UCLA
UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title
Amateur Anthropologists: DIY Tourism as Learning Culture and Accessing Authenticity

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/33j6m83n

Author
Nishijima, Ryoko

Publication Date
2012

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Amateur Anthropologists:

DIY Tourism as Learning Culture and Accessing Authenticity

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

in Anthropology

by

Ryoko Nishijima

2012

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Amateur Anthropologists:

DIY Tourism as Learning Culture and Accessing Authenticity

by

Ryoko Nishijima

Master of Arts in Anthropology

University of California, Los Angeles 2012

Professor Mariko Tamanoi, Chair

This literature review explores the ways in which the idea of "the tourist" has been theorized by various tourism scholars. First, I will focus on the seminal works and argue that classical tourism literatures have universally approached "the tourist" as one who wishes to be identified as a *traveler*, coded as a learning-oriented explorer rather than a member of *tourists*, consumerist dupes who fail to truly experience the wonders of the world. I will refer to this particular type of tourist as "amateur anthropologists," adventurous travelers with a strong do-it-yourself attitude, hoping to discover something both extraordinary and authentic from the journey. Such desires to find the authentic led to a fervent yet futile chase between the tourist industry putting on a lavish performance to lure the tourists, versus amateur anthropologists attempting to access the truly unmediated reality. The latter part of this thesis will analyze more recent literatures on tourism and mediation, and argue that these tourism-media scholars also conceptualize the "tourist" as truth-seekers orienting their travel towards discovering the truth. Finally, I will further allude to the ways in which the advent of cybermedia may give a new shape to tourism practices.

KEYWORDS: Tourism; Travel; Mediation; Anthropologist; Cybermedia; DIY

The thesis of Ryoko Nishijima is approved.

Kyeyoung Park

Lieba Faier

Mariko Tamanoi, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2012

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction: Locating the DIY Tourists.....1

Amateur Anthropologists: The Leisurely Field‘work’er.....6

Truth Seekers: Accessing the Unmediated Authentic.....19

Sharing Stories in the Digital Memory Database.....31

Conclusion: Predicting the Post Tourists.....34

Bibliography.....39

Introduction: Locating the DIY Tourists

> We are as gods and might as well get good at it. So far, remotely done power and glory—as via government, big business, formal education, church—has succeeded to the point where gross defects obscure actual gains. In response to this dilemma and to these gains a realm of intimate, personal power is developing—power of the individual to conduct his own education, find his own inspiration, shape his own environment, and share his adventure with whoever is interested. Tools that aid this process are sought and promoted by the WHOLE EARTH CATALOG.
>
> - Stewart Brand[i] (1968)

This manifesto by Stewart Brand marked the opening of the *Whole Earth Catalog*, which first came out in 1968 in Menlo Park, California. The primary purpose of this magazine, which later became a countercultural bible, was to provide "access to tools" aiding the youth at the time to engage in various types of creative activities. The significance of this media lay in its mechanism of peer-to-peer information exchange, in which individual readers mailed in articles based on their own experience. Under this system, contributors of information were the experienced, thus knowledgeable readers, who provided useful tips to the less experienced peer readers. The Whole Earth media not only provided the actual data, but also taught the readers how to search and access these data on their own. This publication was enthusiastically received by a number of young individuals who had burning desires to challenge convention with a strong "do-it-yourself" attitude. Rebelling against structural establishment, these countercultural youths sought ways to express themselves by tailoring the surroundings to suit their own taste and personal styles. Conforming to the mass was considered a shameful act; the recalcitrant outcast

was the hero to be praised. It was from this cultural context that the *Whole Earth Catalog* drew its charisma in the late 1960s to the early 1970s.

The charm of the *Whole Earth Catalog* was passed down to Steve Jobs, Apple CEO and another charismatic figure of the 21st century. Jobs, himself one of the founding fathers of the internet, referred to the publication as "one of the bibles of my generation" and nostalgically depicted it as "sort of like Google in paperback form, 35 years before Google came along" (Jobs 2005). Many scholars have referred to this catalog in relation to the birth of the World Wide Web. Comparison between this catalog and the Google search engine is remarkable and has been explored further in numerous scholarly works. Tracing Brand's personal biography, Fred Turner puts this catalog in the context of information technology and argues that the pages in this publication became a forum where

> technological and intellectual output of industry and high science met the Eastern religion, acid mysticism, and communal social theory of the back-to-the-land movement. It also became the home and emblem of a new, geographically distributed community. As they flipped through and wrote in to its several editions, contributors and readers peered across the social and intellectual fences of their home communities (2006:73).

As the catalog was strongly tied to the back-to-the-land movement, it became a site that connected commune-dwellers all over the world, living thousands of miles from each other. It was in this way that the media became a precursor for today's cybermedia.

Brand himself later accredits his work, "So far as I can tell, the 1968 *Whole Earth Catalog* was the first example of desktop publishing" (Brand 1998). Although this magazine came out at a period when countercultural energy was exploding among youth, Brand

distinguishes the Whole Earth stance from both the "New Left" and the "New Age" of that generation and positions himself within the historical context of the catalog's first publication:

> At a time when the New Left was calling for grass-roots political (i.e. referred) power, Whole Earth eschewed politics and pushed grassroots direct power – tools and skills. At a time when New Age hippies were deploring the intellectual world of arid abstractions, Whole Earth pushed science, intellectual endeavor, and new technology as well as old. As a result, when the most empowering tool of the century came along – personal computers (resisted by the New Left and despised by the New Age) – Whole Earth was in the thick of the development from the beginning (Brand 1998).

Instead of aligning with the politically charged New Left or the anti-intellectual hippies, his philosophy was to cultivate a purely intellectual curiosity where technology was put in use to pursue the truth of the world.

As the *Whole Earth Catalog* flourished into the discourse of information access and database collection, it also became an important source for tourism studies. This publication was divided roughly into seven sections: Understanding Whole Systems, Shelter and Land Use, Industry and Craft, Communications, Community, Nomadics, and Learning. Catering to creative, outdoorsy youths, the underlying concept holding these sections together was to provide the tools to survive in different kinds of adventurous situations. The Nomadics section focused on traveling in particular, listing various articles ranging from the mechanics of a sailboat to the prices of bus tickets in Afghanistan. The pages were filled with "DIY travel" tips by experienced travelers, listing pieces of information like where to obtain student rail passes, how to hitchhike, and even how to join the Peace Corps. In addition to such fact-listing database, this section also

included personal travel accounts where travelers shared model routes and stories of their successful travel adventures.

The 1971 edition of the *Last Whole Earth Catalog* devoted a full page to an article entitled "Cheap Overland Travel to Nepal," which expatiated on how to travel from Europe to Asia (1971:302). The entry comprised of a personal travelogue by Londoner Sid Sheehy, one of the readers of the catalog who had successfully returned from a road trip through Munich, Istanbul, Teheran, Kabul, Lahore, New Delhi, to Nepal, a route that came to be known as the "hippy trail." A few years later in 1973, Tony Wheeler took this same overland trip, driving from the UK, crossing the Balkans, Turkey and Iran, through Pakistan, India, Nepal, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia, finally arriving in Australia. Based on this experience, he published *Across Asia on the Cheap* (1973) which became one of the first travel guides of its kind; after its publication, Tony Wheeler went on to found the *Lonely Planet* guidebooks which continue to monopolize the guidebook market for English speakers today.

It seems more than just coincidence that the burgeoning of internet media shares its locus with the foundation for modern day travel guides. In this paper, I attempt to identify some intersecting themes where tourism literatures could be engaged in interesting ways with the discourse on new media. One approach I take is to look at the boundaries between professional and amateur knowledge-seeking which has become difficult to distinguish following the advent of internet. Deeply embedded in cybermedia today is the DIY principle which promoted democratization of skills and allowed amateur masses to "do-it-themselves" without the aid of established experts. This posed a crisis to the idea of "profession" in a wide array of industries; even the medical profession is at risk in the age where one can simply go online, search for symptoms, and come up with a DIY diagnosis. By providing tips and tools for travel, the *Whole*

Earth Catalog gave rise to "DIY travel," a tourism practice which followed the *Whole Earth* attitude of learning and scientific pursuit. This meant that these DIY tourists acquired all necessary skills to learn about the Others without any help of professional scientists concerned with cultural learning – the anthropologists. I will begin this paper by pointing out the increasing ambiguity between anthropologists and DIY culture-learning tourists whom I approach as "amateur anthropologists." The term "amateur" here is not meant to be disparaging but rather employs an empowering connotation, just as Brand explained: "Whole Earth embraced the amateurs rather than deplored them" (Brand 1998). Such embracing of amateurism within the DIY mentality called for training well-rounded individuals who were enthusiastic about mastering various skills and constantly motivated to acquire new knowledge.

The first half of this paper will analyze the body of classical tourism literatures and identify the type of "tourists" these scholars have written about. Foundational scholarly literatures on tourism practice emerged around the same time as the *Whole Earth Catalog* in the late 1970s, with the seminal work by geographer Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976, 1999: new edition), the collection of papers in *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* edited by anthropologist Valene Smith (1977, 1989: second edition), further expanded by anthropologist Nelson Graburn's *The Anthropology of Tourism* (1983) and *The Tourist Gaze* by sociologist John Urry (1990, 2002: second edition)[ii]. Additionally, I will refer to seminal works on the history of travel writings, more focused on colonial writings, such as *Routes* and *Predicament of Culture* by James Clifford, and *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* by Mary Louise Pratt. The ways in which these scholars conceptualized the idea of "tourist," I argue, overlap greatly with the type of DIY tourists we see in the *Whole Earth* generation, whose travels were strongly oriented towards learning and discovery.

These travelers' desires for the discovering the authentic led to their attempt to access unmediated reality. The latter part of the paper will look at how more recent works on tourism and mediation approach the idea of the "tourist" in a very similar way as the classical literatures do, as those who resist tourism and idealize travel. The issue of tourism and mediation is explored extensively in Urry's *Tourist Gaze* (1990, 2002: 2nd edition) as well as in more recent work by Ellen Strain (2003), Robinson and Picard (2009), and Gillespie (2006). Gillespie's ethnographic work on how Western backpackers to India scorn vision-oriented tourists is especially interesting in connecting the issue of mediation to the idealized view of the traveler. I will further explore the ways in which the discussion of new media may give a new shape to tourism practices. Coming a long way from the analog *Whole Earth Catalog* in which information was mediated with "typewriters, scissors, and Polaroid cameras" (Jobs 2005), digital media technology today has gone through significant improvement indeed. However, the fundamental mechanism persists in today's media where texts and images are cut and pasted, and this fragmented information is circulated through a system of peer-to-peer exchange. I will suggest how the emergence of cybermedia offered these DIY tourists, who have long resisted the traditional top-down form of mediation, a unique platform that invites participation in the process of discovering and sharing adventure stories, further providing a sense of immediate access to the unmediated truth of the world.

Amateur Anthropologists: The Leisurely Field'work'er

Tourism scholars have consistently addressed the inherent paradox of the tourist/traveler dilemma, terminologies that have been popularly distinguished for quite a long time. In her work on postcolonial travel writings, Mary Louise Pratt explains, "In the 1960s and 1970s, exoticist

visions of plenitude and paradise were appropriated and commodified on an unprecedented scale by the tourist industry" (1992:221). Following this shift, she observes white writers of the 1970s beginning to display nostalgia for "lost idioms of discovery" in their bitter lament towards the "tastelessness of tourism" (1992:224). For many travelers at the time, the term *tourist* held a denigrating connotation because of its consumerist superficiality, and they believed that only the tasteful *traveler* could achieve true discovery. Although some writers claim that the essential dichotomy between tourist and traveler is a difference of kind, MacCannell disagrees, pointing out how the quest for authenticity is in fact a quality shared by *all* tourists, and that many tourists would often self-identify as travelers: "they are the tourists, I am not," they would argue (MacCannell 1976:107). Smith further breaks down this dichotomy into a scaled typology: explorer, elite, off-beat, unusual, incipient mass, and mass charter (Smith 1977). Graburn argues that any tourist would avoid being perceived as the mass-charter tourists who fall on the shameful end of this hierarchy, and instead strive to become the true elite-explorers who achieve the highest honor for experiencing the most extraordinary adventures. As the tourism industry flourished in the 1970s, there emerged a general sentiment where site/sight-oriented tourists were looked down upon as shallow consumerist dupes, while the prestigious traveler was implied to have unmediated access to the authentic truths of the world.

According to these classic literatures, no tourist wants to be a "tourist," stigmatized as routine consumers of superficial cultural commodities. There exists a terminological dilemma, then, to use the term "tourists" for travelers who wish to identify themselves as the "traveler-explorer" embarking on an independent journey. This particular type of traveler-tourist is an adventure-driven, learning-oriented traveler whose purpose follows the *Whole Earth* manifesto by Brand, to "conduct his own education, find his own inspiration, shape his own

environment, and share his adventure with whoever is interested." As the masculine pronoun here suggests, this DIY mindset was ingrained with masculinity. James Clifford (1997) looks at the history of travel writing and analyzes that "the discursive/imaginary topographies of Western travel are being revealed as systematically gendered" (1997:32). He further expands on this gender dichotomy by describing what kind of travel was perceived as ideal in the West: "'Good travel' (heroic, educational, scientific, adventurous, ennobling) is something men (should) do. Women are impeded from serious travel" (Clifford 1997:31). Similar dichotomy seems to apply between traveler and tourist, where the masculine, DIY attitude was necessary to become a true traveler as opposed to the much loathed tourist, a weak and feminine consumer who as unable to venture out by herself.

In the long history of travel in Europe, one of the main purposes was for youths to "know the world" by learning the culture of others and expanding their horizon. Most significantly, it is associated with the practice of the "Grand Tour," in which colonists around the 17^{th} -19^{th} century sent their sons off on educational trips to the colonies. This trend was reserved for the elite, upper-class young men for whom travel was considered a rite-of-passage to cultivate experience. It is precisely this type of learning-based travel whose legacy can be observed in the penchant for the idealized traveler. The heroic, adventurous, and noble traveler must learn the truth of the world, even if the capitalistic tourism industry may attempt to impede access to such knowledge. Although classical tourism literatures write as if this is true for all tourists, this should not be taken for granted as the universal desire for travel. It must be acknowledged that such fantasy comes from a specifically Anglo/andro-centric lineage of travel.

There has been an increasing amount of ethnographic works done on various types of tourism practice which do not necessarily fall under this learning-oriented travel category. There

are indeed tourists who travel solely for pleasure seeking purposes such as sex tourists (see Brennan 2004, Gregory 2007) and others typically pursuing "sun, sex, sea, and sand" – lying on the beach sipping tropical cocktails and engaging in extreme marine sports. There are identity tourisms in which immigrants and diaspora communities travel back to their homeland to trace ethnic roots and routes (Ebron 2000). Ecotourism is recently increasing in its popularity, in which tourists travel to encounter beautiful natural landscape and strive for a sustainable earth. The definition of "tourist" has also been challenged, especially the increasing difficulty to draw a clear boundary between tourists and migrant workers (Hall and Williams 2002). These works suggest that the *tourist* is too broad a term to give it a universal definition. Various types of tourists come from different class backgrounds and travel with different senses of purpose. We must be more specific when dealing with what tourism literatures often refer to as the "tourist" in general.

Amidst this proliferation into a wide array of tourist types, the "traveler" prototype has not yet become a relic of history, but continues to exist in tourism practice today. The element of cultural learning remains one of the most significant purposes of travel, best exemplified in what is generally identified as educational-, culture- and ethno-tourism. These are a subset of tourists interested in learning about regional history and the native people's ways of life. Not only do they visit cultural facilities like museums and theatres, they also attempt to learn the local traditions such as festivals and rituals. Recently, as cultural tourists began to develop a certain skepticism towards traditional arts and performances for being commodified and museumized, their pursuits have shifted more towards learning the local community's everyday lifestyle and values. Furthermore, even other types of tourists such as eco- and identity-tourists are also likely to engage in cultural learning as part of their travel. Such attitude towards travel can occur

whenever the traveler self-identifies as a student in the broadest sense of the word, and includes practices such as gap-year study abroad trips, cultural exchange programs, participation in the Peace Corps, as well as travel routines widely known as backpacking. Oftentimes, travelers of this specific sub-category come from an educated, elite background, and their purpose of travel is supposed to be much nobler than hedonist tourists (e.g. sex tourists) whom they fervently disdain as shallow and shameful. It is this particular type of tourism that I believe continues to bear the legacy of the Grand Tour in the Western history of travel, and also inherits the same genealogy as DIY travel oriented towards education, inspiration, and adventure that we have seen in the *Whole Earth Catalog*. This brand of culture-learning tourists resist being reduced to a simple audience/viewer, and instead desire to participate in the unmediated truth.

These cultural tourists face a dilemma very akin to what anthropologists (or professional tourists, perhaps) have faced during the so-called "crisis of representation" since the 1980s. There is a similar kind of crisis in tourism where the ability to "learn the truth" about the Other is challenged, not to mention how modernization and globalization are considered threats leading to an insipid, homogeneous globe. For the cultural-learning tourists whose main purpose is to expand their horizons by acquiring new knowledge about the world, to question the existence of true knowledge for a bounded culture means to question the validity of their very reason for travel. One aspect that does mark a difference between tourism and anthropology, however, is that tourism is amateur research combined with consumption. As a result, a difficult dilemma begets where tourists must simultaneously satiate their academic/scientific thirst for the truth as well as their consumerist/materialistic thirst for something worth paying for. The fact that cultural/educational tourism still exists as a valid industry today indicates that tourists expect some kind of knowledge to be discovered, worth their money, in their search for the Others.

In one of the first attempts to comprehensively theorize tourism practice, MacCannell introduces some of the earlier definitions of tourism as a "modern ritual" (1976:13). Smith defined tourists as a "temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change" (1977:2). Graburn further expands these definitions that tourism rituals are "necessary structured breaks from ordinary life" in which people get away from "ordinary workaday, mundane life, particularly work, which includes the workplace, homework, and housework" (1983:11). These earlier literatures suggest that tourism is a liminoid occasion which is, by definition, the antithesis of mundane work-life reality. Applying the dichotomy of work and play, Graburn suggests a "symbolic link between staying:working and traveling:playing" such that "tourism is a special form of play involving travel" (1983:18). These works define touristic activities as occasions liberated from everyday social obligation.

John Urry theorizes that tourists acquire a "license for permissive and playful 'non-serious' behavior…or 'ludic' behavior" during tourism activities while one's everyday obligations are suspended (Urry 2002:11). Mapping onto Durkheim's (1912) dichotomization of the sacred "nonordinary experience" and the profane, Graburn likens tourism to an activity of "sacralization that elevates participants to the nonordinary state wherein marvelous things happen, and the converse process of desacralization or return to ordinary life" (1983:20). Considering tourists as pilgrims of sacralization, everything that happens during this time is expected to exceed the mundane profanity. Urry agrees, "Tourism results from a basic binary division between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary… People must experience particularly distinct pleasures which involve different senses or are on a different scale from those typically encountered in everyday life" (2002:12). Gottelieb's (1982) apt metaphor is appropriate here to demonstrate Graburn and Urry's understandings of what tourists seek for in a

vacation: “The middle-class tourist will seek to be a ‘peasant for a day’ while the lower middle-class tourist will seek to be ‘king/queen for a day’” (Urry 2002:11). Travelers must somehow achieve an extraordinary experience during their time of travel.

How Graburn and Urry describe the tourism ritual reminds us of Bakhtin’s concept of the carnival ritual, another liminoid occasion where everyday life is inverted. Carnivals he observed in Rabelais’s novels were, simply put, a “parody of the extracarnival life, a ‘world inside out’” that “celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order; it marked the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms, and prohibitions” (1984:10-11). He explains that even “the serious Roman citizen, who all year round feared to make a faux pas, immediately put aside his circumspection” during this time of festivity and engaged in “this complete liberation from the seriousness of life. In the atmosphere of carnivalesque freedom and familiarity, impropriety also has its place” (1984:247). While Bakhtin discusses carnivals specifically of Middle Age Europe, such image of the serious Roman citizen can easily overlap with modern day stressed-out workers who are constantly required to maintain their professional façade, afraid of making social faux pas in this complex society today. The immediate liberation from seriousness and the permission to engage in impropriety given to these Roman citizens are very similar to how tourists enjoy the license for ludic behaviors while on vacation.

However, there is one important difference between the carnival and tourism – a subtle yet crucial distinction regarding its spatiotemporal orientation that will become relevant in my later discussions. A carnival is held under each participant’s awareness that it is merely a one-day gap from everyday life; it is a momentary break from reality. Tourism, on the contrary, is a search for a temporally concurrent, spatial break from the everyday. Travelers are the only

ones experiencing this inversion of the everyday, while everything else in their destination must be within the everyday temporality for those who live there. Traveling is an event in which the mundane continuity of everyday is broken, and simultaneously, their spatial bond to home is broken. Urry writes, "the tourist is a kind of contemporary pilgrim, seeking authenticity in other 'times' and other 'places' away from that person's everyday life. Tourists show particular fascination in the 'real lives' of others that somehow possess a reality hard to discover in their own experiences" (2002:9). This means that in a travel journey, the carnivalesque extraordinariness must also be *real* somewhere else, away from home. In other words, while the carnival is understood as an extraordinary but fake moment occurring only within the break from everyday, what is expected in tourism is the inversion of the everyday, occurring real-time at a distant, simultaneous place that is parallel to the mundane ordinariness. The main goal of tourism becomes the quest not merely for the extraordinary but also the authentic, as Graburn concludes, "The search for authenticity in the Other is the central motivating force" for the tourists to travel (1983:15).

As I mentioned earlier, these literature theorized the "tourists" as having an immense idealization for becoming the true explorer-traveler on the one hand, while despising the mass-charter tourists on the other. This scale is translated into what Graburn terms the "prestige rankings" in which the travelers "compete back at home in prestige rankings based on distance, exoticism, crises overcome, variety of tourist experiences" (1983:20). To measure the prestige hierarchy, "the journey motif suggests that the further removed from the ordinary, the better; the sacred/profane motif suggests that the more extra-ordinary, the better; while the time measuring aspect suggests that the longer the period or more frequent the trips, the better" (1983:30). The real/fake motif is another scale of measurement; the more authentic the experience, the better.

The term *tour* is often associated with speed as the bicycle race event *Tour de France* may suggest, while *travel* requires a longer stay at one fixed place. Measured in this prestige ranking of travel, mass tourists are labeled as cultural dupes who rush around to consume mundane things, while a true traveler can actively discover authenticity. This prestige hierarchy implies the belief that the more authentic and extraordinary their experience, the closer they can achieve the elite status of a successful and rigorous traveler-explorer. Throughout tourism literatures, we constantly come across this idea that any tourist is inherently resistant to being reduced to mere tourist.

Here I would like to revisit the original work/play dichotomy used to define tourism. Indeed, part of tourist activity belongs to the realm of play – away from the mundane, serious work life in search for some extraordinary, carnivalesque experience. At the same time, however, tourists are simultaneously in search for the authentic suggesting that it might be too simplistic to label tourisms as only play. Perhaps a carnival could be understood as a comparatively pure form of play (although I will complicate this later in the discussion of mediation), since the whole premise of the carnival is to invert the everyday work day reality. Tourist-travel, on the other hand, involves a "discovery of the authentic" which seems to require more on the participant. The denigration of "tourist" as hedonist consumers also implies that learner-travelers resist being reduced to leisurely consumers. As tourists of this type face a dilemma stuck between the binary of work and play, there is an element of "work" involved in their discovery-oriented ideal of travel.

This brand of learning-oriented tourists does not fit into the scenario of play so straightforwardly. To tease out where they belong betwixt workers and leisured people, this section will explore the relation between tourists and anthropologists. Graburn points out that

because of the symbolic link between staying:working and traveling:playing, it is somewhat improper to travel while working, such as "traveling salesmen, gypsies, anthropologists, convention goers, stewards, and sailors, and our folklore is full of obscene jokes about such people – for their very occupation is questionable, whatever their behavior!" (1983:19). Graburn lists these occupations as questionable because they decompose the dichotomy of work and play. An anthropologist is quite a unique form of "worker" who travels for discovery and production of knowledge. Anthropological field'work' is not so much pure labor but involves much learning process, where production and consumption of knowledge occur simultaneously in a manner similar to schoolwork. Urry also raises the question about how popular and academic travel could be distinguished; he asks, "Where does tourism end and so-called fieldwork begin?" (2002:9).

James Clifford explores this question in depth. In *Predicament of Culture* (1988), Clifford traces the history of how the ethnographer's authority has been established and challenged throughout the 20th century, and brings up the tension between anthropologists and non-anthropologists that had been long present in the field. Around the end of the nineteenth century, "nothing guaranteed, a priori, the ethnographer's status as the best interpreter of native life – as opposed to the traveler, and especially the missionary and administrator, some of whom had been in the field far longer and had better research contacts and linguistic skills" (1988:26). This insecurity led anthropologists early in the century to explore ways to establish their authority as a "professional anthropologist," and it was in this context that the Malinowskian mode of ethnographic fieldwork was so enthusiastically embraced by the emerging generation of anthropologists. These post-Malinowski generation of new fieldworkers "sharply distinguished themselves from the earlier men on the spot – the missionary, the administrator, the trader, and

the traveler – whose knowledge of indigenous peoples, they argued, was not informed by the best scientific hypotheses or a sufficient neutrality" (1988:27). These new ethnographers were "trained in the latest analytic techniques and modes of scientific explanation," and such university-trained background of theirs "conferred an advantage over amateurs in the field" (1988:30). As a result, they eliminated the division of labor between the anthropologist-theorist and the data collector. What emerged with the success of professional fieldwork was where "the fieldworker-theorist replaced an older partition between the "man on the spot" (in James Frazer's words) and the sociologist or anthropologist in the metropole" (1988:26). Ellen Strain (2003) also refers to this history where anthropologists strived to become "educated scientists rather than the leisured hobbyists/collectors" and thus the discipline "moved from a hobby to a profession" (2003:23). The professional character of anthropologists as better-trained, objective analysts of cultures was established, and this gave them privileged authority over those who were loosely understood as "amateurs in the field," including traveling men on the spot.

While anthropologists of this generation differentiated themselves from amateurs in the spot with their university-trained "scientific" knowledge and analytic technique, they also differentiated themselves from theorists in the metropole. Fieldworkers criticized the superficiality of armchair anthropologists who based their "discovery" on the disembodied colonial gaze towards the Others. Instead, they argued that anthropologists must collect data by experiencing with their own bodies, and that their professional authority must be demonstrated on the basis of actually "being in the field." Their double-edged efforts projecting to settle in the middle led to a somewhat paradoxical nature of the anthropological profession. Even though the fieldworker differentiated themselves from men on the spot, being on the spot simultaneously warranted their data. By searching for the middle-ground between the theorist and the data

collector, being a professional anthropologist meant, in a way, to become partly like the amateurs on the spot. What used to be the clear division between professional academic and the amateurs in the field was muddled somewhere half-way in between.

The century-old tension between professional anthropologists and amateurs in the field has not been fully resolved, and the positional relation between these two groups in the field still remains somewhat undefined. Strain compares tourists to anthropologists, claiming that anthropologists can never be an objective, scientific authority of culture; "like tourists, ethnographers can not outrun the baggage of cultural prejudices" (2003:220), she notes, which is something anthropologists have already noticed during the so-called crisis of representation and the field. Anthropologists were not always anthropologists from the very beginning; they were once students, travelers, and public consumers of culture before they became university-trained professional scholars. Anthropologists engage in various forms of cultural consumption as a part of fieldwork, including touristic activities such as collecting cultural artifacts and watching performances. Because of the ambiguous position of the fieldworker as half-way professional scientists and half-way amateur men on the spot, it is difficult to place anthropologists within the dichotomy of play and work, especially comparing against the discovery-oriented tourists who idealize travel as a noble act of research. Graburn writes that as part of the "prestige scale" from the mass-tourists to explorer-traveler, "prestige is enhanced by the length of uninterrupted travel" (1983:30). This suggests that the dwelling ethnographer who engaged in long-term fieldwork could be placed towards the higher end of tourist hierarchy as the elite traveler-explorer. The "anthropologist," then, should not be understood as an exclusive category that stands in opposition against non-anthropologists. The difference between an anthropologist and a tourist is not of kind but rather of scale.

Of course, one important point that does legitimately differentiate anthropologists from public students of cultures is that professional anthropologists do get paid for their research activities while travelers and museum goers must pay to acquire knowledge. In this strictly monetary sense, anthropologists and tourists stand on the opposite end of the work/play dichotomy. Anthropologists are indeed workers with the responsibility to produce knowledge of culture and earn money from the service. Lack of such responsibility amplifies the tourist dilemma, because their motivation to satisfy their academic, anthropological thirst clashes with their leisurely, consumptive desire. They are consumers who resist consumerism; they must pay to become an amateur researcher.

Although tourism is seen solely as a consumption activity, the murky boundary between culture-learner tourists and anthropologists suggests that an element of work could be involved in this type of leisurely learning, in which part of the fun is to discover new things and gain experience. It is a practice that can be positioned awkwardly between work and play, where a degree of anthropological work is involved. The work in this sense is similar to schoolwork rather than labor-work. Analogous to how students pay a fee to attend schools or enter museums, discovery-oriented tourists travel with the intention to "learn about the Others" and return back home with a boost in cultural capital (Bourdieu 1973).

Such desire to engage in scientific discovery explains the reason why tourists of this type pursue authenticity. Knowledge would significantly lose its value if it turns out to be an artificial concoction. In their discovery-oriented journey, cultural-learner tourists are fascinated by the rare opportunity to peek into the real reality "backstage," similar to how public viewers are intrigued by celebrities off-screen. The truth about the Others is often times hidden behind staged reality, and the fact that it is harder to obtain makes this knowledge more valuable. The

search for authenticity has become quite a severe competition as tourists strive to achieve the top of the ladder in the traveler's hierarchy, to become the explorer-traveler who can actually get a hold of this veiled truth.

Truth Seekers: Accessing the Unmediated Authentic

Returning to the comparison between tourism and carnival, Bakhtin stresses that the carnival is not a spectacle, but "belongs to the borderline between art and life" (1984:7). Distinguishing carnivals from stage performances, he writes,

> In fact, carnival does not know footlights, in the sense that it does not acknowledge any distinction between actors and spectators. Footlight would destroy a carnival, as the absence of footlight would destroy a theatrical performance. Carnival is not a spectacle seen by the people; they live in it, and everyone participates because its very idea embraces all the people. While carnival lasts, there is no other life outside it (1984:7).

A carnival according to Bakhtin is not a performance put on a stage for an audience; the actors "are the hosts and are only hosts, for there are no guests, no spectators, only participants" (1984:249). Applying this to the hierarchy of travel, 'tourist' connotes a reduction into a guest-spectator status, while the explorer-traveler can dwell in it, to "participant-observe" like the anthropological fieldworker. For the amateur anthropologist travelers, what they experience during travel cannot be staged art, but must be real life in which they can participate.

Bakhtin mentions the "footlight" to demonstrate a kind of mediation alerting the spectators of the stage. However, does the lack of footlight necessarily indicate direct and unmediated access to reality? In addition to classical tourism studies, the next body of literatures

I focus on are the more recent works on mediation and tourism: *Public Places, Private Journeys: Ethnography, Entertainment, and the Tourist Gaze* by Ellen Strain (2003), *The Framed World: Tourism, Tourists and Photography,* a collection of articles looking at this topic from various perspectives edited by Mike Robinson and David Picard (2009), and Alex Gillespie's short ethnographic article, "Tourist Photography and the Reverse Gaze" in *Ethos* (2006). These scholars' take on tourists is very much in alignment with how classical tourism literatures approach the learning-oriented tourist, arguing that tourists universally seek for the unmediated authentic reality. This body of tourism-mediation literatures suggests that in this process of searching for the real, these truth-seeking tourists must overcome the various mediations attempting to construct an artificial pseudo-reality. They loathe the tourist industry which, in their view, "Disneyfies" destinations for attraction, turning the local place into something like a theme park; these reality-seekers are perhaps oblivious of Baudrillard's argument that Disneyland is in fact the most real place in America. To avoid being scoffed as superficial mass-tourists, the self-identified travelers must outsmart this capitalistic system by going off the beaten track, adamant to not get fooled by them. There is a fervent yet futile chase between the tourist industry putting on an extraordinary performance to lure the tourists, versus anthropological travelers attempting to identify cues of constructed stages, immediately peeking into the backstage once they become aware of such mediation.

Strain argues that what may seem an unmediated reality is often times nothing but mere "demediation," only giving an appearance of immediacy by erasure of mediation. Simply turning off the footlight does not mean the performance is not staged. Strain writes that tourists, travelers, and anthropologists are all "equally vulnerable to this myth of demediation" and further, that "the illusion of demediation casts doubt on the possibility of differentiating tourist from traveler

or distinguishing authenticity from inauthenticity" (2003:5). If everything is mediated in one way or another, there is no way any traveler, regardless of where they stand in the prestige hierarchy, can gain access to the unmediated authentic. She argues that true reality, then, is a myth that is equally inaccessible for all, whether they are tourists or anthropologists. However, the problem is that these tourists in pursuit of an ideal travel still seem to fantasize this access to the unmediated truth. Strain concludes that there is a "continual push and pull within which the tourist is neither a cultural dupe satisfied with touristic spectacle masquerading as authentic culture nor a resolute nihilist who has abandoned all hopes of finding the last remnant of authenticity in an otherwise artificial world" (2003:5). This "tourist" she refers to is somewhat on the fence about their expectations for the extraordinary and the real, torn between the fear of being fooled by staged authenticity, but also hopeful that they can someday access the real backstage if successful. It is this hope that continually encourages these learning-oriented tourists to set off on a journey where encountering and discovering the unmediated true knowledge is believed a possibility.

Just like anthropological fieldwork where scientists collect data to support their arguments, amateur anthropologists must bring back some sort of proof in order to demonstrate that they were indeed successful in discovering the truth of the world. Souvenirs and travel photos are displaced evidences of that faraway place, authenticating the fact that the place actually exists, and that the traveler has physically been there. While souvenirs are material, tangible evidence of a place, much has been discussed regarding the myth of photography as an authentic, unmediated, mechanical reproduction of reality. Urry points out:

> Photography *seems* to be a means of transcribing reality. The images produced appear to be not statements about the world but pieces of it, or even miniature slices of reality. A photograph thus seems to furnish evidence that something

> did indeed happen – that someone really was there or that the mountain actually was that large. It is thought that the camera does not lie (2002:127).

In a theoretical exploration of photography, Susan Sontag introduces the idea that a "photograph is not only an image, an interpretation of the real; it is also a trace, something directly stenciled off the real" (Sontag 1982:350), and Robinson and Picard further her argument by describing the common belief that a camera can "record and mediate the 'essence' and 'inherent truth' of the photographed" and explaining that the idea behind this myth "may lie less in its technology of mimesis – the technology of copying – but in its technology of trans-materialization" (2009:11). Urry argues that such 'authentic link' established between the photographed object and the final print explains why tourists prefer photos taken by their own cameras over aesthetically superior postcards sold at souvenir shops (Urry 2002:11). These works suggest that due to the myth of photographic "trans-materialization," it was possible for photographs to be accepted as having probative value equivalent to souvenirs in a sense that it was a way to rip off a piece of a place and bring it back in material form.

Robinson and Picard infer the direct application of Graburn's hierarchy of tourism, from explorer-traveler to mass-charter tourists, to the types of souvenirs they return with. He writes, "the more exotic or reified the destination and experience, the more power is imbued in the souvenir or photograph" suggesting that just as the prestige ranking indicates that traveling to more exotic places further removed from the ordinary reached a higher status, a high-status souvenir is also determined by distance (2009:22). In addition to the extraordinariness, authenticity of the souvenir is also pursued by these truth-seeking tourists. Mass-produced souvenirs for the mass-charter tourist significantly lose its value, denigrated for being a superficial commodity produced by the capitalistic system of the tourism industry. In contrast,

authentic souvenirs are artifacts with a real "use value" before it acquires its exchange value in the Marxist sense, a "pre-commodity" that could be actually put in use. Souvenirs that are not-for-sale are much harder to attain, therefore truth-seeking tourists consider them to be more valuable, enchanted, and powerful.

In addition to these mass-produced, "fake" souvenirs tailored for tourists, photography also ranks on the lower end of this souvenir hierarchy. Sontag suggests an important connection between photography and the traveler's voyeuristic gaze. She conceptualizes photography to be an "extension of the eye of the middle-class *flaneur*," a French term referring to the wealthy, leisured stroller who had the time and money to wander around the city (1977:55). Sontag explains that "the *flaneur* finds the world 'picturesque'" and claims that their obsession with visual encounters during the stroll is closely related to a photographer's desire to snap a shot; "the photographer is an armed version of the solitary walker" (1977:55). Urry describes the practice of flaneurie as "intelligent wandering" and calls the *flaneur* a "forerunner of the twentieth-century tourist," suggesting that he also perceived modern day tourism as a kind of leisurely strolling by the wealthy, educated class with a purpose of learning (Rojek and Urry 1997:6). Expanding on the discussion of flaneurie by Walter Benjamin, he claims that one important characteristic of the *flaneur* is their anonymity. In an overcrowded city, a *flaneur* was able to move about without being noticed, "observing and being observed, but never really interacting with those encountered" (Urry 2002:126). This protection by an invisible barrier gave *flaneurs* a special privilege to venture into the "dark corners" of the city from a safe distance. In other words, they were able to enjoy dangerous encounters without risk, to see without touching, to observe without participating.

"Tourist photograph," then, was coded as a picture taken by the tourist-voyeur who had

only peeked into the lives of Others without actually engaging with their everyday lives. Urry argues that "sightseers, especially with a camera draped around their neck, are conventionally taken to be superficial in their appreciation of environments, peoples and places" (Urry 2002:149). Such denigration of the tourist photography is well represented in a recent ethnographic work by Gillespie (2006). His work shows that "the stereotypical representation of the ignorant, foolish, consumerist and duped tourist, one who methodically 'does' the sights, enclosed in an insular bubble, has been an object of ridicule," validating that this sentiment between the tourist-traveler dichotomy continues to exist today (2006:355). During his interviews with a group of young American backpackers visiting Ladakh, North India, he notes their scornful criticisms towards "the inauthenticity experienced by other tourists," which introduces an interesting triangle between the tourist-self, the locals-Others, and the third category, the "Other tourist" with whom no tourist wishes to identify (2006:355). MacCannell has also discussed this "long standing touristic attitude, a pronounced dislike, bordering on hatred, for other tourists, an attitude that turns man against man" (1976:107). However, the apparent hostility between the tourist-self and the other-tourists, Gillespie argues, is in fact a reflection of the tourists' self-conscious, or self-loathing. In this article, he focuses especially on how tourist photography is a target of widespread derision as one of the greatest tourist faux pas, and how many considered it "intrusive, degrading, and inauthentic" to shove long lenses in the face of locals (2006:357). This extreme hatred towards Other tourist photographers, however, gets inverted and backfires towards their tourist-self. Just the fact that they have taken a photo "positions the tourist photographer as an ignorant and superficial tourist," and this immense guilt leads to a dilemmatic need to fight their own desires to shoot a photo themselves (2006:349). During the interview, "tourists were more comfortable talking about landscape photographs or

the ignorance of other tourists than about their own efforts to photograph Ladakhi people" and many were ashamed of the fact that they had taken a picture at all (2006:356). Not only do they attempt to photograph inconspicuously, but sometimes, their desire to disassociate themselves from the typical voyeuristic tourist is so strong that they may even give up the urge to snap a shot all together. What the interviewees consider most problematic about such vision-oriented tourist behavior is that "it fails to establish 'a little relation' with the locals," suggesting that these backpackers strive to become the "traveler" who actually get to know the locals instead of a peeping voyeur from a distance (2006:356). Gillespie's article demonstrates that these backpackers look down on tourist photography, that they prefer experience over vision, participation rather than observation.

Denigration of tourist photography gives rise to a paradox. If mass-produced souvenirs and vision-oriented photography are considered fake by the truth-seeking tourists, what is their worth? Why do they still obtain souvenirs or snap a shot, and how are they transformed into an evidence of their travel? Graburn argues that the true significance of souvenirs and travel photographs lies not in its materiality providing a tangible evidence of travel, but rather in its symbolism (1983:28). Robinson and Picard allude to Sontag's work and deconstruct the order of photography representing the real; "for an experience to become real, it must be photographed," they rephrase with a twist, suggesting an ambivalent link between photography and the 'real' experience (2009:80). Tourism-media scholars have examined the processes through which this seemingly objective evidence is transformed into a more fluid form of memories which enable the souvenir as an embodiment of the travel experience. Crawshaw and Urry write that "people choose, use, relate to and talk about photographs in different ways," and therefore, photographs are just as fluid as memory itself, constituting a single piece in the process by which

"disconnected memories can be brought together in unpredictable ways" (Crawshaw and Urry 1997:194-195). What is inherent in the souvenir is not so important as how the souvenir is used to remember the experience. Referring to Edward Bruner's work on the role of narrative in tourism, Robinson and Picard argue that souvenirs and photographs are nothing but a "mnemonic device for storytelling" which can be taken apart and recombined according to the storyteller's memories (Bruner 2005). These are not fixed objects for capturing reality, and could be considered 'superficial' on their own. However, once accompanied by live storytelling, they become embodied in the travel narrative, incorporated in tourist memories, and acquire a form of authenticity.

According to this logic behind pursuing an authentic souvenir, a crumbled ticket used to ride a bus in a small exotic town will have more value than an ornate wood carving sold at a souvenir shop. A seemingly unremarkable piece of paper can become significant once you have an extraordinary anecdote that goes with it. This is similar to how Graburn theorizes souvenirs with what Thruot and Thurot have called "rubbish theory," where "cultural debris of the lives of the disadvantaged eventually fall into the hands of the affluent, to be used, collected, museumized, and made valuable to the advantage of the new owners" (1983:26). He argues that objects that would normally be perceived as rubbish under regular context, when consumed and collected as a part of tourist experience, would somehow acquire a magical value as a token of adventure. The class implication between the disadvantaged subject and the affluent collector here underscores that Graburn has this particular power relation in mind between the tourist and the locals. His definition of the "tourist" is focused on the wealthy travelers who collect artifacts as they experience the life of a "peasant for a day," suggesting a link between tourists who value these rubbish-like souvenirs and the type of amateur-anthropologist who orients their travel

towards cultural learning. MacCannell describes the making of souvenir as "a process of sacralization that renders a particular natural or cultural artifact as a sacred object of the tourist ritual" (Urry 2002:10). There is an uncanny relation between rubbish and token, where rubbish acquires a "sacred charisma" in the process of becoming a souvenir, accompanied by extraordinary anecdotes from a faraway place told by the returned traveler (Graburn 1983:29). While authenticity is pursued for both souvenirs and photography in their materiality, their extraordinariness is also cultivated through the process in which the traveler remembers and relates to the object.

Tourism scholars have extensively discussed how bits and pieces of travel experience in the form of material evidence and extraordinary memories are disseminated through "souvenir stories" back home. Robinson and Picard delineate this scene: "Stories are told to friends, work colleagues and relatives. Objects collected or acquired during the journey are shown around, sometimes given away as gifts […] intangibility of memory and recollection is made tangible through the acquisition" (2009:20). This is an important social occasion of memory-production where "visual images are interwoven with verbal commentary to remember the experience and to tell others about it" as the traveler provides a post-rationale for the images back home, (Urry 2002:14) and "connections and contexts can be re-established as the photograph and its object is re-made through narrative and its placement in (at the very least, family) history" (Robinson and Picard 2009:14). When the story is being retold, material evidences are restructured and interwoven into the travel adventure narratives, thus, the initial link between the reality and the extraordinary is made.

Looking through the physical collection of souvenirs alongside listening to the traveler's recollection, listeners will start cultivating certain images of that faraway place without actually

going. In this hypothetical scenario, perhaps these listeners will eventually decide to actually visit the place themselves in the future. This post-travel storytelling session turns into a pre-travel fantasizing event for the listeners. Urry argues that such pre-travel 'virtual travel' is crucial in shaping the travel practice itself, the 'corporeal travel':

> Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is an anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy, of intense pleasures, either on a different scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered. Such anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices, such as film, TV, literature, magazines, records, and videos, which construct and reinforce that gaze" (2002:3).

The souvenir story session can be considered a form of this non-tourist practice where anticipation for travel is constructed and sustained.

Urry claims that pre-travel anticipations and post-travel memories are directly linked in a hermetically sealed circle, because when travelers share pictures and stories upon their return, they are only "demonstrating that they really have been there by showing their version of the images that they had seen before they set off" (2002:129). This insular cycle questions the authenticity of souvenirs and photos brought back by the tourists, as the actual reality may have been bypassed if they had traveled only to appease their cravings for preconceived extraordinary anticipations. A rubbish-like souvenir acquires an extraordinary quality because it is authentic, and to question its realness means to jeopardize its status as a proof of "having been there." Objects from the trip may not necessarily prove that the extraordinary experience is real, but rather perhaps, the reality is made extraordinary with the traveler's imagination and their storytelling.

Urry makes an analogy between the souvenir and the moon rock, symbolizing an object that is considered extraordinary despite its unremarkable appearance (2002:13). The moon has always been visible but intangible, and this faraway place has long been fantasized by us living on earth. When the endeavor into space was finally possible, men who traveled to the moon brought back the moon rock which served as a proof for two facts: the astronauts had really gone up to the moon, and the moon really did exist. Because we could only see the moon without touching until that point, it had been impossible to prove if the moon was real or fantasy. The return of the moon rock evidenced that this extraordinary faraway place was indeed authentic. However, the rock's ability to prove this is logically somewhat questionable. Hypothetically speaking, if travel to the moon had all been staged, the evidence must also be a part of that staged performance. In this radical scenario, the souvenir does not prove anything. There is no way to prove that those men actually went to the moon, because there is no way to prove that the rock is really from the moon. The duality in its probative force means that the rock can prove neither fact that the moon is real nor that those men actually went there. This is the paradox behind the moon rock as a souvenir from the moon.

There is nothing inherently extraordinary about the moon rock which is as common as any other rock. However, it gained an extraordinary aura only because it had come from an extraordinary faraway place, and only because it was real. This rubbish-like rock is charismatic because it came from the moon. An object from the moon is special because the moon is an extraordinary place. The moon is extraordinary because it is situated in an extremely distant place from where we live. Following this logic, we start to see the need to ask this question: Why, then, is the rock that came from the moon so ordinary, like the rocks we can find anywhere on earth? When an ordinary rock came from the moon, earthlings concluded that the moon rock is

extraordinary instead of dismissing the moon as an ordinary place. This suggests a biased tendency where the presupposition that "the moon is extraordinary" trumps above all else, even though "the moon is ordinary" is an equally valid answer we can postulate from the moon rock.

Similar jump of logic seems to apply to souvenirs and photography brought back by tourists. These objects are sought to authenticate the facts that the traveler actually went to an extraordinary place, and that place was indeed extraordinary as imagined. Even if the destination had not been so remarkable after all, accompanying narratives could sacralize a seemingly ordinary amateur snapshot or a rubbish-like piece of paper. Ordinary souvenirs which travelers return with are not used to suggest the ordinariness of the place they visited, but on the contrary, to prove the authenticity of that imagined extraordinary place. This grand scheme between pre-travel and post-travel processes allows the tourists to satisfy their expectations for the extraordinary and the real.

Urry claims that anticipation for the destination used to be cultivated mainly through mass-circulated media such as film, TV, literature, magazines, records, videos, and professionally taken photography on tourism package brochures (2002:3). In her work on tourism advertisement, Teresa Delfin states that a "contributor to tourism fantasies in recent decades has been advertisement" (2009:139). Approaching tourism as an industry of place commodification, she claims that the motivation behind purchasing tourism is equivalent to any other form of consumption. Colin Campbell argues that central to modern consumerism are the processes of day-dreaming and anticipation about the commodities one may wish to consume. For modern consumers, their basic motivations for consumption are not simply materialistic, but instead, are to "experience 'in reality' the pleasurable dramas they have already experienced in their imagination" (Urry 2002:13). Accordingly, the would-be tourists must first be able to

fantasize themselves in their destinations in order to decide whether or not to purchase that travel experience. Tourism advertisements cultivate consumers' imaginations under a capitalistic system manipulated by the tourism industry. Blatant displays of marketing strategies through these top-down media, however, are often resisted by discovery-oriented travelers who refuse to become consumerist tourists. For those seeking to achieve the explorer-traveler status, processes of fantasizing daydreams must happen in relatively subtle forms of democratized media.

Sharing Stories in the Digital Memory Database

Shifting gears from traditional media like TV and magazines, the cultivation of place images occurs today in a more personal network through peer-to-peer circulations of souvenir stories. While sharing souvenirs and travel albums used to be limited to the private domain of family members and close friends, development of the internet allowed these personal travel photos and memories to go public, making it easily accessible by the masses. In the next section, I will look at discussions by media scholars on how the advent of internet media has facilitated the circulation of personal travel experiences in a larger network, and explore the ways in which it may have influenced the truth-seeking tourists' pursuits of the extraordinary real.

Robinson and Picard make an important distinction between 'tourist photography' and 'photography of tourism,' the former referring to the public and professional photography often used in tourism advertisements, and the latter to the private and amateur snapshots taken by individual tourists (2009:23). They explain:

> On the one hand, widely circulated 'public' (and largely professionally taken) photographs fuel the construction of the world as a 'tourist world' of brochure and guidebook destinations, working closely as they do with universal

> narratives of exoticism, versions of paradise and the spectacular. On the other hand, images of the world are also held in myriad private collections as private (and largely amateur) photographs, sporadically annotated and each reflecting very different and intimate experiences, imaginings and meanings of the world (Robinson and Picard 2009:7).

This distinction between public/professional photography of tourism and private/amateur tourist photography must be revisited especially with the emergence of digital pictures and online media. Robinson and Picard argue that the tourism scholarship so far has focused only on the photography of tourism when discussing the impact of imagination on tourism. On the other hand, they claim that the vernacular tourist photos or "holiday snaps" stowed away in family albums were "by definition, located largely in the private rather than public sphere," and have been removed from scholarly considerations because of their "amateurism, and the apparent 'non-serious' nature" (2009:9). With the technology to upload these personal photos on online albums and blogs, post-travel souvenir-storytelling sessions became accessible by those outside of the traveler's personal reach, thus allowing the album to enter the public domain.

Jose van Dijck provides some interesting theoretical works on digital photography and human memory. She points out that one of the major changes digital photography has brought about is the carelessness for snapping a candid shot; because nothing is at stake in erasing a bad shot, the sheer amount of pictures taken has simply increased. At the same time, a number of these mediocre shots never materialize but continue to lie in the corner of a hard drive without ever being seen. She identifies this as a "new type of materiality, a limbo between remembering and forgetting, where images may sit pending their erasure or materialization. Rather than stimulating completeness – storing every single aspect of life – digital technologies may prompt

tentativeness as a stage in the act of memory" (2005:325). As Robinson and Picard have argued, photography is not a trans-materialization of reality, but a "mnemonic device of storytelling" which helps people remember their experiences. With digitalization, not only does the photo's materiality diminish even further, but its role as a mnemonic device becomes questionable as well. Digital photography gave rise to numerous "forgotten photos" not necessarily linked to actual human experience. These pictures are, so to speak, orphaned memories. Pieces of forgotten memories may become publicly accessible by others through what van Dijck calls the "googlization of memory" (2005:323). With the "ability to link up personal memory to public mediated materials" and the subsequent emergence of new styles of diary (for example, a weblog), she concludes that "the emergence of new genres that connect private memories to the reflections of others or public resources would be a true innovation of the digital memory machine" (2005:328). Digital memory database may also facilitate these "forgotten memories" to be accessed by a mass audience, allowing them to be interpreted in drastically different ways from how the original owners may approach them. Connecting her analysis to what have been theorized in previous tourism literatures, we start to see the significance of this technology in providing tourists with the platform to share their amateur travel photos. Accessing personal travel memories available in the online memory database is just as significant a source for virtual travel such as listening to the traveler's recollection, flipping through a private photo album, or looking at an image advertisement on tourism brochures.

However, one important aspect that distinguishes this new media from traditional media is its fragmented nature, easily de-contextualized and de-linked from embodied personal memories. In a digital transmittance, information is decomposed into bits and pieces and reconstructed as a kind of a mosaic once it reaches the destination. The difference between

digital images and analog paintings might be a good example to symbolize digital fragmentation in a more literal sense. In a digitally reproduced painting, what may seem like the dexterity of the artist's brushstroke, when zoomed in closely, reveals to be composed of numerous square grids of colors. No matter how refined it may seem from afar, it is nonetheless a kind of mosaic in its most fundamental form. Similarly, in the process of remembering one's travel experience through digital media, place memories are decomposed into pieces of snapshots or segments of travel stories.

The fragmentary nature of digital media removes the link between the extraordinary and the authentic even further than regular souvenirs and photography. Orphaned photography, floating in the cyberspace and being removed from context, may have played a role in authenticating one's travel memories at one point. However, digital media allows these pictures to take on independent lives of their own, uncoupled from the traveler's original memories and passed around the community of masses. During the pre-digital era when souvenir-storytelling was limited to face-to-face transmission from the returned-traveler to the listener, souvenir as a material proof of authenticity was at least directly linked to the development of extraordinary imagination. When this same transmission is done over digital photo albums online, the link between the authentic and the extraordinary is significantly broken, and they become removed further away from each other.

Conclusion: Predicting the Post Tourists

Through the analysis of tourism literatures, I hope this work has contributed to posing some important questions for directing future research on tourism. In the age of information technology where any knowledge is easily and publicly accessible, how does the tourism

industry continue to capitalize on "cultural learning" and proliferate as a viable, profitable industry? While the Grand Tour used to be reserved for the colonial elite youths, do travelers engage in cultural/educational travels today regardless of their class and educational backgrounds? Is this type of travel still coded with the Anglo/andro-centric ideal of travel, or do non-Western females also participate in such 'noble' travels? Are there tourists who welcome mediation or knowingly consume fakeness? Although tourism literatures argue that the search for the unmediated authenticity prevails throughout all walks of tourists, further ethnography is needed to explore if this is really the case. Briefly coming back to Gottlieb's point about "the middle-class tourist will seek to be a 'peasant for a day' while the lower middle-class tourist will seek to be 'king/queen for a day,'" there seems to be a correlation between levels of travel and class distinctions. The "degrading" tourists – from king to peasant – are marked as education-oriented cultural capital builders who idealize the traveler-explorer status and search for authenticity and exoticism. On the other hand, the "upgrading" tourists – from peasant to king – often seem to fall towards the mass-charter end in their experiences of artificially staged extravagance. In this manner, one's original class in the real, extracarnival life may translate into this world-upside-down, even during this time they assume their inverted characters. If the hierarchy of tourism holds true, then the tourist who chooses to become king/queen for a day will be looked down on as a lower-class cultural dupe, while the "real king" of the upper-class is respected as the elite, noble traveler, even while, or rather especially because, he lives like a peasant during the trip.

Many scholars emphasize that *all* tourists desire authenticity and exoticness which implies that they actually focus on the middle to upper-class elite tourists who wish to become a peasant for a day. It is this elite status that I relate back to the amateur, DIY mentality

represented in the *Whole Earth Catalog*. The countercultural youths of the 1970s were indeed marked with class, as Turner explains, "Virtually all of the back-to-the-landers were white, and most were under thirty years of age, well-educated, socially privileged, and financially stable" (2006:77). Today, this DIY attitude is no longer limited to the subaltern hippies but has flourished in the mainstream. Education and inspiration-oriented tourists often travel with a purpose for personal enrichments in the liberal-arts, to build cultural capital and acquire well-rounded skills. In this period of late capitalism, many youths oppose to the capitalistic structure in which the division of labor into specialists has become the standard way of economic life. Novel development of the peer-to-peer media democratized almost anything, and this subsequently led to the amateurization of various occupations, from amateur photographers to amateur anthropologists. Today, many seem to sense that division into experts is an unnatural way of human life, and these individuals have begun to pursue a wholesome personal development through the cultivation of amateur skills. However, this is only possible for the wealthy class with the time and privilege available to spend on leisurely educations. Just like the colonist sons who set off on journeys to expand their horizons, tourism literatures speak of the privileged DIY travelers today that engage in travel as a kind of leisurely anthropological hobby.

Towards this type of travel practice, however, globalization and modernization have posed a huge crisis. A homogenizing globe has become a great threat for those who fantasize the idioms of discovery in their explorations for the exotic. In a futile chase between the tourism industry putting on a lavish performance and truth-seeking tourists hoping to peek into the backstage, I am interested in how these two parties might eventually, if ever, come to reconciliation. Recent works on tourism (Urry, et al) introduce the idea of a 'post-tourist' which may be the direction tourism is heading towards in the future. Post-tourists are a type of

self-mocking tourists who engage in touristic activities with full self awareness. They knowingly venture into tourist traps and still manage to have fun, and may even enjoy the mundaneness of the experience itself. Using the moon rock analogy, post-tourists will not praise the moon rock for its extraordinariness, but rather, be pleasantly entertained by how ordinary it actually can be. It is this kind of nihilist attitude that might flourish among the new generation of tourists.

The advent of cybermedia brought two things to the table. First of all, it brought about a huge shift away from traditional top-down media, offering users to search and share information in a democratized manner. The internet provided a platform for travelers to share adventure stories, and also for pre-travelers to have public access to others' memories. In this way, it was a media that perfectly suited the DIY-minded youths who wished to venture out in the world independently and share their experiences with their peers. Simultaneously, it also meant an interesting shift in the ways information was mediated. While traditional media distributed information in a comparatively contextualized manner, circulation of information was significantly more disjunctive in the new internet media. This fragmented nature worked to further accentuate the various dilemmas tourists faced between the pre-travel imaginations and post-travel souvenir narratives, the visual and the corporeal, the extraordinary and the real. In an analog souvenir story session, the returned-traveler would tell stories with a photo album in hand, thus souvenirs and photographs brought back home would directly feed into the extraordinary imaginations developed by the would-be-travelers listeners. However, this link becomes severed when souvenir stories and travel photos are shared via digital media, de-contextualized from the traveler's personal memories and taking a life on its own. With this type of media, the image of the extraordinary becomes perpetuated, and the insular circle between pre-travel imaginations and post-travel recollections becomes hermetically sealed even more tightly.

Although the DIY attitude we saw in Stewart Brand's *Whole Earth* generation may seem particular to the countercultural wave in the 1970s, I believe it remains much relevant in today's digital age as well. Steve Jobs ends his Stanford commencement speech in 2005 as follows:

> Stewart and his team put out several issues of The *Whole Earth Catalog*, and then when it had run its course, they put out a final issue. It was the mid-1970s, and I was your age. On the back cover of their final issue was a photograph of an early morning country road, the kind you might find yourself hitchhiking on if you were so adventurous. Beneath it were the words: "Stay Hungry. Stay Foolish." It was their farewell message as they signed off. Stay Hungry. Stay Foolish. And I have always wished that for myself. And now, as you graduate to begin anew, I wish that for you.

Job's speech has in turn become a bible for our generation. To me, the image of hitchhiking he portrays in this speech seems to be hinting that idioms for adventurous journeys and fantasies of ideal travels may very well be still alive within the younger generations of today.

---

[i] Regarding the opening remark, Brand confesses later in his essay "We are as Gods" for the 30-year anniversary edition *Whole Earth Winter 1998*, that he "stole the line" from British anthropologist Edmund Leach's *A Runaway World?* (1968)

[ii] Interestingly, these tourism scholars were often times situated geographically in either the UK or Northern California. This could indicate that their academic endeavor is responding to a particularly countercultural and hippie movement emerging around these locations.

Bibliography

Bakhtin, Mikhail M.
1968 Rabelais and his World. Tvorchestvo Fransua Rable, trans. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.

Baudrillard, Jean, et al.
1983 Simulations. Paul Foss, Paul Patton and Philip Beitchman, trans. New York: Semiotext(e)

Benjamin, Walter.
1968 Illuminations. Harry Zohn, trans. New York, Harcourt, Brace & World.

Berger, John.
1972 Ways of Seeing. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Boyarin, Jonathan, and Charles Tilly.
1994 Remapping memory: The Politics of Timespace. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Brand, Stewart.
1971 The Last Whole Earth Catalog. Menlo Park, CA.: Portola Institute.
1998 Whole Earth Catalog: 30th Anniversary Celebration. Sausalito, CA.: Whole Earth Review.

Brennan, Denise.
2004 What's Love Got to Do with It?: Transnational Desires and Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic (Latin America Otherwise). Durham: Duke University Press

Bruner, Edward M.
2005 Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press

Casey, Edward S.
2000 Remembering: A Phenomenological Study. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Clifford, James.
1988 The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-century Ethnography, Literature, and Art. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

1997 Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Crawshaw, Carol, and John Urry.
1997 Tourism and the Photographic Eye *In* Touring Cultures:Transformations of Travel and Theory. Chris Rojek and John Urry, eds. London: Routledge.

Crick, Malcolm.
1989 Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility. Annual Review of Anthropology 18: 307-344

Delfin, Teresa E.P.
2009 From Images to Imaginaries: Tourism Advertisements and the Conjuring of Reality. *In* The Framed World: Tourism, Tourists and Photography. Mike Robinson and David Picard, eds. Pp 139-150. Burlington, VT: Ashgate

Di Leonardo, Micaela.
1998 Exotics at Home: Anthropologies, Others, American Modernity. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

van Dijck, Jose.
2005 From Shoebox to Performative Agent: the Computer as Personal Memory Machine. New Media & Society 7(3): 311-332

Ebron, Paula. A.
2000 Tourists as Pilgrims: Commercial Fashioning of Transatlantic Politics. American Ethnologist 26: 910–932.

Frankland, Stan.
2009 The Bulimic Consumption of Pygmies: Regurgitating an Image of Otherness. *In* The Framed World: Tourism, Tourists and Photography. Mike Robinson and David Picard, eds. Pp 95-116. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

Gillespie, Alex.
2006 Tourist Photography and the Reverse Gaze. Ethos 34(3): 343-366.

Graburn, Nelson. H. H.
1983 The Anthropology of Tourism. Annals of Tourism Research 10(1):9-33.

Gregory, Steven.
2007 The Devil Behind the Mirror: Globalization And Politics in the Dominican Republic. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hall, Colin. M, and Allan. M. Williams
2002 Tourism and migration: new relationships between production and consumption. Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment 2(1): 5-27.

Ivy, Marilyn.
1995 Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

Jobs, Steve.
2005 Steve Jobs' 2005 Stanford Commencement Address (with intro by President John Hennessy). Stanford University YouTube Channel. http://www.youtube.com/user/StanfordUniversity Retrieved 03/04/2012

Kujundzic, Nebojsa, and Matthew Dorrell
2002 Instantaneous Representation and the Pig Itself. New Media & Society 4(4): 540-549

MacCannell, Dean.
1976 The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class. New York: Schocken.

Pratt, Mary L.
1992 Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation. New York: Routledge.

Robinson, Mike, and David Picard
2009 Moments, Magic and Memories: Photographing Tourists, Tourist Photographs, and Making Worlds. *In* The Framed World: Tourism, Tourists and Photography. Mike Robinson and David Picard, eds. Pp. 1-38. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Rojek, Chris, and John Urry
1997 Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory. New York: Routledge.

Smith, Valene L, ed.
1989 Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Sontag, Susan.
1977 On Photography. New York: Picador.
1982 The Image World. A Susan Sontag Reader. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux.

Strain, Ellen.
2003 Public Places, Private Journeys: Ethnography, Entertainment, and the Tourist Gaze. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Stronza, Amanda.
2001 Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives. Annual Review of Anthropology 30: 261-283

Turner, Fred.
2006 From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press

Urry, John.
2002 The Tourist Gaze Second edition. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage