certain types of travel literature. This is the type of view that finds its way into representations of the landscape found in Finnish post-cards. All of this, she argues, amounts to a “male centred” view of landscape and thus leads, to quote her, to the “masculinisation of both tourism and the consumption of nature”.

### *Orthodox Maps, Recalcitrant Memories*

The placing of tourist sites within historically and geographically framed landscapes, as work on the political mobilisation of landscapes themselves, has provoked the growth of a substantial *genre*. One of the best examples of this is Scott’s (2002) rich and subtle examination of the Canbulat museum in Famagusta. This is a museum that traces the contradictory relationships between Turkey and Cyprus. At an early point in the visitor’s perambulations in the museum there are three maps. The first commemorates the 1571 siege of the city against the Ottoman forces. Here the Ottomans feature as “oriental others” gloriously resisted by the then Venetian rulers of the island. The second commemorates the siege of the city and its Turkish residents from Greek Cypriot positions outside Famagusta in 1974. The third identifies sites of Turkish heritage in the south of the island, up till recently inaccessible to the population of the north. Each map is accompanied by textual explanations and information – or rather *layers* of explanation – for texts have in some cases been appended to the maps at different times. An attempt is made by one of these additional texts, for example, to incorporate the Venetian narrative of the first map into a Turkish narrative thus disrupting what might otherwise have been a satisfying myth about Venetian sovereignty in the face of outsiders (221). Quotations from the museum’s visitors’ book are reported that seem on an early reading to confirm an interpretation of the museum in terms of competing nationalist claims. However, just as the reader of Scott’s piece has, as it were, settled into an understanding of the museum as a site primarily about alternative nationalisms, *another* (and ultimately even more disruptive) narrative is introduced. This relates to some relatively unmarked and unexplained elements in the museum, namely “bridal dresses, night-gowns, purses, and scarves” (219). These examples of female presence in Famagusta don’t seem readily to fit into the rhetoric of nationalist struggle – and we learn from the

visitors' book that these ethnographic items are popular with some non Cypriot tourists.

Scott's analysis thus reveals a complex site where nationalist mythologies (replete with heroic male protagonists) not only compete with one another but (irritatingly for some authorities perhaps) are themselves disrupted by the reports of female identification with and attachment to everyday objects. Speaking generally, if such attachment indicates a possibility that the siren calls of nationalist identification might meet their match in attachments to the everyday then one would be forced to ask about the sustainability of walls of separation in Cyprus and elsewhere in the region.

### *Unruly Objects*

Clark's (2004, 2005) work on Jewish museums in Italy (particularly Bologna with some cross references to museums in Ferrara and Venice) describes how the display and explanation of objects are subject to vigorously contested agendas by different individual actors, associations, and institutions. These agendas are framed by such basic considerations as the nature of local and global Jewish identity and society. Some museums, for example, privilege ritual objects, suggesting that being Jewish is primarily a religious matter. Other museums seek symbolically to recreate local Jewish communities that were historically part of inner city areas. Here representations of particular crafts and trades are emphasised. The direction taken by what Clark terms 'indigenous' (ie local Jewish) 'curators' is, of course, shaped by other agendas by non-Jewish institutions in whose jurisdiction the museums are set. In Bologna's case, for example, the Municipality of Bologna (in both its former left wing and present right wing manifestations) as well as the regional government of Emilia Romagna have exercised their financial and political influence. 'Red Bologna' wished the museum to define the Jewish community primarily in terms of the anti-fascist solidarity between the community and the city whilst the more recent conservatively inclined municipality encouraged the work of the museum to become part of the tourist related gentrification of the inner city. For different reasons both also encouraged the relation to be emphasised between the local community and Israel, an approach which the Bologna Jewish community itself, for a variety of contradictory reasons, was on some occasions less enthusiastic about. In both Bologna and Ferrara Jewish and non-Jewish actors and institutions went to considerable lengths to emphasise the cosmopolitan nature not only of being Jewish but also of the inner city

quarters associated with the community. This particular convergence of views has been, and remains, contextualised by the fact that in the three Italian cities museums in general, including the Jewish museums, are an integral part of the cities' present and future tourism economies (with the various types of economic forces and opportunities that have accompanied them).

Staying with objects, although in a different context, Selwyn and Hanefors (2000) have considered a single object as this has appeared in a large variety of differing forms. A traveller passing through Stockholm's Orlanda airport becomes rapidly aware of the omnipresence in the souvenir boutiques of one of Sweden's national icons, the Darlecarlian horse. Quite as interesting as the standardised bright red and white wooden airport figure (intended to enchant the visitor with images of Sweden's forest past) however, is its appearance in a multitude of different shapes and sizes in newspaper articles, exhibitions, and promotional literature. In these a variety of writers, wood carvers, educationalists, museum curators, and others – have sought to make cultural and political points about the state of the Sweden, its economy, and society. Thus in one newspaper article the horse is pictured seated and supplicant as a metaphor for a Sweden subservient to global capitalist forces and the EC. In a local tourist brochure it appears as a racing motor-cyclist speeding into a lakeside town, the tourist attractiveness of which the town's municipality was concerned to promote as a mecca for cyclists (a promising domestic niche market). Two contrasting but complementary appearances have it in a newspaper article as Trojan Horse containing immigrants in its stomach at the citadel of the capital. Here the writer sought to express the popular anxiety about the extent of immigration to the country, whilst in an exhibition it was found amongst other animals in an attempt by the curator to celebrate Sweden's cosmopolitanism.

### *Bodies of Expression*

Andrew's (2000, 2007) ethnographic accounts of charter tourism in Mallorca discuss, amongst other things, ways in which national (and nationalist) and sexual identities are explored and expressed in the resort of Magaluf. She focuses on the symbolic use made of bodies (predominantly of British tourists), space, and food in the furtherance of these projects.

Tourists are brought to Magaluf by operators and transporters and normally stay in the resort for one or two-week periods in hotels that fix their prices

directly with the operators. They are met at the airport, and thereafter conducted to and around the resort by operators' representatives ('reps'). These play a central role in the organisation of tourists' daily and nightly routines.

Andrews describes in considerable detail the internal and external layouts of restaurants and cafes, drawing attention to the omnipresence of television screens playing programmes which stress either or both stand up comedians well known in northern English clubs (Chubby Brown<sup>12</sup> being a favourite) or competitive sport (overwhelmingly football). Restaurant names routinely call to mind English themes (Willow café, for example) and there is a noticeable stress on brightly coloured images and photographs of 'all day breakfasts' – fried egg, bacon, sausage, beans, and hash brown.

She also describes the nightly visits to bars and clubs led by the reps. There are several repetitive features here. One is the emphasis on competitive drinking in bar crawls in which participants are given tasks - to undertake various types of simulated sexual performances, for example - and receive penalties for failing to perform in the manner required. These latter may consist of orders to consume large containers of alcohol: frequently consisting of mixtures of wine/beer and spirits. On such occasions the rep may give a single collective name to the group members. All men might be called Bill and all women Ethel, for example.

One of the aims of Andrew's work is to describe and analyse the extent to which the tourist body in Magaluf is sexualised and nationalised in a regime that is tightly supervised and organised by the tour operators through the medium of their reps. In the urban landscape of streets packed with closely knit shopping complexes, souvenir shops, restaurants and bars, the tourist appears literally and metaphorically transfixed by the possibilities of free and multiple sexual encounters, unlimited drink, and a sense of routinely racist and nationalist rhetorical outpourings mixed with the roar of competitive sport on TV screens at every corner. In such a view the tourist body appears to match one of Baudrillard's lurid visions of the contemporary person, bereft of any agency, hooked irretrievably to one of the mammary glands of the capitalist project. But Andrews is too careful a writer to fall for such an all-or-nothing view. In amongst the bar crawls, the sexual competitions, and the all day breakfasts eaten to the accompaniment

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<sup>12</sup> Chubby Brown is known for a particularly racist brand of humour.

of 'Only Fools and Horses'<sup>13</sup>, Andrews uncovers moments of tenderness and physical fluidity (in some of the contexts in which dancing takes place, for example) that belie notions of subjects in total thrall to the market. Thus, even in the belly of the machine, so to speak, Andrews finds evidence of resistance and counter flows.

These few words do scant justice to the complexity of Andrew's work and the implications it has for present discussions and our understanding of tourism and contemporary capitalism. A later piece by Andrews and colleagues (Andrews et al, 2007) on the relation between hospitality and eroticism explores further the field of sexuality and the market in Magaluf and elsewhere and takes the argument forward in various directions.

### Conclusions

The late Malcolm Crick, unquestionably one of the most important writers on the anthropology of tourism in the latter part of the twentieth century, to whom I dedicate this piece, suggested (1989) that there were three distinctive strands to the field: semiotics, studies of political-economy, and studies of tourism and cultural change. The present paper seeks to build upon the foundations Crick built for us by suggesting that we might aim to combine these strands into a single one, namely the study of the political-economy of enchantment. In the remaining paragraphs of this conclusion I would like to summarise the arguments we have deployed above, directly and by implication, in favour of such a project.

We may, however, start with a general observation. It may, I think, be argued that some of the contributions to the study of tourism over the past decades have not only been apparently free from conventional academic disciplinary constraints but (as a consequence perhaps) have been overly dependent on terms and assumptions that have turned out to be theoretically vague and shallow. When exploring the dispositions of actual tourists, for example, terms such as 'gaze', 'escape', 'authenticity', and even 'consumption' have been made to carry more analytical weight than they may reasonably have been expected to bear.

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<sup>13</sup> A British TV soap opera celebrating working class urban life in a stereotypical housing estate.

Consider consumption, for example. The proposition that tourists ‘consume places’ means little unless accompanied by attention to the meanings, values, and symbolic processes to which the assertion is attached. Such attention to context and symbolic detail (in by far the best book on global tourism we have) makes Meethan’s (2001:15) formulation<sup>14</sup> that “tourism is part of the process of commodification and consumption inherent in modern capitalism in which tourists consume their destination” credible – precisely because he qualifies this by arguing that these terms relate to complex and “wider processes related to the construction of meaning and values” (167).

To express this another way: the ethnographic data presented above do confirm that tourists are quite as complex as Adler’s historical reflections would suggest and that tourist attractions take many and varied forms. But in all the locations described here, from Kandy to Magaluf, tourists appear as thinking and feeling, as well as seeing, persons who express complex notions about social and cultural relations in various different ways. To repeat, therefore, efforts to capture tourist dispositions in terms of the gaze, the search for authenticity, the desire to reconstruct imperial spaces, to consume, to escape, and so on, all run the risk of over simplification. The line of anthropological work traced here, by contrast, arguably avoids this risk by sticking to relatively conservative and unspectacular approaches to the subject of tourism by (to give two examples) insisting on the primacy of ethnographic field research and the treating of tourism related activity as only *part* of more complex social and cultural fields.

We may briefly review these generalities in relation to the ethnographic data presented above. First of all if we consider what it is that tourists are thinking and feeling about, we find ourselves entering a field of multiple interlocking thematic threads of meaning, understanding, and identification. These range from the nature of the sublime in Kandy; the relation of landscapes to the construction of identities in Israel/Palestine; the nature of heroes and ‘prototypical fishermen’ on the Scottish east coast; the place of everyday items and objects (from salt cellars to spice boxes) in the symbolic articulation of social structures in Cornwall; the nature of hospitality (incorporating as this does complex issues about the relation between self and other, host and guest, familiar to stranger, and so on); ideas about the boundaries nations and empires in Famagusta; the meaning of freedom,

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<sup>14</sup> “Tourism is best conceptualised as a global process of commodification and consumption involving flows of people, capital, images and cultures” (op.cit.:15)

including sexual freedom in Magaluf; and even (or particularly) the relation of tourism to social construction of the physical body and the formation of the self more or less everywhere including Agra. All of which is interesting enough. In themselves they raise fairly fundamental anthropological questions.

However in most of the ethnographic reports described above these tourist voices and their threads of meaning are contextualised within political and economic processes themselves rhetorically articulated by other voices. Thus we find Buddhist monuments deployed by the Sri Lankan authorities to legitimate privatisation and a liberal economy; a museum in Bologna caught in competing local, regional, and national economic and political agendas involving the war against fascism, the uses of historical communities to define the natures of the inner city, relations between Italy and Israel, and even the nature of being Jewish; a small prototypical Mallorcan village subject to the conflicting interests of tour operators, international hoteliers, residents concerned with their childrens' capacities to buy property in the village, regional government authorities concerned to limit property development whilst providing a space for a new international hotel; and so on.

So, not surprisingly, when it comes to processes of enchantment, we find several different and conflicting actors fishing in the same symbolic pool: states, local authorities, investors, developers, museum curators, marketers, and others, as well as tourists themselves. This seems a good enough reason for combining Crick's three streams of enquiry into a single encompassing one. This seems an appropriate field for anthropologists interested in tourism. It is one in which politico-economic interests, and the ideas, values, and symbols with which these are expressed, occasionally converge but more regularly and routinely diverge and collide.

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