

REVIEW

“REREADING THE SUBJUGATING TOURIST” IN NEOLIBERALISM: POSTCOLONIAL OTHERNESS AND THE TOURIST EXPERIENCE

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In this review article, Wearing and Wearing attempt to develop an interactionist, constructionist, and postcolonial framework for conceptualizing tourist experiences of space. They argue that the tourist place provides social spaces for individual experiences related, among other things, to leisure expectations, guest–host relationships, and interactions with community members. To Wearing and Wearing, operations of power between the culture of the tourist and that of the host enable hegemonic constructions of the host’s culture. These sorts of constructions position the “otherness” of hosts as inferior to the tourist’s original culture, which is usually “White” and “infused with Western knowledge.” The authors maintain thereby that the tourist destination then generally becomes a place for the voyeuristic gaze of the tourist, which, at best, reduces the destination culture to an inferior exoticism.

Key words: Tourist experience; Social spaces; Host culture; Neoliberalism; Otherness

Introduction

The aim of this review article is to understand the links between some of the forces of neoliberalism and Western tourist practices through the use of current cultural analysis of the representation of otherness in tourism. Our arguments extend some of previous explorations of similar issue around globalization (B. M. Wearing & Wearing, 1996a, 1996b; S. L. Wearing & Larsen, 1996; S. Wearing

& Wearing, 1999) supported here with Bhabha’s (1994) influential work on cultural location, MacCannell’s (1992) on touristic performances in culture and Hollinshead’s (1998, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 2004) important thesis on surveillance and public culture in tourism. In terms of Bhabha’s thesis, the concept of a hybrid or third space is used to convey the possibilities of a different ordering of lived experience by rereading these spaces to that given by hegemonic constructions of tourism with host

and indigenous cultures in developing countries in particular. Bhabha's work is difficult to access and the transposing of it to tourism has meant some simplification in this article (see Kapoor, 2003, for a recent overview and critique). We provide an analysis that leads to different conceptions and conclusion about these spaces as part of organized tourism.

Our analysis suggests that there are very real possibilities of a coconstructed knowledge of tourist and host community immersed in postcolonial realities of location and place. These coconstructed understandings and the "hybridity of being" that are formed within and around such consciousness enable subjugated knowledge that can subvert dominant understandings of the tourist experience.

Whereby the subjugating regimes of tourism are themselves resisted by tourist–host interactions that help organize hybridity, subordinated knowledges, and counterdiscourse. The broader articulations, however, of such subversions and hybrid identities leaves them open to inscription, codification, and commodification in the new order of neoliberalism and global marketing as we have previously illustrated with the commodification of ecotourism.

In terms of the globalization of capitalism in the last 20 years or more these constructions cannot be disentangled from the dominance of neoliberalism and the intensification of global market economies. The last 20 years have been described as:

One of rising neoliberalism—that is, a time of market deregulation, state decentralization and reduced state intervention into economic affairs in general. Cast in these terms, neoliberalism has been a political project concerned with institutional changes on a scale not seen since the Second World War and a project that has attempted to transform some of the most basic political and economic settlements of the postwar era, including labor market accords, industrial relations systems, redistributive tax structures and social welfare programs. (Campbell & Pedersen, 2001, p. 1)

Put simply, neoliberal ideologies regard people as consumers rather than producers (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001). This shift in the mode of contemporary citizenship in capitalist societies from production to consumption has become the axis upon which identity is constructed in free market

societies (Beder, 2001; Birch & Paul, 2003; Cohen, 2003; Hamilton, 2002, 2003; Kasser, 2003; Lury, 1996; Slater, 1997) and has set up the tourist and the tourism industry in a way that ensures neoliberal utopias embedded in local host cultures. In this model of cultural construction, the difference in culture is perceived as inferior and serves to reinforce the dominant values, usually reinforcing the capital accumulation logic of Western economies, of the tourists' original culture. The discourses of tourist literature and marketing have in many ways implicitly adopted this top-down hegemonic view and need deconstruction and contestation from below, from the margins and the positioning of rehistoricized other.

Nonetheless, we are careful to move beyond the essentialized views of culture and the reduction of cultural logic that can impose a crude cultural inferiorization thesis such as attributing *all* relations of cultural definition and dominance to the hegemonic culture of capitalist markets. This is reductionist in making out the tourist as capitalist "us" and the host as oppressed "them." In this article we add a more complex layer of argument to the cultural logic and contradictions of White tourist encounters with hosts and their communities. For us our phrase "cannibalistic tourism" is a mode of self-betrayal to Western oppression. The phrase implies hegemonic constructions from below are as much about hosts self-identifying and manufacturing identities in the commodified and normalizing tourist spaces. Host communities are in effect "eating themselves" with the cultural logic of profit and capital accumulation, and the cultural values of Western imperialist discourse. Such discourses are inscribed by the intensification of capitalism under globalization and cross-border interactions (Hoogvelt, 1997). We suggest a postcolonial approach that is double-edged in challenging the logic of pure marketeering in tourism and creating a politics from the margins that resists the cultural spaces constructed on the terrain (representations) of these markets. Both hosts and tourists, among other social actors, can participate in reconstructing tourist spaces as Third Space (see also for example the collection of essays in C. M. Hall & Tucker, 2004, for an analysis of how the postcolonial has been applied to tourism).

Following Bhabha's (1994) conceptualization

of imperialized cultural space, discursive and primordial struggles over and against hegemonic constructions are occurring within what we call the "Third Space" of tourist–host interactions and in tourist destinations. When the destination communities' views are considered and given some credence there are possibilities for alternate programs of tourism and counterdiscourse to hegemonic modes of interaction. These possibilities allow some re-presentation of difference and otherness into the performances of tourist experience, albeit an "impure" culture that is hybridized in a Third Space. Thus, we recognize Bhabha's important hermeneutic insight that there is no unity or fixity to host cultures and "even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistorised and read anew"

(Bhabha, 1994, p. 37). Ways of developing spaces within destination areas that provide experiences to destabilize and transform the constructed self can then become possible and temporal. Otherness within this framework can include difference without inferiorization and identity fixity. A model is presented that includes, as illustration, modes of tourist experience that allow for a fluid two-way process of copresence and coconstruction between tourist and host with possible benefits for both.

Neoliberalism, the current and defining global economic ideology (Chomsky, 1999; Sim, 2004), has wrought widespread social and cultural change resulting in a distinct type of tourism. The domination of tourist operations by Western developed countries has allowed the tourism industry and particularly the corporate, economically powerful tourist marketers to design, plan, and implement tourist adventures into poorer developing countries. Without some consultation with these host communities this generally one-way process has the ability to ensure cultural hegemony. The establishment of cultural hegemonies means that the values of the tourist culture not only encroach on, and often destroy, the host culture, but also reinforce the narrow codes of cultures based in Western linear historicity, White (Indo-Anglo) mythologies, and industrialized capitalism. Under these circumstances the tourist is encouraged to develop a self-other expectation that reinforces the tourist-other views of the interactions that occur in tourist spaces. Yet, such hegemonic construction of the tourist space is not inviolable.

As Australians, we perhaps have a particular sense of and desire for place broadcast across the globe in the media and tourist event—the Sydney 2000 Olympics. The iconography of using the Sydney Harbour Bridge for a massive fireworks display to close these Olympics and Bondi Beach for Olympic volleyball resonates with a globalizing and commodifying of these special places for Australians. Game's (1991) analysis of Bondi as nationalist iconographic place illustrates the ambiguities in the self-desire to manage and control place and yet experience the decoded, wild, and untamed sense of place that is also Bondi:

Nostalgia is particularly evident in processes of commodification and the marketing of Bondi as a place, which consists principally in the constitution of Bondi as the object of the tourist gaze. On the other, I want to suggest that there is a way of "being in" that refuses the objectifying gaze and inscribes a different desire. (Game, 1991, p. 167)

We rely on this juxtaposition between coded objectified place and "being in place" that resists hegemonic constructions of tourism in place and space. Commodified images and their discursive constructions can be disrupted and disassociated so that reinscription of place with a different sense of self and identity is moved towards by host and tourist. In effect, we are arguing for a destabilization of a sense of place that explores deeper desires and meaning in the primordial and unknowable sensing of cultural locales. This can be juxtaposed to the existing dominant discourses that shape tourism through the commodification of human values.

In this review article, we argue that a higher degree of experiential interaction (a being in place) can occur in tourist spaces when social value and identities are developed within the host's cultural presentation. Social value is developed where cultural Third Spaces of particular hosts are significantly included through community consultation, policy decision making, other participation opportunities in policy implementation, and cultural constructions in this process. [For a translation of Bhabha's terms and concepts such as THIRD SPACE/THIRD SPACES (as interpreted vis-à-vis "Tourism"/"Tourism Studies" settings) see Hollinshead's (1999c) glossary in *Tourism, Culture &*

Communication.] There is then the possibility of a breakdown of the self-other in the dominant-subordinate dichotomy, and freedom in re-presentation of host identity to explore a Third Space of the hybrid selves created for both parties. Elsewhere we have identified the breakdown and, sometimes, reincorporation of Western conceptions of otherness in the self-managed ecotourism of Australian Aboriginal and other Southeast Asian host communities (S. Wearing & Wearing, 1999). The tourist's interactive experiences of nature and cultures can deconstruct the programmatic coding of tourist markets and sociocultural re-presentations of the self in cultural settings. How these cultural worlds are accessed and experienced depends, among other things, upon the manufactured or socially constructed nature of otherness in tourist experience, the resistance and subversion of host cultures to this programmatic coding, and the counterdiscourses to the gaze/surveillance of touristic power.¹

In Hollinshead's (1999a) Foucauldian terms, re-presentation of host identity can be understood as resisting the normalizing judgments and "essentializing governmentality" of tourism. Such cultural politics involves a postcolonial touristic approach that concentrates on countering the inferiorization of exotic otherness in the discursive repertoires and codings of Western tourism, and in the political economy of postcolonialism governance. A Foucauldian approach to governmentality is included in this politics (Foucault, 1991). Resistance as re-presentation in a Third Space is how the symbolic associations constitute new identities of otherness beyond hegemonic spaces (i.e., a reflexive difference that re-presents self in Third Space rather than representations of identity according to cultural hegemony) (Bhabha, 1994; Latour, 1986; Law, 1994). Subordinated knowledge and counter-discourse operating as a self/textual anarchism and subterranean translation involve a spontaneous resistance that denies reinscription and re-presentation in Western imperialism and postcolonial governance (O'Malley, 1998; M. Wearing, 1991; S. Wearing & Wearing, 1999). As such, a break is suggested by moving to the theory of Third Spaces, however fleeting and temporal, with the White logos, Western imperialisms, and the colonial past (Derrida, 1974; Spivak, 1999). These Westernized

hegemonic constructions are deeply embedded in global and local cultures and are associated with tourism in developing countries and indigenous communities in developed countries (Hannerz, 1990). Our examples are taken from touristic governance and self-governance of Australian Aboriginal communities and sex tourism in Asia.

These views are supported in the development of the neoliberal critic; according to Chomsky (1999) it was the "Washington consensus" that instituted a new global order through "an array of market oriented principles designed by the government of the United States and the international financial institutions that it largely dominates" (p. 19). It effectively made up the rules for future global economics, which were to "liberalize trade and finance, allow markets to set prices, end inflation, and privatise" (p. 20). This consensus has exerted enormous influence worldwide, so much so that neoliberalism has become an unquestioned universal economic model driving the tourism market.

Market fundamentalism can be considered the current economic paradigm. Even when it's not being applied in its pure form of a totally unregulated market, it still constitutes the ideal against which most Western governments construct their economic policy, and it's certainly the model employed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in their dealings with the world's nation states. Its impact on current global politics is immense, and, many would argue largely negative. (Sim, 2004, p. 102)

The article begins with a macrosocial explanation of cultural hegemony that enables more powerful tourist cultures to construct the host culture's otherness and as inferior to tourists' own, resulting in cultural cannibalism. The relationship between the self and social space is then addressed with the possibilities of incorporating otherness into the self without cannibalism when hierarchical dichotomies are deconstructed. Thirdly, the value of the inclusion in tourist planning, marketing, and practice of the unique view from the other—that is, the host culture—through the social value that hosts place on particular spaces and reinscription in commercial discourse is suggested. Finally, the arguments are drawn together into a model of tourism that challenges cultural hegemony and of-

fers alternatives to hegemonic cultural logic. This re-presentation of touristic identities can allow for a cultural and experiential process of interaction and exchange between tourist and host communities. Here, the argument relies on how interactions are performed under conditions of re-presenting self, knowing the detrimental logic of Western tourism. In this way, the domination of the tourist experience by Western countries can be challenged and, following de Certeau's (1988) arguments on experiential resistance, the balance of knowledge-power destabilized and resisted to favor the cultural uniqueness of host communities.

As we have argued elsewhere, there is an important sense of public ethic and role for local governance, local economies, and indigenous self-management by host communities in the counter-imperialistic strategies. In effect, these and other strategies provide a revitalized social ethics of association among minority and marginal groups in the developed and developing nations of global civil society to overcome the highly commodified, normalizing, and marketized nature of globalized Western tourism (cf. S. Wearing & Wearing, 1999). Such strategies can constitute a new politics of Third Space tourist cultures. This is greatly assisted by new global political awareness from information provided by international nongovernment organizations (INGOs), such as World Tourism International, Amnesty International, Oxfam, Asia Watch, War on Want, Anti-Slavery International, and, in Australia, Community Aid Abroad about host communities.

Cultural Hegemony: Otherness as Cultural Cannibalism

The term hegemony was originally used by Antonio Gramsci to refer to the power of a political class to have its own moral, political, and cultural values accepted by all classes as their own (Williams, 1989, pp. 144–146). Hegemony's meaning has been widened in sociological and cultural studies to refer to the plural domination of particular forms of culture to the exclusion and inferiorization of other forms (Bocock, 1986; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). Yet it also allows for struggles and reformulations as subcultures or other cultures challenge pluralized and dominant cultural forms.

In the leisure literature, leisure has been seen to be one site in which "the cultural conflict over meanings, views of the world and social habits has been fought" (Clarke & Critcher, 1985, p. 228). In the more recently developed tourism literature the term has also been implied in reference to the cultural domination of the more powerful Western industrialized nations in the tourism enterprise and the construction of host cultures as "other," subordinate to and inferior to the tourist culture even while offering opportunities for viewing different cultures. This literature also presents the tourist enterprise as a space for contesting cultural hegemonic dominance, a space for genuine interaction between tourist and host cultures.

This review article seeks to place these ideas into the contemporary debate on the constructions of otherness surrounding developing and, to a more limited extent, indigenous hosts in "developed" communities. The focus here is on a re-presentation process as reinscription of identities that enables an investigation of the sociocultural self and identity in the space and place of the destination environment between the tourist and community member. The identity performance of the tourist involves activities interacting with others outside those in the routinization of their everyday life and context of their original culture. These tourist identity performances produce acts that are perceived and interpreted by social actors in the commodified tourist process, a process that includes tour groups, the host community, own community, and reconstitutes the identities of tourists and host community members as a result of experiential interaction.

For example, MacCannell (1992) refers to the interaction between "moderns" (i.e., tourists) and "ex-primitives" (i.e., host peoples) as a cannibalistic endeavor. The invading tourists whose dominant White Western culture empowers them are able to consume, devalue, and ultimately eliminate the host culture:

Cannibalism in the political-economic register is the production of social totalities by literal *incorporation* of otherness. It deals with human difference in the most direct way, not merely by doing away with it, but by taking it in completely, metabolizing it, transforming it into shit, and eliminating it. The metabolized "other" supplies the

energy for autoeroticism, narcissism, economic conservatism, egoism, and absolute group unity or fascism, now all arranged under a positive sign. (MacCannell, 1992, p. 66)

In his analysis of Dennis O'Rourke's movie *Cannibal Tours*, MacCannell (1992) shows how this representation of rich, bourgeois tourists on a luxury cruise up the Sepic River in the jungles of New Guinea is both a physical and metaphorical journey into the heart of darkness whereby the tourists consume yet frequently misunderstand and generally undervalue what the ex-primitive or "other" in that region has to offer them (pp. 25–26). Thus, the dominant tourist culture aided by strategically host entrepreneurs consumes, eats up, and homogenizes the host culture, so that Western culture is reaffirmed in its restrictive dimensions and its constraints, prejudices, and blind spots remain projected to varying degrees on to the subjectivities of hosts and tourists.

MacCannell uses language to illustrate the sense of "otherness" and inferiorization attributed to those of differing ethnicity. For example, when we refer to traits and characteristics that are attributed to others as "ethnic" I say "I am —; you are —; he is —" ("black," "Chicano," "white," and so on)," thus constructing the third person as "other" to and most often inferior to "us" (MacCannell, 1992, p. 125). Yet MacCannell does not want to do away with difference; he wishes to retain the specificity of individual cultures while allowing subjectivities that transcend parochialism and cultural determinism with contributions from both moderns and ex-primitives. We term this the uniqueness of host cultures. MacCannell sees the movement of peoples both to and from the Western world, through tourism, as an opportunity to form hybrid cultures, which will be a precondition for inventiveness in creating subjectivities, which resist cultural constraints.¹ The model of tourism that he is promoting, in contrast to the "savage" aggressiveness of the corporations' cannibalistic promotion of "incorporation," is one of interaction (p. 68). In this model the neonomads of tourism move across cultural boundaries, not as invaders, but as imaginative travelers who benefit from displaced self-understanding and the freedom to go beyond the limits that frontiers present.

The "true heroes" of tourism, MacCannell (1992) claims, are those who know that "their future will be made of dialogue with their fellow travellers and those they meet along the way" (p. 7). To focus on the exchange of experiential knowledge that tourists gain in interaction and encounters with otherness recalls the work of Simmel's (1911/1971) social type, the adventurer. The adventurer as tourist is thus a risk taker even in minimal ways who experiences the forms and not the content of danger, nature, and charm of tourist place and interaction. In this model, the face-to-face interactions of tourist and host may provide some space for individuals to challenge the way culturally specific discourses construct the "I" and "you" of their culture in opposition to the "he" of other inferiorized ethnic cultures. The latter model, like the one we will develop in this article, is grounded in and moves beyond human interactions to a third space of coconstructed otherness that can be performed and re-presented in tourist markets and cultures. Thus, it allows for hegemonic struggle on the part of ex-primitives to retain the specificity and uniqueness of their own culture and through community solidarity (MacCannell, 1992, pp. 7–12). Re-presentation of such specificity and uniqueness can challenge and reconstitute valid identities and can contribute to interaction in the social spaces of tourism and consequently contribute to the identities of visitors.

Other critical authors in the tourism literature link the economic power of developed countries to their ability to construct tourist spaces as "other" to and different from their own cultures, which remains the norm. In this way cultural hegemony is maintained while the exotic culture can be packaged and sold as a viable commodity. The cultures of "developing nations" are thus promoted as "commodities of difference" to fulfill a commercially created need in the consciousness of affluent clients. Turner and Ash (1975) describe this type of tourist as a plague of marauders. Others, such as Krippendorf (1987), Murphy (1985), Urry (1990, 1995), and Lash and Urry (1994), are critical of the creation of "commodities of difference" through the rearrangement and trivialization of cultural ceremonies, festivals, and arts and crafts to meet the expectations of the tourist. More recent literature (S. Hall & Du Gay, 1996; Howes,

1996; Hollinshead, 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c; Thomas, 1994) builds on these ideas, pursuing analysis such as indigenous cultures (Thomas, 1994), issues of power and touristic surveillance (Hollinshead, 1999a, 1999c), and tourism as public culture (Hollinshead, 1999b), generally asserting Urry's (1990) sociological point that "the consumption of cultural difference is socially organised and systematised" (p. 1). At a macrosocial level the systematic trivialization of host culture ensures the maintenance of the cultural hegemony of the more powerful developed countries and the inferiorization of other cultures. The microsocial and cultural politics of this inferiorization process is open to discursive contestation and resistance in Third Space identity formation.

In this review article on neoliberal thought, we use the term hegemony to signify the way that those with power, most often "modern" corporate tourist marketeers, have been able to commodify and discursively construct tourist spaces. The results are objectified destinations representing cultural exoticism for the voyeuristic gaze, fleeting pleasure, and individualized escape of visiting tourists. We suggest an alternative way of constructing self/other in tourist space that also involves "incorporation" but not in the sense of cannibalistic elimination (for other variations on the idea of constructively examining the other and destination communities see Ringer, 1998, and Robinson & Boniface, 1999). We go on to consider the view from the other—that is, the host culture and the Third Space politics involved in this consideration.

Self-Other and Tourist Third Space

In seeking to answer the question "How does society get into the individual and become part of the self?" Mead (1934/1972) attempted to bridge the gap between the self and those constructed in interaction as "significant others," "significant reference groups" both positive and negative, and the "generalized other" of societal and cultural values. In so doing he allowed for selective interaction between a knowing agent and dominant forces in an individual's immediate milieu. In his schema, cultural space formed an important part of this culture and, although part of the "other," could also

become an important part of the self if perceived to be significant. A radicalized view of this construction of otherness incorporates the representational into the experiential and identities are made from the interplay of experiential self with social. From these interactions systems of social and cultural meaning are made in social discourse (i.e., the definitions, language, readings, and interpretations of the ritual practices and routines of everyday life) (de Certeau, 1988).

We believe that the atomized individual of Western neoliberal society is seen to view work as their primary source of identity and status in society (Fevre, 2003) and that very few workers can develop an identity outside employment. Friedman (1964) suggests society can be presented with a tourism that enables them to move beyond this. When a cultural place becomes a significant space through the social meanings that are attached to it, it becomes part of the self. Here, following de Certeau (1988), we distinguish between the more objective concept and dichotomous state of place and that of space. Place has a distinct location defined by locational signs and is usually read as fixed and implies stability. Space, in contrast, is composed of intersections of mobile elements with shifting, often indeterminate, borders. "Space is practiced place" says de Certeau (1988), "the street defined by urban planning is the place which becomes transformed into space by the people who use it" (p. 117). Following the feminist geographer Massey (1994, pp. 12–13), we wish to argue for a conceptualization of space that incorporates the dynamic social relations of tourist places and the multiplicity of experiences that imbue it with meaning for the people who interact within it.

Our focus is on the social interaction that occurs within the tourist "Third Space" or as a reinterpreted and re-presented destination not as cultural reproduced dominance so much as a cultural reinscription of tourist–host interaction. As a consequence of this interaction the Third Space tourist experience becomes imbued with plural meanings constructed by social actor involved in tourist policy and networks of exchange. Law (1997, p. 107) has conceived the identities of Filipino Bar women as resisting the hegemonic constructions and negotiating identity in sex tourism. The dualism between powerful and powerless is moved to a

knowledge of Third Space where "identities are continuously negotiated through" spaces of difference and in this way identity is constituted by encounters with otherness (Law, 1997, p. 110). This conception of Third Space implies a pluralization of exchange and interactions of tourist–host that can reconstitute the terms of cultural values and hegemonic constructions attached to a specific and unique local culture.

B. A. Wilson (1980) argues that the self is characterized as an "ontological structure, which manifests itself in social space" (p. 145). The self and actions made by the self are socially constructed. Similarly, the way I experience the world is socially constructed. The meanings of objects located in space are largely derived from social interaction. All qualities of the self that establish identity (e.g., desire, reason, emotion, motives, values and beliefs, which organize an individual's behavior in space) are socially constructed. The self is not static, it is continually open to new possibilities; change and growth are possible through a "complex learning process" (Wilson, 1980, p. 140).

Proshansky (1978) argues that these qualities of self enable an individual to navigate the exterior world. It is in this sense that an individual's "self-identity is defined and expressed by his or her place-identity; a complex pattern of beliefs, values, feelings, expectations, and preferences relevant to the nature of the physical world" (p. 161). On this journey through the exterior, new information is presented and must be dealt with. So, he says, peoples' values, ideas, beliefs, desires, and motives change as they go through life. The self is in continual development. People can and do change as individual qualities are found to be no longer appropriate for new situations or new spaces. The intimate objective gaze of the individual at self enables development. Sometimes navigational tools such as tourist self-awareness (emulating the anthropologists before them) of unique language, classifications, artifacts, and cultures are insufficient to cope with the new situation. It is at these times that environmental stress and cultural alienation are experienced. Even the social reflexivity of the tourist's ability to translate host cultures fails and at the point of impact tourist–host can reconsider and reinscribe those qualities of self that are now outmoded.

In an ideal world the opportunity for self-reflexivity could be provided by the interaction of the tourist with the spaces that encapsulate the differing culture of the host community. Self-reflection in this differing context could lead to self-development beyond the confines of one's own cultural specificity. The tourist space then becomes an opportunity to incorporate otherness into the self in a self-expansive way, rather than in the cannibalistic, narcissistic, self-restrictive, homogenized way described by MacCannell (1992). The latter has been the more likely outcome when cultural hegemony has dictated to tourist marketers the presentation of tourist destinations as bounded places embodying misconstrued and misaligned images of other cultures. When, on the other hand, tourist destinations are constructed as spaces for experiential interaction with interesting people who bring to that place their own history, values, and views of life, there is an opportunity to break away from cultural cannibalism. For this to happen, however, cultural hegemony must be challenged. When the "I" and "you" of the dialogue include, rather than exclude, the host peoples, possibilities for genuine interaction occur with benefits for both. This would provide an opportunity to destabilize the dichotomy set up between the meanings of the destination for tourism marketers and hence tourists and the host community. Boele (1993) represents this as show in Table 1.

In this model the marketers, or those with economic and representational power, can construct the tourist destination in a way that serves their own profit motives and influences the perceptions of the tourist. One of the authors has argued elsewhere (B. M. Wearing & Wearing, 1996a, p. 237) that construction of the tourist destination as an object for sale, an image for the voyeuristic pleasure of the tourist, influences the construction of the tourist as a fleeting identity who only takes away artificially created impressions of suitable sights. An alternative version of the tourist experience is suggested in which the destination becomes a space for the experiential interaction of the tourist with other people, both tourists and those of the host community. The tourist then moves from being a mere sightseer to an embodied being whose self is changed in some way by the interactions that take place in the tourist space.

Table 1

The Meaning of the Destination for the Different Parties Involved in Tourism

Meaning	Community	Tourists	Tourism Marketeers
Image	Real idealized	Superficial, idealized	Stylized
Meaning	"Home"	"Holiday," change, break from routine	"Marketable product"
Value	Way of life, livelihood	Physical space to satisfy leisure needs	Product to sell cultural for profit, asset setting

Adapted from Boele (1993, p. 16).

In this model tourism becomes an ongoing process, rather than a fleeting visit. In Boele's (1993) schema, if the community's meaning for the destination is given more credibility (i.e., if they have more say in the enterprise) then their view may also have an impact on tourist perceptions and tourist experiences, bringing them closer to our alternate model of tourism.

In this alternate experiential model there is less likelihood of marketeers producing marauders who plunder the culture while objectifying, distancing, and marginalizing its people. There is also more likelihood of the other becoming part of an expanded self that the tourist takes home. A step in the direction of breaking down the dichotomy between marketeer/tourist views and those of the host community can be made through listening to the history and values that the host communities attach to the space of the tourist destination. That is, by re-presenting otherness and subsequently and subsequently empathizing with the other, the possibility for specific and unique interactions is produced as Third Spaces of fluid, ongoing, confused, and sometimes contradictory self-performance in tourist encounters with host exoticism and cultural artifacts, thereby creating unique histories and cultural logics in local ways that refuse standardization and inscription in the social and the global (Bhabha, 1983, 1994; Spivak, 1988, 1999). We expand these ideas in the following section. In the histories of self/other ethics and human rights there is some evidence to support the possibility of the evolution of tourist perspectives that incorporate the cultural otherness and race identity. This incorporation that we are suggesting reinscribes as Third Space and moves beyond a self that is clearly delineated from others to one that empathizes with the "we" of the local African-American, Australian Aboriginal, or the

Pacific Islander community (B. M. Wearing, 1998, p. 185).

History shows us a progressive evolution of the reconstruction of the self to include others who previously may have been inferiorized and excluded. In the context of the implications of the idea that morality ought to include the relationship of humans to nature, Nash (1989) presents an ideal type of the evolution of ethics. For long periods of time he claims morality was usually mired in self-interest, as for some it still is:

Some people, however, pushed the circle of ethical relevancy outward to include certain classes of human beings such as family and tribal members. . . . Geographical distance eventually ceased to be a barrier in human-to-human ethics, and in time people began to shake free from nationalism, racism and sexism. The abolition of American slavery in 1865 marked an important milestone in this process. Humans could no longer be owned, and ethics evolved beyond the level labelled "race." Blacks, women, and all human beings gained a place in the sun of ethical theory if not always in practice. (p. 5)

Nash goes on to argue for the inclusion of the rights of nature in our ethical schema, but for our purposes it is sufficient to claim that, at present, the exclusion of nations and races that are different from our own from our sense of self is being eroded by the notion of ethical rights (Fig. 1). Thus, the way is opened for an inclusionary, rather than a cannibalistic or exclusionary, tourism; an inclusion of the other. The evolution of ethics, along with the Acts that demonstrate expanding conceptualizations of natural rights (Fig. 2), offer hope for a tourism that goes beyond cultural hegemony to the presentation and use of tourist spaces in which individuals can incorporate aspects of the cultures of other nations and races into

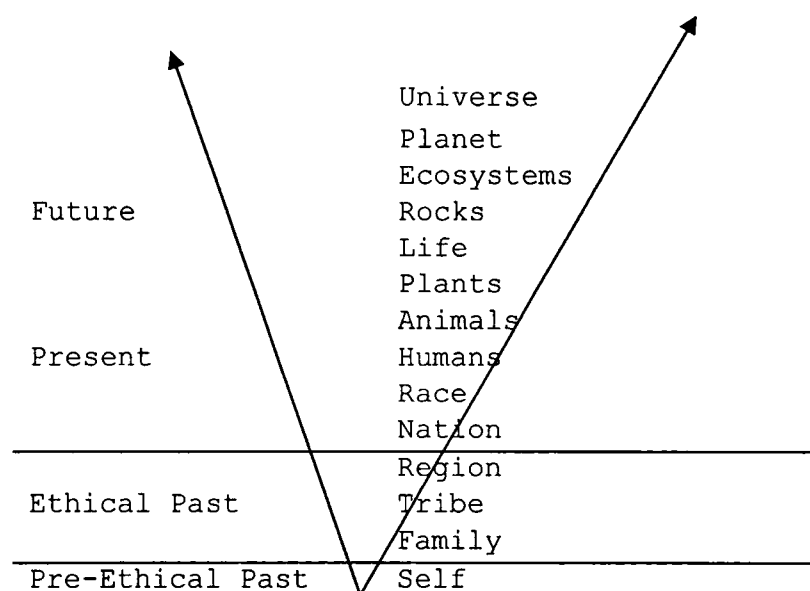


Figure 1. The evolution of ethics. The arrows represent a movement to a more expansive view. Adapted from Nash (1989, p. 5).

an expanded sense of self. Nash's work provides us with a model of how the other can, over time, become a part of self and provides us with the basis reconceptualizing ways of thinking about tourism.

The society in which Mead was interested,

when he questioned how society gets into and becomes part of the self, was composed of significant and generalized others, but these others were most probably restricted to those most similar, in terms of class, color, race, culture, and language to oneself. Today there is more opportunity, backed

Nature Endangered Species Act, 1973
Blacks Civil Rights Act, 1957
Labourers First Labour Standards Act, 1938
Native Americans Indian Citizenship Act, 1924
Women Nineteenth Amendment, 1920
Slaves Emancipation Proclamation, 1863
American colonists Declaration of Independence, 1776
English Barons Magna Carta, 1215
Natural Rights

Figure 2. The expanding concepts of rights. As one moves up the figure, one can see an expansion of the legislation. Adapted from Nash (1989, p. 7).

up by changes in conceptualizations of ethics and rights, as well as geographic mobility, to experience interactions in tourist spaces that incorporate others from different races and cultures in a productive way into a sense of self. Following Haywood (1988), it is suggested that interactionist theories have value for understanding how individuals experience tourism in interaction with the people and symbols encountered in the tourist space.

The places of tourism thus provide individuals with profound centers of meanings and symbols endowed with cultural significance that are in some ways different from their own environments (Brown, 1992, p. 64). As Pearce (1990) observes: "Meeting new people, making friends and expanding one's view of the world through these contacts is a little publicised but important social impact" (p. 32). The concept of tourism itself is constituted by negotiated identities of tourist self and other where the symbolic logic maps meaning systems into networks of self-other. Crossing the boundary from personal or fixed identity in the "I" of individual self to that of social self (the "me") enables the tourist to empathize with otherness, albeit a social manufactured or representational other. In experiential interaction this crossing the borders of self is deemed "empathy with the other" beyond superficial and surface identity performances. Let us turn then to how the tourist self in performance can access the cultural meaning systems that hosts as others give to tourist spaces.

Valuing and Re-presenting the Other

By empathizing with and valuing the host community for whom the tourist destination is "home" or "way of life," the tourist can find specificity and uniqueness in host culture. These tourist destinations are spaces in which many people from the other cultures have interacted in a particular way over a lengthy period of time. In this way, and through the associated human activities and rituals, the space acquires cultural meanings, which are deeply and uniquely tied to identities of the community and the individual selves of its members. This idea of uniqueness is encapsulated in the concept of "social value." When the term is applied to a physical place with which people interact and to which they attach cultural meaning,

it represents a social process where a place acts as a material resource, which over time has social significance for a group of people. Social value as place uniqueness, then, refers to the meanings attached to places by groups of people. The place becomes a space, taking on the sense of social value. "Social value is about collective attachment to places that embody meanings important to a community. These places are usually community owned or publicly accessible or in some other ways 'appropriated' in to people's daily lives" (Australian Heritage Commission, 1992, p.10).

The experiential worth derived from the history of the place and its representation sets the scene for its social worth. Its maintenance and the continual interaction of people with it ensure the persistence of its social and, hence, cultural value. The creation of social value is a process dependent on its dynamic relationship with those who use it; the meaning may change and develop over time. The meaning of place transforms to Third Space precisely because these meanings are often contested and represented in cannibalistic ways even from within the culture. The people who give social value to the space are those who "practice" the place, who use it, experience it, give it social meaning. These will be local residents. If they are given a voice some of this value may be passed on through empathy and listening skills of the tourist. Unfortunately, as the Third Space implies, the representational order of host places problematizes direct access to such experience and meaning for tourists.

One way to ground what we are arguing here is to rethink the tourist spaces of one of the most profitable, illicit, and arguably immoral tourist markets—the global sex tourism trade. In his work on Asian sex tourism, particularly child prostitution, Seabrook (1996) comes to the conclusion that:

It might be possible to eliminate sex tourism, but it cannot be done simply by targeting either the customers or the sex workers. It is feasible but extremely difficult, because the struggle would have to be waged against a form of development that impoverishes vast numbers of people and leaves them with little choice of occupation, while at the same time, kindling some strange fantasies and "needs" in those who have the

money and travel half way around the world to express them. (p. 167)

There is value in interrogating these statements in reinterpreting the otherness of sex work in Asia. While Seabrook captures the main market-cultural contradiction of development and sex tourism, he barely acknowledges the richly contrived emotional "being in" place against the West of sex workers, their families, and the assistance of human rights workers. The postcolonial "contact zone" here is constructed around the desire for sex and, possibly, a sense of power of North over South spaces. At one level in this zone, there is resistance to fusion between the sexual imperialism of sex tourism and cultural embodiment as sex work (Forsdick, 1999, p.196). As we have argued at another, there is a movement beyond North-South spaces to a third (in between) space that destabilizes fixed and stereotypical notions of identity of host or tourist. An example that focuses on emotional embodiment in the postcolonial contact zone of Asian sex tourism will illustrate this third space of identity.

One of Seabrook's own interviewees expresses this emotional and discursive anti-imperialism in her talk especially in redefining one frequent French sex tourist as her disliked "boyfriend":

I have a boyfriend who is a Frenchman. I love him but I do not like him. I do not want to see him, but when he comes to Bangkok, I cannot refuse him. . . . He gets angry and he shouts at the taxi driver, he screams at the waiter, he orders the woman in the shop what she must do. . . . I do not show that I do not like him. Why are Europeans like this, can you tell me? They keep nothing inside . . . he pays me money. But I do not want him to show what he feels. . . . He does not know who I am, he just sees my body and feels his own desire and for him I am an empty person. (quoted in Seabrook, 1996, p. 117)

There is little doubt that dark sexual and power-filled desires and wants are certainly what drive sex tourists to these places in Asia. Nonetheless, the rich antiemotional world of the Thai sex worker evoked here establishes a hybrid self in the performance of the relationship and enables a critical space and emotional distance to be maintained from the sex tourist. The use of the signifier

"boyfriend" gives grounds for her to redefine a hybrid and fluid identity outside of the stigma and stereotypes of Westernized prostitution.

Even in the more critical literature there is little understanding of how sex worker hosts (assisted by national and international nonprofit development and health organizations) destabilize Western imperialistic control of their identity and reinscribe their identities to resist hegemonic constructions, sexual oppression, and possible serious illness or death (e.g., STDs and AIDs). Seabrook uses the work of these organizations to gain interview access to the sex workers but barely conceives the depth of resistance and re-presentation of host-tourist self in these places.

Further, Seabrook's moral ethnographic repulsion to the Asian sex trade is challenged by the economic value of this tourism to host economies. Economic arguments in favor of a legalized and government-regulated Asian sex trade are reinforced in more conventional tourism analysis. The economic valuing of development contends that those who argue against this form of tourism (as the World Tourism Organization also does) ignore "the economic realities of its position in most societies" (Cooper & Hanson, 1998). Law (1997), also relying on Bhabha's interpretation of cultural imperialism, sees the ambiguous nature of Asian bar dancer identity in a Third Space "where identities are negotiated and ambivalent, performed not fixed, it becomes possible to question the positioning of dancer as 'victims' " (p. 122). The view closest to our own is Law, although she has almost forgotten the oppressive practices embodied in the political economy of such a trade.

Seabrook, however, brings us back to the constructed realities of reflexively governing such sex trades and changing the conditions under which they are practiced. By supporting the international work of nongovernment human rights organizations (INHRGOs) in changing the illegalities of prostitution and putting pressure on nation state governments there is some hope for meaningful change for those who work in the trade.

These transnational INHRGOs make a difference to the construction of the global culture of sex tourism and constitute their own rationalized governance of the area. In this sense, the perceived small players such as academics like Seabrook and

INHRGOs have challenged the oppressive nature of the sex trade with their intellectual and practical efforts. Unlike the antiuniversalist stance towards ethics of postmodernist thought, we suggest a principled approach to the global economic agendas and enterprise culture of the sex trade that acknowledges the Third Space of workers and tourists. In this ethical agenda tourist policy is not fixed but performed and reperformed in the everyday identities and governance of self (Chabbott, 1999; Yudice, 1995).

Nonetheless, if communities can be encouraged to re-present the local symbolic order (i.e., identify, clarify, and advocate their own positions and values with regard to the images that are presented to the tourist), the destination places become the spaces of experiences that are strongly tied to the area and its culture. Social valuing suggests that a space exists because people continue to interact with it and therefore continue to give it meaning. So what does social valuing allow us to add to the concept of the tourist experience? The idea of space when associated with social value can allow us to provide a spiritual connection or traditional connection between past and present and within tourism this may help give a disempowered group back a version of its history. Often the tourist images constructed to market a destination have been constructed without the adequate and meaningful participation of the communities who confer social value. Importantly, the images then often do not match the tourist experience. Social value recognizes that the community holds extensive knowledge about areas and that this knowledge is a key part of the tourist experience. The tourism experience can thus transcend the defined "otherness" to become a process that allows the existing marginalized images of the host community to become more central. The images are then related to the social value these communities hold for the space that the tourist enters.

How can this be achieved at the local level? Tourism generally is very unplanned and disorganized. This can be and has been rectified by the involvement of all levels of government and non-government organizations in local planning processes for hosts. Local consumption that resists the global imperatives of capital intensification requires local production and distribution of tourist

goods and services (Yudice, 1995). In developing countries the involvement of government planners in tourism as an income-generating source for community economic development is seen as crucial for building local social capital (P. Wilson, 1997). Haywood (1988) argues that if tourism is not planned and organized in such a way that is sensitive to the host community, the tolerance thresholds of that community are liable to be exceeded. The result will be antagonism between hosts and their guests. Such conflictual relations differ from weak cultural resistance where regulation is poor and there is perceived powerlessness of hosts such as in sex tourism in developing countries to strong forms of cultural resistance aided by governments and exercised by indigenous communities in developed countries such as Aboriginal Australians or New Zealand Maoris. When a breakdown in host-guest relations occurs, the tourism industry is liable to "peak, fade and self destruct" (Haywood, 1988, p. 105).

We argue that on the one hand, this reactive community involvement can be counterproductive for all parties to reinforce a "silenced" otherness as a form of alienation. On the other, if resistance almost by definition remains hidden because of hegemonic cultural constructions this does not mean host communities will not rise up against this hegemony in whatever small ways. For us, this is best illustrated in the ambivalence and revisioning of history necessary to grant meaningful reconciliation between Aborigines and Whites in Australia (Jacobs, 1997). If the idea of social value is used in the construction of the meaning of the tourist destination and its relevant image, revisioning the past and consultation with those whose history has contributed to this social value becomes essential. Members of the host community can then play a valuable part in determining the "identity" of the destination through the value that they have for particular places, events, and traditions. Alternate forms of tourism produced by more mission-driven (principled) and less commercialized operators have sought to consider input from host communities. They base their operations on a two-way interactive process between host and guest whereby the local community and the visitor have opportunities to access different space-place di-

mensions to those available in conventional profit-driven modes of tourism.

One tourist organization that does this is One World Travel (OWT), owned and operated by Community Aid Abroad. OWT redirects all profits from its trading back into host communities. The tourist themselves are attracted to and identify with what they see as a more ethical approach to tourism. Through this process it is attempting to give host communities a higher degree of autonomy so they are able to direct their resources and dictate what occurs. This organization operates as a normal travel agency but offers a range of special "Travel Wise" tours. Its guiding principles relate to understanding the culture visited and to respect and be sensitive to the people who are hosting the visit, while treading softly on the environment of the host community. Local food is consumed, local transport is utilized, and cultural and survival issues are presented realistically. OWT interviews all potential travelers to ensure they have an understanding of the factors and difficulties facing the host community. This approach encapsulates our concept of "re-presenting" tourist spaces and allowing for greater possibilities and access to new identities of host and tourist to develop reflexively. An orientation session is scheduled, where these survival and cultural issues are fully discussed and reflected upon. In Sarawak, OWT allows 4 days to visit the Penan and Kelabit tribal people, emphasizing the opportunity for "learning their culture and survival issues." Accommodation is in locally owned and controlled hostels and all tours are facilitated by indigenous leaders. Time is allocated for reflection of the tour; one day is set aside to "discuss experiences and any follow up you may wish to institute" (Armstrong, Hannah, Mulguiny, & Trass, 1992).

Tourism experiences that open up more potential for entry into an explicit and re-presented Third Space are also available in self-managed indigenous tours and places. Among Australian Aboriginal communities, in certain circumstances, there has been a conscious attempt to share their culture through tourism and to preserve their own cultural heritage through their control of their own tourism operations:

Cultural tourism in Australia was not invented by the Europeans. It has been part of the Aboriginal

way of life for thousands of years. We are proud to share our culture with others, but it must be on our terms. Our cultural heritage is in our ancient sites, the natural environment, and the living people. (cited in Bates & Witter, 1991, p. 219)

Aboriginal communities have perceived their involvement in tourism as a way to counteract the beginnings of tourism's infringement on their lifestyles, especially in the Northern Territory. So, as a means of controlling visitation onto their lands, they have taken charge of the safari tours and made sure that Aborigines conduct them. For example, the Aboriginal tribe residing in the Umbornduk area in North Western Arnhem Land allows a tour operator of Aboriginal origin to conduct safari tours to selected areas allocated by the local Aboriginal people. Controls placed by the Aborigines, such as entry permits and the prohibition of photography at some sacred sites, ensure that the numbers of tourists are limited and the cultural integrity of the Aboriginal people is maintained. Another group, in Central Australia, saw "involvement in tourism as a possible means of re-educating and re-establishing a pride, and sometimes even a knowledge of traditional skills and values amongst their younger generations" (Burchett, 1992, p. 6).

Similarly, re-presentation over and against hegemonic constructions and Western stereotypes occurs in local tourist efforts across the South Pacific and elsewhere. In response to increasing negative cultural impacts as a result of tourism, the local chiefs of the villages of South Pentecost in Vanuatu took charge of a yearly event that had become a prime tourist attraction. They formed "The South Pentecost Tourism Council" to manage The Pentecost Land Dive, a traditional ceremony of the villages in this area occurring in April/May each year. The Council's primary responsibility is to safeguard the cultural integrity of the event. This involves maintaining customs associated with the event, preventing filming of the event, and limiting numbers of tourists attending the performance (Sofield, 1991). In this way the cultural significance of the ritual for the villagers themselves is maintained while sharing its significance with tourists. The event need not necessarily be understood as an authentic tradition but

maintains a cultural uniqueness in its integrity that is both attractive to tourists and financially and socially beneficial to the local villages. Again, the possibilities of Third Space identity construction against Western hegemony is allowed and encouraged.

Competing Models: Cannibalism and Interactive Tourism

The concept of "otherness" in Westernized models of tourism has its underpinning in a power relationship in which Western developed countries use economic resources and representations to construct tourist destinations as places for exotic voyeurism of a different and "inferior" culture (MacCannell, 1992, p. 125). Through the commodification of these places and the use of their indigenous inhabitants as servants in the commercialized process, the tourist endeavor then eventually becomes a cannibalistic one—one that eats up itself and potentially self-destructs. The tourist culture assumes the form of a powerful hegemony that submerges, ingests, and eventually eclipses the "other" culture of the host nation. What began as an attraction due to its difference and "otherness" becomes merely incorporated as more of the same dominant culture with its identities and values intact. The self that goes home from the tourist destination is reinforced in the constraints and sense of superiority that have been constructed around the hegemony of the home culture. The tourist culture virtually "eats up" and eliminates the host culture. The selves of the hosts through interaction with the tourists have also been reinforced, but theirs is a reinforcement of inferiority as identities of self-destruction in the White Man's logos, his mimics and mythology.

Model I shows six key bases for hegemonic construction of tourism to occur. This model of tourism is extant in much of the current tourism literature, as well as in the tourism industry's advertising and procedures that may be represented in a bipolar way. Model I competes with the interactive and more radically democratic arguments of Model II, which we have suggested as an alternative or counter way of understanding tourism. For ease of understanding, Models I and II are divided

along perceptual lines of Western tourism versus host communities.

Model II indicates a different understanding and framework for tourist–host interaction and exchange of cultural identity and symbols in local places. The alternate model that is suggested here is dependent on a more equitable distribution of power between Western and host cultures where interaction occurs in the tourist Third Space, decision-making responsibility involves the hosts, and they receive economic returns. In this model tourism is not exploitative of local populations and the benefits flow to local residents. The culture of the host community is respected and the tourist is open to experiencing aspects of the "other" culture with a view to learning and expanding the self. This shift in the relationships of power between tourist and host culture enables both to interact and to learn from each other with an eventual hybridization of cultures. The tourist destination becomes a space for interaction and learning and tourism does not damage or destroy the culture of the host community. The tourist becomes a "chorister" (B. M. Wearing & Wearing, 1996a) who is actively involved in the re-presentation of the host culture with aspects of his/her own culture. Hosts become reflexive educators and interpreters. The selves of both tourist and host move beyond the constraints of a dominant hegemonic culture into Third Spaces. Hybridization of the self enables a communication in which "they" or the "other" is transposed into "you" and "I." Instead of hegemony, where one culture dominates and inferiorizes the other, there are possibilities for cultural interaction, respect, and growth of the selves involved.

In some senses this alternative model of tourism is idealized, as it depends on considerable shifts in power between Western and host societies. However, to remain within the assumptions of "cannibalistic tourism" means a reinforcement of the self-destruction of unique cultures and artifacts. To create a shift in thinking suggests meaningful re-presentations of cultures and alternative progressive procedures and practices are possible. One element that is essential here is the idea of hybridized and unfixed cultural identity formation. MacCannell (1992), drawing on both his legacy to Goffman (1969) and postcolonial approaches (Bhabha, 1994), sees tourism to and from the

Model I

Hegemonic Constructions and Cannibalistic Tourism

	Western Society	Host Society
Power	Economic resources	Economic dependence
Culture	Hegemonic control (control of host culture by dominant Western tourism)	Hegemonic acquiescence (allowing tourist culture to pervade own culture)
Values	Profit	Survival, profit, & employment
Place/space	Tourist destination a place, an image	A place on display (home & everyday life)
People	Tourists as voyeurs	Hosts as servants & objects for observation
Selves "I," "me"	Constrained by hegemonic culture, consumes and eliminates "others"	Constructed as "they," "other," "inferior" to the dominant tourist culture

Western world as an opportunity to form hybrid cultures. As we suggest, this will be a precondition for inventive re-presentation in creating subjectivities that resist cultural constraints and cultural determinism. The result being that the tourist and host in hybridized cultures can have possibilities to cross over their own cultural boundaries, the tourist not as invader, but as imaginative traveler, and the host not as own existing in a static culture but as engaged in an evolving culture (MacCannell, 1992, p. 7; B. M. Wearing, 1998, p. 58). We find that the face-to-face interactions of tourist and hosts in the postcolonial contact zones are then constructed as a Third Space. The individual tourist or community member is able to challenge the way culturally specific discourses construct the "I" and "you" of their cultures in opposition to the "other" inferiorized ethnic, indigenous, or national

culture (MacCannell, 1992, p. 25; B. M. Wearing, 1998, p. 59).

Model II then allows both tourist and host community member to move beyond oppressive interactions to self-enhancing ones (for an explicit application of these ideas see B. M. Wearing & Wearing, 1996a, 1996b). This involved a focus on the experiential micropolitics of interactionist theory (Mead, 1934/1972; Simmel, 1911/1971) in conjunction with the Third Space reconceptualizing in postcolonial theory (Bhabha, 1994) and concept of social re-presentations (Latour, 1986). The face-to-face interactions of host-tourist exchange provides plural spaces for individuals to challenge the way culturally specific discourses construct social, personal, and cultural identity. As we suggests in the alternate model for cultural re-presenting and understanding, the "I" and "you"

Model II

Third Space Interactive Cultural Tourism

	Western Society	Host Society
Power	Economic & cultural exchange (more equitable distribution of power)	Economic & cultural exchange (more equitable distribution of power)
Culture	Hybridization	Hybridization
Values	Quality of life—exploring new boundaries	Survival with increased standard of living, retaining cultural values
Place/space	Tourist destination a space to learn & interact	Spaces imbued with traditional social value but open to dynamic interaction
People	Tourists as choristers (looking for interaction & learning about others)	Hosts as educators & interpreters
Selves "I," "me"	Hybridized & fluid; Incorporating new aspects from "other" cultures' "I," "you," & "we"	Hybridized & fluid; Incorporating new aspects from "other" cultures' "I," "you," & "we"

of selves and identities in culture are then placed in opposition to the "he" and his "White man mimics" that inferiorize difference as otherness in cross-cultural exchange and encounters. We have shown that interactions in the tourist spaces of host cultures have the potential to break down, destabilize, and reconstruct as hybrid the othering created by the cultural prescriptiveness.

Conclusion

In this article we have argued for a destabilizing of tourist–host relationships resulting from the hegemonic constructions of powerful Western industrialized countries in a period of neoliberal ascendancy. Such constructions can be imposed on developing countries with the risk of destroying their own culture and values. Modes of "cultural cannibalism" are also means of reinforcing and homogenizing the cultural constraints of the dominant Western culture. In this model there is a fixity of both host and tourist identity and little room for self-reflexivity through tourism. The economic and, hence, representational power of tourist marketers has enabled them to commodify and package their own interpretations of otherness in Third World domains such as sex tourism and indigenous cultures through images that are at least one removed from the people themselves. Sight-seeing tourists are encouraged to be voyeurs who glimpse aspects of the other culture often dressed up to conform to the image that has been presented in glossy advertising brochures. Tourist destinations are presented as places for viewing the "other" rather than as spaces for interaction with them. There are darker messages of other colonization in the illicit trade of sex tourism in Asia. The sex tourist as voyeur is bodily participant and sexual oppressor but the hosts here too resist and reconstruct their identities in a de-Westernized discourse and embodiment.

We have asked (as does Hollinshead, 2000) that the discourse and embodiment of "otherness" be reinscribed and re-presented to assist processes of de-Westernized tourist services and operation. The sociocultural valuing created by this re-presentation creates possibilities for a shared transformation of tourist–host self in interaction into a Third Space. Suggesting how this transformation occurs

in the networks of social actors in the tourist trade is what makes our analysis original based on other work such as Law (1997). Re-presentation is associated historically by the hosts with protected places and sites and with the reinscribed domains of indigenous and developing world tourist sites. We have suggested that such identity transformation requires a radical democratic political and policy shift against hegemonic constructions and mode of tourism (cf. Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). In addition, this shift requires Third Space interaction that negotiates and reinvigorates identities to sharing cultures in the resisted and contested of performance by hybrid selves. The tourist experience can then include the other's embodied self and partial culture as the tourist or Simmel's (1911/1971) "adventurer" that opens up the possibilities of third self-reflexive spaces. Where local communities have been involved in the planning, preparation, management, and implementation of tourism, the people become part of the "you," instead of the White "he" and his mimics. Exclusion and inferiorization of otherness can give way to dialogue in which there is a semblance of sharing and exchange of cultures. In the copresence of tourist and host the power balance between them can be destabilized, cultural hegemony can be challenged, and tourist spaces constructed for Third Space exchange, which will benefit all the selves involved.

Note

¹The question of resistance is contested by various theoretical traditions including those based on Foucauldian analysis. O'Malley (1998, pp. 168–170), in particular, gives a sophisticated reading of resistance for indigenous Australians. O'Malley argues that for indigenous communities: "Resistance inscribes its presence, then, not only by providing particular forms which are then unproblematically deployed to intensify government. The existence of indigenous forms within the subjugating regimes provides sites within rule for the operation of counter-discourses and subordinated knowledges." For experiential resistance in everyday life see Michele de Certeau (1984), and for a critique of Foucauldian analysis see S. Hall (1996).

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