ABSTRACT

This paper critiques the contribution which Bhabha (1994) has recently made to cultural theoretical thought on historical and temporal forms of ethnicity under the post-colonial moment. Since tourism is frequently dubbed the business of 'difference' and 'the other', par excellence, it synthesises not only what tourism researchers can learn from Bhabha's powerful contemporary analyses of identity and alterity, but also how Bhabha could fruitfully explore tourism as an important 'location' for cultural production and emergent belonging. In interpreting Bhabha's highly problematic notions (such as 'hybridity', 'ambiguity', and 'interstitial culture'), the paper challenges the field of tourism studies to develop more vigorous interrogations of the everday performative activities which tend, ethnocentrically, to essentialise people, places, and pasts through tourism.

KEYWORDS: Emergent ethnicity, halfway populations, restless locations of culture, enunciation, new narratives of travel, new vocabularies of identification.

INTRODUCTION

In 1994 Homi Bhabha produced a rather subtle treatise on cultural-theoretical thought that has fast become a seminal work in fields of cultural criticism where debates concerning the move from modernity to the postmodern moment rage, and where post-colonial issues are aired. His work, The Location of Culture, is a provocative extension of recent thinking about cultural identity and representation across the globe. And since it calls for a revision of certain long held commonplace views over social difference, the Self, and the Other, it is perhaps time that Bhabha's ideas are translated to, or weighed within, studies of tourism—the quintessential business of 'difference projection' and the interpretive vehicle of 'othering' par excellence. For too long, in tourism studies, the field has perhaps tended to comfortably and axiomatically think only in terms of pristine, intact, and well-bounded cultures which distinctively attract visitors or which singularly celebrate themselves. And, yet, perhaps few of the world's cultures are indeed so pure, so whole, and so integrated (Tedlock and Mannheim, 1995). It is conceivably time for many in tourism and tourism studies to think again about the seeming soundness, completeness, and unity of cultures, and also to inspect the populations which are apparently disparate, removed, or separated from mainstream society, or otherwise which are dislocated and existing under perverse circumstances within mainstream society.

From Bhabha's refreshing but problematic insights into the hybrid nature which he considers that most 'populations' have, researchers in tourism can begin to recognise the ambiguous circumstances that most cultural/subcultural 'peoples' experience. If, as Shweder and Le Vine (1984) and Marcus and Fischer (1986) have told us, all things in life are being increasingly interpreted as artifacts of culture, per se, it is critical that in tourism and elsewhere managers and researchers take pains to think about and differentiate the indivisibility/divisibility of populations and the mutual but difficult proximities of cultures.

Much had indeed changed in the way that social scientists have viewed 'culture' in the past three decades, and Bhabha's thinking is clearly a product of such revised understanding. During this time, previously dominant views of culture as an all-powerful

supra-individual 'system' have tended to be rejected as an illusory conceptual abstraction, and instead of viewing culture as a collective prime mover acting on individuals contained within a given society, attention has been switched "towards investigation of the real phenomena of individuals interacting with one another and with their natural environments" (Sahlins, 1976, p. 95). Thus, increasing numbers of social scientists have come to reject the idea of culture as something concrete, in and of itself, over the last three decades, and nowadays have come to understand culture as a looser realm of communal thought which people of a given society participate in. Today, to symbolic anthropologists like Geertz, what counts is not so much culture as 'system', but culture as 'context', where all acts and events are potentially meaningful but also always inherently ambiguous. To Geertz (1973, p. 14), culture is not a cause to which happenings or actions may be attributed, but it is a realm of contextual or situational meaning in or through which these events or behaviors may be made intelligible at a given point in time, and for a given setting.

Since the 1960s, "what was once a secular church of believers in the privacy of Culture (capital 'C', sic!) has now become a holding company of diverse interests" (Wolf 1980), and Bhabha's views are certainly enwrapped within this oxygenation of thinking of and about culture, being notably exemplary of the radical relativism of postmodernist interpretations of 'culture' and 'cultural knowledge'. Bhabha may be deemed to be postmodernist in his critique of culture in the degree to which he is skeptical of the existence of particular entrenched styles and traditions in culture—in the shadow of, for instance, Lyotard's "incredulity towards metanarratives", an outlook on life and understanding which projects extreme suspicion towards the conceivability of reliable and objectifiable knowledge of and about culture. In this sense, Bhabha's writing on the post-colonial mood is 'postmodern' in the way it tends to view culture as an amalgam of seriously contestable codes and representations, in the fashion that it draws attention to the constructed and artificial nature of received cultural accounts, and in the manner in which it sees studies of culture as intrinsically 'inventive' rather than being 'representative' acts of interpretation. In Bhabha's heavily symbolic and interpretive critique of culture—for which he is in debt to the postmodern skeptics of the 1980s, also—the world is a place of "ascendent alterity" (see Keesing, 1989) which arises here and there as the formerly accepted boundaries of identity, of affiliation, of belonging, and of difference dissolve day by day. Bhabha is thus the inheritor of those refreshing social science outlooks of the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, which not only see 'culture' as something constantly created and renewed, but which routinely see the understanding of culture and ethnicity as some fundamentally 'manfactured' and heavily iconic activity. To repeat, for Bhabha then, 'culture' is best viewed as an imaginative 'process' rather than a palpable entity, and given, the fast pace by which new ideas and thoughtless are transmitted across seemingly different societies today, it ('culture') need no longer have a definitive geographical or pervasive socio-historical context, but (as has also been envisioned by Appadurai (1990)) is increasingly a creatively disjunctive (i.e., a differently and oddly combined) mix of ideas and practices. What matters to Bhabha, then, and to postmodern thinkers, is how 'culture' and 'ethnicity' are in fact dynamically produced, reproduced and transformed: and, to him, the practice of culture and the representations of ethnicity are not so much things which are mechanically reproducible from a set of thoughts and traditions made resolutely and unchangeably available to a given population overtime, rather it is a lived (rather than a formerly learned) mix of postures, movements, and actions through which these aggregating individuals tacitly express themselves given the temporal (rather than the historical) constraints they face at any point.

To many other observers however, Bhabha's views will not be so readily acceptable, and his heavily symbolic reading of 'text' in and through culture will be

condemned for cultivating a self-indulgent realm of subjectivity across social science, and for unduly emphasing what is abstruse and ephemeral in 'culture' and 'ethnicity' at the expense of what are more commonplace and centrally-prominent matters of power and inequality. To Sangren (1988), the very effort of postmodernist-style thinkers on cultural-theoretical thought (like Bhabha) to dissolve established boundaries of thought and action across society, and within knowledge of and about those societies, only gives rise to the generation of newer, replacement, much looser, and less useful boundaries around identity, affiliation, and being. To Sangren, and counter-counterskeptics of his breed, no analysis can ever be entirely free of its own favored meta-narrative: thus, to Sangren, Bhabha only substitutes one established grand account on the socio-political condition of society/societies with a newer and more subtle one!

But back to Bhabha's own outlook on the production of culture and the representation of ethnicity. In his fertile, exhortative, but frequently opaque and nebulous work, The Location of Culture Homi Bhabha has brought together, for the first time, a large collection of his own gametic writings on cultural-theoretical thought, and has created a landmark text for people who are interested in the complex figures of cultural diversity and socio-political particularity that occur across the world. Now while this 1994 Routledge collection is not a text primarily or even peripherally targeted upon tourism—indeed the keywords "tourism" and "travel" do not even appear in the index—the work is an imperative read (if a clear-as-ditchwater one!!) for all those researching culture/ethnicity at distinct places and culture/ethnicity in supposedly distinct societies, and also for all those who manage held representations or who market iconic images of cultural sites and cultural attractions in tourism communication. It is an abnormally powerful but extremely knotty inspection of the problems and the parameters of personhood in contemporary life across the globe—a pungent if intensively intricate critique of how people imagine themselves to be, and of "how we [ought] to rethink ourselves" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 65) in the difficult days of identification after modernity. Hence for tourism, it is a valuable inspection of how people not only label the Others who, and the Ethnicities which they travel to see—or whom and which they move amongst 'locally' everyday—but also how they regard themselve, en groupe.

Fundamentally, The Location of Culture is an inter-disciplinary examination of the prejudicial, the discriminatory, the vestigial, the archaic, and the mythical forms of governmentality which objectify, normalise, and discipline cultural groups, and which harden, confine, imprison people within such authoritarian acts of representation. It is an informed questioning and a fine-point re-questioning of the forms of human agency, and also of the styles of habit that characterize the structures of domination and power that constitute the public exhibition of people and the chauvinistic portrayal of places—and, therefore, its nudges and winks must be of high concern to investigators and to actors in the business of tourism and the trade in travel where the populations of nations, territories, and spaces, of and across the world day in and day out. Implicitly, Bhabha's work stands as a hugely important warning that, in tourism and travel, the field just does not think deeply enough (individually or collectively) about the complexities of ethnic identity, of collective social agency, and of national affiliation, and is impoverished in terms of the awareness of the unequal, asymetrical worlds which are captured to become the stuff of tourism appeal and the fodder of travel simulation—a point that Lanfant (1995, p. 4) has argued articulately about in recent years, in her own writing (at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris) on reflexive and transitive forms of locality, heritage, and belonging in and through tourism. So, to restate but rephrase the point, Bhabha's treatise stands as a Lanfantian admonition that cultures and ethnicities are not as habitually distinct or as permanently

polarised as many observers in society would comfortably have them, and that so many places and people exist ambivalently in 'displaced' or 'under-recognised' third spaces—located within in-between forms of supposed difference. Hence, in wider social spheres, many people just do not fit comfortably into the racial and ethnic boxes which census administrators and survey specialists, amongst others, subscribe for them; in tourism, then, ethnic populations are frequently far from being as distinct and singular as the brochure designers and travel promoters would have it. In both the wider social sphere and in the immediate realm of tourism, the hurt arising from such sublime, essentialising governmentality and from such imprecise or unthinking reductionism can be prodigious.

Table 1 now offers quick coverage of Bhabha's insights into culture production, and thereby into the new politics of 'location', 'generation', and 'transitionality' which he champions. While the purpose of Table 1 is to provide deep insight into the new imagined geographies of racial being and ethnic belonging that Bhabha pries into, the value of such an exhibit can only be illustrative rather than comprehensive, for The Location of Culture embraces a massive conceptual realm of cultural theoretical thought. That stated, Table 1 attempts to outline a number (ten) of Bhabhian interpretations of culture production, and translate their applied relevance for tourism—the quintessential industry of 'difference' and 'otherness'—in terms of the capacity of tourism:

* to help emergent populations credentialize (Keith and Pile 1993: 223) themselves;
* to 'produce' new politically-resonant definitions of peoples, places, and pasts through its everyday rhetoric and everyday communicative craft;
* to help partial or suppressed articulations of racial/ethnic/cultural identity survive;
* to empower certain populations in difficult predicaments (or sometimes in fortuitous circumstances) to fashion double or multiple identifications for themselves;
* to further contain or constrain other people within paradoxical scenarios where they are subject to vibrant counter-tensions of or about identity;
* to explore new possibilities of alterity within newly identified political-geographic spaces;
* to help previously suppressed community groups or previously silenced ethnic populations towards radically new representations of themselves which confidently contest mainstream or established delineations of them;
* to serve as a new channel for the performative projection of 'within-genre nostalgias'—something which is otherwise known as "discursive remembering" (Bhabha 1992);
* to serve as a fertile field for the development of emergent cross-genre identifications of Selfhood (and of Otherness); and,
* to stand as a whole new medium through which subaltern peoples or emergent populations can experiment with the new lexicons of iconic identity as they creatively play at celebrating their felt 'new', or even their felt 'old', Selves.

Consequently, in seeking to translate Bhabha's critical thoughtlines on the psychic condition of the post-colonial predicament of emergent/halfway/restless peoples, Table 1 indicates that tourism is potential a very plenitudinous field for productive action in and of culture, and a profusive field for all manner of inventive proclamations of imagined or corrective racial/ethnic/cultural Selfhood.

Bhabha's research agenda into the post-colonial condition and across iconic matters of 'difference', 'the Self', and 'otherness' is not, of course, an absolutely new regime of inquiry in tourism studies: it is not proper to suggest that there is a vacuum on insight and intelligence on 'difference projection' under the so-called post-colonial predicament in tourism studies. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett and Bruner (1989 [see also

Bruner and Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1994]) have possibly most richly absorbed the agitative cultural-theoretical thought of American philosophers like John Dewey, George H. Mead and Lionel Trilling, and late continental philosophers such as Adorno, Barthes, Baudrillard, Derrida, Eco, Foucault, and Lyotard. And Kirschenblatt-Gimblett/Bruner have gone back most frequently to the Bakhtinian concepts of 'enunciation', 'representative authority', 'emergent nationalism', and 'social contestation'—see Bakhtin (1981 and 1986)—which are some of the strongest influences of Bhabha's own research agenda on hybridity and ambiguity. In many ways, the work of Bruner and Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1994, p. 4543-4) on binary interpretations of culture (and on the representational economy of culture (p. 448-50) in and through tourism), loosely mirror Bhabha's work on in-between forms of culture in and across broader society, while Bruner's (1994, p. 398) own works on performative culture and his translations of Renato Rosaldo's (1989) thought on imperialist nostalgia (Bruner, 1996 p. 300) to tourism settings do closely parallel Bhabha's own insights into the post-colonial prerogatives in and across emergent civil spaces. But, while Kirschenblatt-Gimblett/Bruner (particularly the latter) have impressively begun to probe matters of hybridity and diasporic influence in tourism, few other tourism studies have ventured very far into such Bhabhian questions of ambivalence and ambiguity in post-colonial scholarship.

THEORETICAL CRITIQUE

THE CULTURAL THEORETICAL THOUGHT OF HOMI BHABHA: HYBRIDITY

In addition to mirroring the work of Bruner and Kirchenblatt-Gimblett within the tourism fold, Homi Bhabha's cultural-theoretical thought provides most valuable if indirect support to Cohen's (1988) prized synthesis on emic perspectives in tourism and in life. It also provides a precious, if excursive, furthering thereby, of MacCannell's early ideas on authenticity in tourism studies, and of Turner's foregoing thinking on communitas, liminality, and the Centre/Other in tourism studies. In so doing, Bhabha's regime of work, as signified within The Location of Culture yields not so much something of a theory but rather a novel and critical account of and about cultural hybridity—a recognition which suggests that, in the articulation of each and every culture, it is not the negation of the Other that counts, but the negotiation and the renegotiation of spaces and temporality between Others. And in projecting that conceptuality on distantiation and displacement, Bhabha warns that places and peoples tend not only to be inadequately or improperly deciphered through large acts of articulation which are metered out through great events of representativity, but rather more dangerously through what Foucault had realised were petits récits (Hollinshead, 1992)—viz., through the seemingly insignificant everyday actions or through the imperceptible/small-scale events (i.e., those without significant apparent meaning, value or force) but which ultimately adhere resolutely together over time to form a held and coagulating consciousness about places and people (Bhabha 1994, p. 243).

Hence, what Bhabha's consolidating research agenda (on the pitfalls involved in the fast or unthinking essentialising of others) teaches theoreticians in fields like tourism/leisure studies is that past investigators have concentrated rather heavily on the macro-level character of racism, ethnicity, and selfhood, and have been inclined to concentrate on broad historical or grand socio-economic influences. Through Bhabha's focus upon the Foucauldian petits récits of racism, ethnicism, and nationhood, social science theoreticians are now otherwise encouraged to examine some of the micro phenomena of being, identity, and alterity. Thus, researchers in tourism studies are implicitly encouraged via Bhabha's critique of the polarities of the 'Self" and the 'Other' to analyse how people in tourism and travel (in all sorts of positions and places in the

industry) think and talk about differently perceived 'racial' populations, differently perceived 'ethnic' groups, and differently perceived 'nationhoods', and how they pervasively and persuasively communicate those powerfully held cultural warrants (read, embedded ingroup attitudes and predilections) about such supposed alterities. The consequence of Bhabha's critique—as revealed in Table 1—is that it encourages social scientists (in fields like tourism and leisure) to focus upon the everyday nature of conversations in or about tourism, and on the everyday nature of the discourse which they themselves use to research matters of 'Selfhood', 'other-presentation', and 'foreign-ness'. Thereby, racist and ethnocentric activities are not just sociocentric activities of the few—i.e., the acts of discrimination and prejudice of thoroughly evil cultural zealots—they are also the mundane, essentialising, and governing acts of discourse and praxis which all individuals and institutions in society may quietly, and frequently unsuspectingly engage in as they (those individuals and those institutions) act in the service of their entrenched visions of society in both their large quotidian and in their small quotidian deeds. And in this regard, Bhabha's critique of the very ubiquity of essentialising 'talk' echoes the work of van Dijk (1987, p. 383) who has long maintained that "the communicative reproduction of [racial and] ethnic prejudices is not merely a complex and fascinating academic topic, but is also a crucial social problem that needs thorough and critical inquiry [in many different local arenas and institutional settings]". And while van Dijk also seems not to have necessarily had tourism explicitly in mind, he (i.e., van Dijk) was fascinated by the sheer widespread social contextuality of such prejudicial but customary talk. The following declaration on essentialist and vernacular 'talk' (van Dijk, 198, p. 384)—adapted to tourism for present purposes—could indeed characterise the presentation of Bhabha's ideas on prejudiced discourse to tourism settings just as much as it speaks to the arenas probed by van Dijk himself:

> What type of [everyday prejudiced discourse and praxis] is involved in [the essentialising talk of tourism and tourism studies], who are the participants, what are the social functions of prejudiced conversations, and which relations of power are at stake, or what role is played by the state and the media in this kind of informal reproduction of racism [and ethnocentric bias]?

While van Dijk writes in plain style, readers of the Journal of Leisure Research should not expect Bhabha's insights on cultural hybridity to be conveyed in absolute clarity. When Bhabha quotes Geertz's (1973, p. 70) famous statement "That the experience of understanding other cultures is 'more like grasping a proverb, catching an illusion, seeing a joke ... than it is like achieving communion'", he conterminously describes what it is like trying to cotton onto his own concept of cultural hybridity, for instance. Nowhere in The Location of Culture does Bhabha offer a succinct and outright definition of the term, and Table 2 is now presented to pull together Bhabha's ellipsean explanation around the important subject. Thus, as the abridged statements of Table 2 suggest, cultural hybridity is, to Bhabha, a location for spatial dialectics where populations who have previously been subjugated via the polarizing "dead hand of history" (Bhabha, 1994 p. 4) are now able, performatively—rather than experientially, to articulate a new future-as-open worldorder for themselves through their own restless energy and via their own skillful and revisionary enunciation. At these difficult in-between sites of emergent identity, such Third Space citizens seek alternative temporalities for themselves of a differential (after Jameson), contrapuntal (after Said), and interruptive nature (Bhahba, 1994, p. 174) somewhat free of the monadic historicities of race, gender, class, and nation that had tended to classify and dominate them under the grand narratives and the fixed nationalisms of the Englightenment and of high colonialism. But to Bhabha, these emergent enunciations are routinely and

highly problematic in their felt correctivity—for cultural forms are always infinite in possibility, and thereby always inherently undecidable and unfixable. To Bhabha, it is never possible to give exact translations of cultural meaning across language or cultural systems, and each articulated truth about culture can only ever be overinterpreted or can only ever be known 'ambiguously'. Since cultural representations are intrinsically dynamic they can never be precisely or exactly interpreted.

It is important for tourism researchers to reflect on Bhabha's notion of cultural hybridity because of the large hurt that the false delineations of cultural identity can cause in and through the rapacious industry. As Lanfant, Allcock and Bruner suggest, the discourse of international tourism is a very powerful agent in contemporary society, and all kinds of island societies, territorial enclaves, and rural-hinterland societies are fast marginalised by it as they exist far from the centers of industrial power that inveterately control the industry:

> Previously closed as traditional societies, [such peripheral sites and regions] were condemned to a slow death. Because of their 'discovery' by circuits of international tourism, however, they have been propelled into the firing line of the project planners. They have been salvaged, recast in the forges of development and thrust onto the world stage, and have become tourist societies ... [as] they are asked in the name of tourist activity to conserve and reconstruct their traditions....
>
> ... In this context identity is put to the test, and becomes an object of exchange. International tourism compels local societies to become aware and to question the identities they offer to foreigners as well as the prior images that are imposed on them. Processes involved in the reworking of identity include the displacement of the local, the disruption of systems of reference, the endowment of heritage with new effect ... the recovery of forgotten memories, and the revealing or concealment of self. Identity is always in reformulation, a constant site of struggle for those involved.
>
> (Lanfant, Allcock, and Bruner, 1995, p. ix; emphasis added).

Thus, within the discourse of international tourism, locals/natives become a traditional object of desire, and are readily positioned as exotic, primitive, and immutable objects of longing or of 'trophy'. They are so frequently "called upon to preserve [and display] a purity that never existed" (Lanfant, Allcock, and Bruner, 1995, p. ix), as they serve as actors in a much larger human drama of 'the civilized' encountering 'the wild and primitive' through tourism, itself. As such, international tourism is "unyielding in its demands. It insists on recidivism, atavism, and anachronism. It insists on true tribesmen and archetypal colonialists ... they must follow the [imposed] script" (Bruner and Kischenblatt-Gimblett, 1994, p. 467). Such are the dangers of tourism planners, tourism programmers, and tourism promoters not understanding how they themselves in fact straitjacket dominated populations through their often fixed and purblind industrial vision, and through their ethnocentric judgements of being, longing, and desire which they help sustain.

Such are the dangers of host populations not being encouraged or never being enabled to articulate their own true-to-self voice(s) in and through international tourism. Such is the performative and future-denying power of contemporary, anticipative, and industry-synchronised tourism. And, since almost all societies are in fact hybrid societies (as Bhabha frequently reminds us), the danger of maligning peoples, places, and pasts through the petits récits of indecent othering and improper characterisation in tourism is only so much more grave. It can occur in urban-industrial settings just as it can in supposedly 'primitive' ones. To Bhabha, then, it is not only such 'in-betweeners' who can find themselves located in periferal or marginalised Third Spaces: in a sense, he implies that all individuals within mainstream societies can

indeed also be caste in interstitial zones of stereotyped being or misunderstood living. In this regard, the hybrid is, or can be, us: the hybrid can be each and every one of us, given the form of normalisation or the type of mainstreaming involved in or selected in a given space and time.

Consonantly, one may judge that the field that Bhabha theorises within is a complex and problematic arena within cultural studies "somewhere between fact and fantasy" (65): it is that difficult enunciative space which Said (1978) and Spivak (1987) have laboured to traverse and re-traverse in thought on culture and communication—the critical terrain of the sensorium of the de-centred (Bhabha, 1994, p. 218). It is that half-life or half-light where cultures have been dissemiNated (sic! [after Derrida]) through the uncanny fluency of another's "language" (p. 139)—culturally mummified via historical acts of promulgation, particularly by the discriminatory identification of colonialist authority. And we know how heavily involved the campaign managers and the media consultancies of city/state/national tourism office promotions are in such propagative work on the supposedly 'natural' or otherwise the 'frozen' character of nations and populations (Graburn and Moore 1994).

Following Said, Spivak, and others, Bhabha seeks to uncover the rules of recognition ([author's original emphasis] 1994, p. 110) by which peoples have been signified through the intentions, the images, and the authors of heavily modernist representativity. He seeks to highlight how Western modernity has fixed populations though the negative differentiations ([author's original emphasis, again] p. 75) of colonial discourse where Blacks are always licentious and where Asiatics are always duplicitous (p. 75), and where Indians regularly indulge in unspeakable rites and Hottentots routinely carry out indescribable habits (p. 112). Through such critical scrutiny and literary scholarship, Bhabha aims to draw attention to the problematic boundaries and to the ambivalent temporalities of nation-spaces as defined under the representativity of modernity—that is, under the kind of intensively objective colonialising accounts which pivot upon 'valid' and 'reliable' studies of the alien, the foreign, and the strange, and which Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p. 7) have maintained elsewhere is representative of the immature 'first-phase' of qualitative understanding of 'the Other'. And here Bhabha finds Said to be altogether too historicist in his famous delineation of Orientalism, hitherto the most well-known account of essentialist and ethnocentric cultural projectivity in the social sciences. To Bhabha, Said's work is pioneering and inspirational, but it fails to guage the transitional and dynamic character of so much inscriptive identity-making by long-suppressed or by newly-mobilising populations. In being historicist, according to Bhabha, Said's work on orientalism and like ethnocentrisms lacks a sufficient regard for the temporalities of each location of culture, and it fails to sufficiently admit the multiple and schizophrenic possibilities of enunciative protestations of Selfhood by the displaced/emerging/restless populations of the world (Bhabha 1994, p. 217).

In his own interrogations of inventive ethnicity and imaginary cultural production, therefore, Bhabha (1994, p. 125) seeks to trace out the presence of such largely invisible, historicist, and legacy-leaving post-colonialist authorisations of 'the Other' which continue to generate fissures in present day cultural identifications as modernist fantasies of projection linger (even thrive) to project teleological significant worlds (125). Clearly, many tourism practitioners and researchers in the business of the commodified representation of peoples and places have much to learn from post-colonial dialectics about their own quiet and often unsuspected participation in the subjugation of people and the silencing of identities. And Horne (1992) suggests that if no such self-learning is to occur, the dire alternative is for the continued McDonaldisation (Ritzer, 1993) of peoples, places, and pasts through tourism via the projection of reductionist images

and narratives which are conceivably designed more to satisfy mass consumption and colonialist convenience than to faithfully and considerately represent the local societies being targetted by the tourism industry. In Horne's view, the representations and the identifications of tourism must become collectively more 'intelligent', respectful, and ennobling.

It is Bhabha's purpose to trace the determinacy by and with which cultures have been destroyed or given negative polarity through various forms of modernist—and postmodernist—communal rhetoric, viz., within the kind of 'public culture'-making that is now very much constituting the research agenda of interdisciplinary tourism studies. He seeks to reveal the scopic drive of the surveillance of colonial power at work, as particular forms of racial/cultural/historical alterity have been marginalised (Bhabha, 1994, p. 67). In this fashion, Bhabha questions the progressivist metaphor of modernist social cohesion and nation-making (p. 142), as he endeavours to reorganise our understanding of the murky processes of othering and the messy processes of contestive identification. To Bhabha, there is much unrecognised slippage involved in the signification of other cultures and of different places—particularly where local/indigenous/non-colonial populations have been (or are) silent and are themselves unable to contribute to the articulation of the colonial truth built around them by mainstream powers and agencies from the urban-industrial world over the decades and through the centuries. Yet he believes it is never easy for such stereotypical views to be opposed or transcended, because (to repeat) cultures are themselves inherently undecidable (p. 135), shifting perpetually and confoundingly at their own margins (p. 21). Thus, to Bhabha, the attempt to map any population's culture in tourism, or in any specific arena, will always be an intensively tension-laden, iterative process: history does not occur once but keeps on happening, societies (or, individuals within them) keep on hybridising, and contradictory elements and antagonistic instances will continually and ambiguously open up. And hopefully, here the adolescent work of Hollinshead and De Burlo (In prep.) on the largely monologic making of 'Others' and on the self-celebration of 'Self' in tourism can make much more visible how powerplays of/about alterity actually control and exploit people and things.

Bhabha's research agenda—or, rather, his critical program—on the sense of disorientation and the disturbed discriminations of post-colonial life is a huge contribution to the emergent trans-cultural inquiry within postmodern scholarship: tourism studies theorists of culture production simply cannot afford to overlook Bhabha's fresh insights into hybridity—for, to repeat, tourism is very much the, or a, imaginary business of 'difference'-making! But such a topic will not be easy for tourism investigators, or for any researchers, to address anywhere. Until the 1980's, post-colonial issues had been a rather marginal area of interest within cultural studies in general, and temporality had long been "a notoriously difficult thing to write about [or] be able to grasp", wherever (Puranik, 1994, p. 17). While hybridity may have been heresy—and still is heresy—to religious and state fundamentalists (Bhabha, 1994, p. 225), it seems that hybridity has also been a somewhat hellish and much avoided subject to culture and communication theorists in fields like tourism studies. People-as-one treatments of Otherness just seem to have been, always so much safer (p. 150) here there and everywhere, in tourism studies as in so many other domains. For a further engagement with the difficult subject of hybridity in general, readers of the Journal of Leisure Research are thereby encouraged to scan Young's (1995) comprehensive and insightful examination of hybridity in relation to constructions of culture, ethnicity, and race. And some of Young's ideas have been used by Hollinshead (In press), elsewhere, to further translate—i.e., to dialectically distill—the problematics of hybridity to research in and on international tourism.

In examining hybridity and the construction and re-construction of colonial subjects, Bhabha's work is littered with the imprint of other contemporary litero-philosophers which tourism theorists can learn from. His work on the inter-subjective spaces between human agencies is an admitted borrowing (1994, p. 189) from Hannah Arendt's (1958) depiction of human inter-est (sic!) at play. His thinking on the determinances/subjugations of 'language' and 'social' practices are redolent with Foucault and Derrida, something that Graham Dann's (1996) new work on signification within the tourism industry begins to probe. And Bhabha's pointed condemnation of the prohibitions and the despotisms by which Western reason objectifies its world appears to be lavish in its Barthesian (Roland) and Rushdian (Salman) critical punctuation. Such humanists have been seen only too rarely seen or cited in the literature of tourism studies. And Bhabha's ideas on imagined hybridities have plainly been well moulded also by Anderson's (1983) seminal work on imagined communities—a work he (i.e., Bhabha) frequently springboards from, and a work which at last is beginning to interest macrosocietal investigators in tourism (Hollinshead, 1993/C).

Yet, despite his dislike for the evidential historicity of some of their findings and their lack of concern for the irresolvable and future-as-open nature of the post-colonial spatial dialectics (Bhabha 1994, p. 219), it is upon the work of Said (1978) and Fanon (1986) that Bhabha seems to have built on most valuably from the perspective of tourism studies. From Said has come Bhabha's initial respect for "the chaos of identity" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 46) (particularly in terms of his view that postmodernity has and is decidedly reinforcing modernity—especially American derived modernist stereotypes (p. 46)). From Said has also arisen his acknowledgement that "the Orient" is something constituted within European discourse (p. 71), and his belief that lasting representations of the "Other" or the "other" (again, oh so important within the projected "differences" of tourism promotion!) are complex matters of regulation, discipline and appropriation. And from Fanon has, for instance, come Bhabha's feel for the force of transgressive/transitional truth (p. 40), his sense of the subtle depth of displacement that can arrive with colonial disjuncture (p. 41), his perceptivity to the degree to which displaced cultures can become yoked and lifelessly closed (p. 78), and his judgement that it is "the [authoritarian] discourse of cultural governmentality" that generates the Manichean moment that divides colonial space (p. 131). And has tourism not been so frequently condemned for being so uncomplicatingly colonial or closed, or at least so starkly neo-colonial and locally-denying in its thrusts (Richter, 1983; Hall, 1994, p. 108-150)?

THE CULTURAL THEORETICAL THOUGHT OF HOMI BHABHA: AMBIGUITY

Through Said, Fanon, and others (such as Jameson (1991)), therefore, there appears to emerge the maturing Bhabha and his consolidating agenda on differential peoples and interruptive cultures. It is through such post-colonial mindsets that Bhabha's metaphoricity about "split locations" and "fractured identities" has been cultivated, and his desire to demassify difference (via the gain of richer and full insights into "newness") has been inspired. Tourism theorists must increasingly be exposed to these fresh outlooks on the messy human geography of the culture, of the identity, and of the hope of peoples. It can become a matter of gradual and cummulating cultural genocide to do otherwise, as Fjellman (1992, p. 48, 315, 401) has warned in his critical analysis of the distortions and manipulations by which certain grand and powerful corporate players in leisure and tourism like the Disney companies can and have manipulated historical/geographic/cultural narrative and all sorts of other contemporary public discourse in order to naturalize preferred commodity forms (Hollinshead 1998). Tourism studies simply must have more transdisciplinary

researchers like Fjellman who are competent to read, interpret, and translate Bhabha's insights on iconic representation, cultural inscription, and ethnic universe-making to tourism settings and leisure scenarios.

Through the conduct of his ongoing critical research agenda on post-colonial space, Bhabha (1994, p. 7) provides for us a thoughtful encounter with "newness" which probes the syncretism, the juxtapositions, and the integrations in the unsheathing of new signs of identity and new strategies of Selfhood. The net outcome of this is a redrawing of domestic and national affiliation—a reportrayal which "exploits and engenders those moments of ambivalence that structure social authority" (Bhabha, 1994, frontispiece). In exploring new structures of solidarity and authenticity in the emergent communities of the diaspora(s), Bhabha—in a high postmodern spirit—repeatedly argues against fixed appositions between things. The novel or unfolding communities or the very locations of culture that Bhabha attempts to reveal are halfway, distorted, and scarcely defined places and times—and this refreshing, if acute, thinking on displaced, disjunctive sites, spaces and situations potentially yields much of significance for our understanding of the routine images and the stereotypical interpretations which are purveyed in tourism and travel. The following list therefore provides a summary of the intellectual tonic that a reading of Bhabha's critical agenda in The Location of Culture can conceivably yield for tourism researchers interested in the ephemerality of culture or in the inherently political character of all exhibited forms of heritage and being (King 1997). It proffers ten critical points on or of hybridity and on or of ambiguity to stimulate rethinking about identity, tradition, and national/ethnic affiliation in what is the fast becoming the world's largest 'economic', 'social' and 'political' business. In each instance, the worth or salience of the 'particular' on 'new' cultural thought is provided in terms of a short commentary on the nearest form of experimental investigation that given researchers in tourism studies are already conceivably beginning to feel their way towards or through:

* 1st Arena Of Ambiguity: Distinct Societies As Quite Scarce?

Drawing from the work of Bernard Williams (1985), Bhabha (1994, p. 125) reminds that fully individual cultures may at best be seen to be very rare phenomena around the world, if they indeed occur anywhere. Thus Bhabha emphasises that nations are socially constructed through political and relational forces, and national agencies increasingly find it difficut to claim that there is an intrinsic, self-contained essence to their given society. To Bhabha the modernist/colonial rationality of universalism and assimilation is steadily receding against the postmodern/post-colonial logic of pluralism and difference, and that pluralism and difference can in fact be identified in an infinity of emergent ways.

Salience For Tourism Hence in tourism we need more work of the type that Martinez (1996, p. 174-75) has conducted in Japan on and around the precious quality of nihon ujinron (Japaneseness, or literally, theories of Japanesesness), where tourism itself can indeed be seen to be one of the main social and political forces that actually renders each society less individual or distinct from each other as the tourist hordes bring in their universalising habits and their conformist externalising preferences or their new plural ways of doing things. In Japan, for instance, Martinez has enquired into the manner in which tourists (as strangers to Japanese society) actually mediate between the old world of 'quaint' village Japan and the new globalising 'other' of city Japan. In this regard, Martinez concludes that 'tourist-strangers' are highly ambivalent in Japan, being 'near' and 'far' at the same time, and being 'welcome' but also deemed to be coterminously 'dangerous' and 'polluting' in terms of revered traditions. Thus, tourists themselves are perhaps continuously helping to blur the boundaries of an around 'Japanese-ness' through their own very presence in multitudes not only at special

sights or popular sites, but here, there, and everywhere in the urban-metropolitan street scenes of the Kyotos and the Tokyos of contemporary Japan.

* 2nd Arena Of Ambiguity: 'Communityness' And 'Nationness' As Interstitial Moments?

To Bhabha (1994, p. 2, 217) the collective and inter-subjective experience of community, or even of 'nationness', may adventitiously be viewed as an 'in-between'/an 'interstitial'/an 'intervallic' space where particular domains of difference overlap and/or displace each other rather than being seen as a stable, perpetual, everlasting order of things. What Bhabha thinks is increasingly being celebrated (by formerly colonised people in particular) is not now exclusively the pervasive ties and bonds of established groups and entrenched traditions, but the dynamic appeal of new socio-cultural impulses and the attractive momentum of emergent mixed discourses. Bhabha's emerging 'communities' are therefore restless and uneasy, and are characterised in that interstitiality by "a radical heterogeneity, discontinuity, and a permanent revaluation of forms" (refer to Bhabha in Young, 1995, p. 25).

Salience For Tourism In tourism, Michaud (1995) has worked as an anthropologist in Northern India (within mountainous Ladakh), and in the hilly north of Thailand. He has found that the respective Indian and Thai authorities consistently endeavor to integrate restless and uneasy ethnic minorities in those respective places into 'national areas', where tourism is used as a force to settle nomadic populations who might otherwise live independently from the national entity. Here Michaud evidences the fact that tourism is used to help project these removed/distant populations as being part of a centrally imposed national fabric, when such membership of the socalled nation for those removed communities has only been rather late and somewhat uncertain in its supremacy over prior 'local' loyalties. Thus, while the distant communities may themselves be ambiguous in their feeling towards and support for the state, international tourism is being used by central governments to influence the balance of power between these local communities and the centralized or centralizing state. In this sense, Michaud is suggesting that tourism itself is used to kill the interstitial freedoms that the minority populations might have. As the centralizing state "provokes the integration of highland minorities within the national economy, [it takes] the first step on the road to acculturation along national lines" (Michaud, 1995, p. 96). Hence, tourism is used as a form of governmentality in Northern India and in Thailand which helps 'rope in', appropriate, and dominate distant communities. Such outlier communities lose their own freedom to be ambiguous as they are inscribed as 'national' by the central government through tourism and through related social and political forces.

* 3rd Arena Of Ambiguity: 'Boundaries' As Points Of Commencement?

Drawing from Heidegger (1971, p. 152-3), Bhabha (1994, p. 5, 219) suggests that boundaries ought not only be seen as terminal barriers between places/communities, but as social sites where phenomena in fact "begin their presencing". Nowadays the categorization of peoples, places, and pasts is, according to Bhabha, less certainly a matter of unswerving and established fact about a universally accepted character or property of that population, that region, or that inheritance, but is more usefully seen as something contained within discourse itself—as an ongoing matter of debate, negotiation, argumentation, and ideological struggle. In this quotidian game of negotiation and renegotiation, everyone (be they racist or antiracist, be they colonialist or post-colonialist) is inescapably a dilemmatician as they actively and continually compete to see their own vision of nationhood or group heritage advanced.

Salience For Tourism In this respect Golden's (1996) work in tourism studies on the Museum of the Jewish Diaspora in Israel is highly germane. In finding that the

Diaspora Museum serves as a covenant which the modern Jew has with his or her identity, Golden found the museum to be organised loosely around topical themes rather than being designed tightly or precisely by chronology or by geography. The Museum of the Jewish Diaspora at Tel Aviv thus provided little absolute information on where the boundaries between 'Jews' and 'non-Jews' lay, but instead merely attempted evocatively attempted to generate certain images and atmospheres (Golden, 1996, p. 233), something which established only a tacit boundary between what is Jewish and what is non-Jewish. Through such decided cultivation of ambiguity, the museum thereby allowed each visiting Jew from their different backgrounds to primarily experience their own individually felt immersion with the represented Jewishness, and secondarily with the coterminous nature of their own felt all-inclusiveness. Again, one wonders if this avoidance of absolute definition of peoples, places, and pasts is going to become a commonplace practice in tourism industry promotions/travel-trade projections—whereby tourism is itself cleverly used to steer loudly and evocatively, but only vaguely and incoherently by governments, or by special interest groups, towards some difficult-to-enforce vision of nationhood, peoplehood, or ethnos.

* 4th Arena Of Ambiguity: Signs Of Communities As Arbitrary And Changeable Representation?

Here Bhabha (176) reminds that the 'signs' and 'symbols' that help construct histories and identities—viz., via the favoured representations of gender, race, war, labour, migration—"often produce incompatible systems of signification [across and/or within communities]", and consequently may only be authorised or projected arbitrarily at boundary, interstitial or 'national' locales, and rarely ever coherently or absolutely. To Bhabha, people are always incoherent subjects who are sometimes artifically made coherent through the success of a dominant ideology at work spreading out from political action, or through the clever use of the signs and symbols which originate in the marketplace and which also speak to some sort of collective or inherited coherency. To Bhabha, then, these signs and symbols and these ideologies are all messily mixed in with other social practices overtime, but they are highly changeable and only ever win a temporary hold over a claimed population.

Salience For Tourism This incompatibility of the symbols of identity in tourism has been found by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) to be particulary acute in the Russian city of Kalingrad, for example. Formerly Königsberg, Kalingrad was the only significant German city to have been absorbed into the Soviet/Russian realm in 1945. For 45 years it then became an intense Soviet military base and lay closed to foreigners, even though it had originally been founded by the Teutonic Knights and had always been previously and decidedly 'German'. Following the end of the Cold War, Kalingrad was suddenly upturned and (with the new independence of Lithuania and Belarus) largely cut off from Mother Russia. No longer useful as a military base, the relatively isolated Kalingrad has begun to seek a new economy and a novel identity of its own. Its road and rail links to Western Europe are now pointedly and rapidly being improved (Hall 1992), and the substantive tourist flow from the West commenced in 1990. But what should be promoted: should Kalingrad project its immediate Russian past, or its longer and prior 'foreign' German inheritance? Is it indeed easy or wise for Russian authorities to signify and promote deep 'Germanness' in a Russian city (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, p. 160-168)? How many other vibrant tourist cities are there in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, Wherever, whose symbolic representation is caught up in what Bhabha (1994, p. 214) calls "the difficult and uncertain space between frames"?

* 5th Arena Of Ambiguity: Traditions As Unfixed?

Bhabha (p. 2) recognises that representations of difference are frequently articulated in terms of pre-given ethnic/cultural traits or "fixed tablets" of tradition, whereas for

many minority or non-mainstream populations (in particular) they are the subject of complex, on-going negotiation. What counts to Bhabha is who has the authority to differentiate (p. 118) the given terms of cultural engagement, and/or who has the accepted agency to designate appropriate narrative (p. 141) about anything. To Bhabha, the traditions of a population or a place (and the narratives that detail them) are inherently indeterminate, fragmentary, and open-ended, and the efforts to install particular delineations of those traditions as being authentic is an ongoing multi-choreographed (rather than just a mutually-choreographed) dance.

Salience For Tourism The negotiated character of authentic traditions or of legimated craft/art/cultural pursuits is something that Cohen (p. 1988: 379), amongst others, has begun to draw direct attention to in tourism, notably following the new distillations of Appadurai (1986) on transnational culture, in particular, elsewhere. From Cohen, and his like, we have understood that authenticity is not always seen by each tourist or each local to be necessarily linked to strict judgements as to traditional form and traditional purpose, and indeed there are differential symbolizations of authenticity and there are emergent/dynamic notions of an acceptable authenticity. And Cohen's findings indeed echo those of Bhabha: what has mattered at any given time is who is recognised by the majority as having to right to legitimate what is 'traditional', 'customary' or 'sacred'. If Bhabha writes about anything, he writes about the way the temporality of modernity has sought to authorise what is appropriately 'human' in any given place—and he now calls for 'a future-as-open' society in its place (without being too concerned, himself, about the problems which might arise if each and every community on each and every continent were able to declare their own universal declaration of 'nationhood')! But 'interpretations as open' are rare things to find in tourism where most interpreted sites are national 'sacred' sites or are enunciations of some well-resourced set of stakeholders or of a traditionally-minded elite. At such sites, it is commonplace for the value-coding of the exhibitry to be seized and restrictively controlled, so that only storylines with a discursively-closed circle of interpretated traditions are allowed to be revealed.

* 6th Arena Of Ambiguity: Traditions As Naturalised And Synchronous?

Bhabha (p. 250-1) warns that the Western sense of synchronous tradition tends to act teleologically to overlook the coeval, often incommensurable 'ethnicist' identifications of places, and tends to write out (i.e., dismiss) unresolved, transitional moments in the telling of the history of places. In this way, the non-sequential events/energies/embedded-myths-of-the-past are written out of the past as it is modernised (p. 14) and constructed into a unified and naturalised discourse about "the nation", "the people" or "the authentic folk tradition" (p. 172). To Bhabha, such accounts are monologic, and he insists that agencies in power over the heritage of nations/communities/populations must nowadays increasingly learn how to receive and issue dialogic accounts of history/heritage/tradition. Monologic descriptions of inheritances can only ever be 'a particular version' of history, according to Bhabha, where the naturalness of that history is a mere temporal product of discourse and rhetoric—if sometimes longstanding in that temporality.

Salience For Tourism Hollinshead has indeed found that all kinds of authorities, agencies and individuals in Texas, for example, have collaborated over the past two centuries to make the inheritance of the Lone Star state appear synchronous and render particular male-orientated, 'anglo', Protestant versions of the state's past appear to be 'natural', 'proper', and 'substantive':

    ... Texas is an arena in which different people try and construct a past which
    bestows political or other advantage on themselves: individuals and groups
    participate in a game to manufacture a 'usable past'. Clearly, those who feel they

are held prisoner by a past which debilitates, are prone to revising a re-emphasising those truths. But the game is never played anywhere on a level playing-field .... The largely patriarchial and Protestant patriotisms [of the Lone Star state] are reflected back by an astonishingly insular and somewhat intolerant brotherhood [sic]! of historians. The truth about Texas has been, and is being, considerably brutalised by a state (or rather a genuinely Lone Star 'nationalistic') chauvinism, and hardened in the past (but also in the present) by the very prodigality and the very profligacy of anecdotal historical accountancy (Hollinshead, 1993/C, p. 205-206).

It seems that in tourism, then, the narrators of the historicist Lone Star story have a well-rutted and heavily maintained track of historical contours to follow, as they consciously or unconsciously project the feisty, frontier metanarrative of the 'natural', 'national', and 'manufatured' essence of Texas-hood (p. 799) as has been doctored and laid down in what is almost a single monolithic 'consensus history' account (p. 797-800). Such are the seeming synchronous traditions of places, where inheritances are seen to be progressivist, and therefore ordered, whole, and decently or teleologically right. Such is what Bhabha would indeed call the dead hand of historicist history in tourism accounts, where the colonial subjects—or, for Texas, the colonised people of its history—are always fixed and is always overdetermined as they are put into useful service for the state.

In Australia, a similarly government-involved naturalisation of history has evidently occurred. In Australia, the normalising activities of its historians have over the last two centuries apparently maintained a form of colonial amnesia about, for instance, the wretched purgatory that convict life had held for so many of the early population, constituting a "national pact of silence" (Hughes, 1987, p. xii) about the Convict Stain on the social and political respectability of the nation. Yet nowadays, the tourists demand in large numbers to inspect the pure confined hell of imprisonment at Macquarie Harbor, Moreton Bay, Norfolk Island, and—particularly—Port Arthur, which were places "long on sodomy and the lash" (Hughes, 1987, p. xiii). Slowly, it appears that the dark years of gross maltreatment under convict-hood are slowly being reinterpreted for the ever-curious—with a significant role being played by public sector and private sector agencies in tourism in what a rising number of social commentators would now see as the gradual undoing of the normalised and synchronous history of early Australia.

* 7th Arena Of Ambiguity: Societies As 'Chowder-Pots'?

Borrowing from Gomez-Pena (1992, p. 3), Bhabha views the established melting pot image of mixed and assimilated/closely-integrated societies as being a spent and an unhelpful conception: he suggests, instead, that many mixed societies are far from being assimilated or integrated and consist instead of strong and vibrant incommensurable elements. Such "stubborn chunks" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 219) of cultural practice and preference help to constitute a scarcely dissolved chowder rather than any fully dissolved "melted" meal. When only the melting pot is ever suspected or ever expected, many 'historical' and/or 'temporal' subjects accordingly "remain unrepresented in the vaster invisibility of this transnational totality" (p. 221). While the melting pot metaphor suggests there is now only one local society (and one collective voice) in the given locale, the chowder pot metaphor preferred by Bhabha more visibly reminds that there will inevitably still be a multiplicity of bubbling 'voices' to be heard within that community, whatever the age of the chowder. Moreover, it might also suggest that some of those 'voices' which have only recently become activated as the ingredients in the pot have been changed and change themselves. And other coalescive 'voices' are yet to issue forth, still., inevitably.

Salience For Tourism According to Tunbridge and Ashworth, such "stubborn chunks" of unwanted collective memory would produce dissonance for the dominant storytellers in the narratives of tourism and heritage. And such dissonance can arise absolutely anywhere. It may be cultural (as in the heavyweight reclamation by Hindu extremists of the Muslim-appropriated site at Ayodhya in India (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, p. 74)), it may be social (as in the battles between elite-oriented capitalist groups of Baltimore (in the U.S.A) who sought to subdue the interests of blue collar incumbent residents as they planned to redevelop the 'vacant' Baltimore waterfront (p. 78-79 [drawing on Merrifield, 1993])), it may be political (as in the sudden redundancy and removal of Lenin statues in Russia in the early 1990s (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, p. 84-85)), or it may be human-geographic (as in the Polish appropriation of erstwhile German heritage in Gdansk/Danzig (p. 86; p. 155-160). When Tunbridge and Ashworth write of such alternative possibilities in the retelling of stories about history and nature in tourism, they hint at what Bhabha (1994, p. 287) would possibly say should constitute the required new vibrancy in the representation of culture and values. Again, the new cultural, social, political, and human-geographic interpretations seen and found by Tunbridge and Ashworth are very much the petits récits (after Foucault) of Bhabha's (1994, p. 243) new performative and reformative signs of identity of culture, ethnicity, and race.

* 8th Arena Of Ambiguity: National Culture As Lost Or Reduced Identifier?

Though Bhabha much respects the work of Anderson (1983), he feels that aesthetic judgements of identity based on "imagined modern/progressive communities" (as shaped through the imperatives of capitalism and class) do not adequately account for the emergent array of cultural affinities and the political identifications which are nowadays structured around sexuality, race, feminism, migration, et cetera. To Bhabha (1994, p. 6), the suzerainty of nationally imagined and collective culture has now been overtaken as the critical comparative tool for human communities by manifold other affectations of differing types, almost ad infinitum. What counts nowadays under the postmodern/post-colonial mood is increasingly the affiliation people feel towards the individually lived or individually chosen present, and less that to which they feel towards an inherited collective past, particularly to a 'national' past. But Bhabha recognises that the emergent array of cultural affinities and political identifications does tend to be held relatively uncertainly and equivocally. Under these strains of cultural, ethnic, and social equivocality, ambivalence and ambiguity can then become something of a norm themselves across societies.

Salience For Tourism In tourism, the work of Feifer (1985) is highly relevant here though many observers in social science find her conclusions to be rather authorially and over-imaginatively drawn. Feifer has found that many tourists have become exceedingly skilled at tuning immediately into the heady mix of new and variable narratives they are fed as they criss-cross the continents. Indeed these post-tourists delight in the multiplicity of storylines they are told, and regard the whole tourism show in nation after nation, place after place, as a or the tourist game. Such post-tourists tend to now know there is no single culture or essential traditionality to witness in any country, and no authentic tourism experience to witness anywhere. According to Feifer, this rising tide of post-tourists is composed of individuals who are indeed aware that they are acting in the dramatic presentation of particular and differentiated texts as the industry has itself helped possibly internationalise and possibly coterminously denationalise each place. Such nouveaux tourists are indeed demanding freedom from 'high culture' and liberty from the formalism of singular, authorised, accounts of culture, heritage, and nature. To the post-tourist, tourism is a 'play', and viewable difference is indeed the sought drawcard or the desired encounter as he/she indulges in the

emergent 'three-minute' culture of our time (Urry, 1990, p. 100-102[on Feifer]). Where post-tourists celebrate the temporal pulsation of places, they would no doubt be applauded by Bhabha, who would (one may presume) welcome the way post-tourists would respond to the new evanescent metaphoricity of peoples in re-imagined communities. But do most post-tourists ever want to develop genuine dialogue with the exhilarating but slender new storylines that they are increasingly being exposed, or are seemingly craving to see? Bhabha might relish the way that so-called post-tourism might cultivate forms of creative or emancipatory heterogeneity in the representation of places, but he would probably be most disappointed at the lack of sincere engagement which post-tourists are (by definition) seem to have with the sites they visit, and with the host populations they move amongst. Perhaps, to Bhabha, post-tourists just are not themselves sufficiently collaborative in the fight for interruptive or intelligent interpretations of history and nature? Perhaps, to Bhabha, they themselves are too frequently only passive recipients of contramodern post-coloniality? But their very scale of travel does provide all manner of new and examinable performative spaces in the vast business of tourism.

* 9th Arena Of Ambiguity: Identity As Confused Transitional Space?

Following Fanon (1986) and James (1975), Bhabha suggests that many people are today caught in transitional/transnational space—that is, space where they exist in what can be seen positively perhaps as a dialogic and double-voiced or multi-voiced state-of-being celebrating the world's increasing plurality, and what negatively perhaps can be seen as a state of confused displacement, celebrating mainstream culture and history within broader society, but privately being newly and restrictively captive to other distinct/repressed culture(s) and subordinated history(ies). Such uncertain existence and such recapture by subjugated heritages can even occur, according to Bhabha, in the estranged lifeworlds and lifespaces that begin their shadowy or renewed presencing in the recesses of these individual's own domesticality. Such retrieved but unsteady culture and such recaptured history is deemed by him to often being 'unhomely', divisive, and disorientating—"the shrill alarm ... [but the] undecipherable language of [for instance] the black and angry dead" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 9-10) within the contemporary age.

Salience For Tourism Here, in tourism, the work of Bruner (1991) sympathetically reflects Bhabha's point about the ubiquity of cofused transitional/transnational persons. In his analysis of tourism in the so-called Third World, Bruner notes that the orthodox understanding in tourism studies holds that it is the tourist self who is fast transfigured by the travel experience whilst the indigenous local tends to stay fixed and unaltered. But Bruner (1991, p. 242) suggests (after his study of the tourism encounter in western Africa, in particular) that under many circumstances the relationship ought to be transposed: "the touristic self is changed very little by the tour, while the consequences of tourism for the native are profound" (242) as he/she awkwardly learns or uncertainly relearns who is he/she is and who he/she is not. Such incongruous discoveries about the black and angry past, and such discordant rediscoveries of personal and comparative inheritances through the reproductivity of tourism can be quite chilling it seems, as forgotten pasts are unearthed or as sorry received treatments are stormily uncovered. In this sense, tourism itself can certainly give shrill alarm and be a or the principal architect of Bhabha's (1994, p. 1) restless moments as it uncovers transgressive truths, or as it unearths previously forgotten and disturbing to recapture identities.

* 10th Arena Of Ambiguity: Identity And Civility As Petty Text?

To Bhabha (p. 145) much of the power and force of colonial/post-colonial and of modern/postmodern forms of authority over places and populations comes from the

very act of writing: it is the mere act of this narrative performance that repeatedly turns "the scraps, patches and rags of daily life ... into the signs of a coherent national culture ... [and which] interpellates a growing circle of national [sic]! subjects." In this sense, the everyday/mundane/quotidian writing of the normalised nation is a recursive and performative production of the nation, and thereby something which Bruner (1995, p. 231) is also currently deeply investigating in the ethnography of travel. For Bhabha, though, even the act of writing can be over-interpreted towards singular outlooks. Following Bakhtin (1981; 1986), Bhabha recognises that words are multi-accentual and multi-interpretable rather than being cast in stone in accordance with constant/invariable meanings. In a sense, Bhabha's view of language, and therefore of identity, is anti-hermeneutic. To him the appropriate task is not the revelation from fragments of a 'hidden' and 'whole' meaning, but it is to suspend conclusive judgement of and about a single 'real' meaning in order to uncover how the given statement can potentially be framed and reframed, or dynamically interpreted by the relevant throbbing multiplicity of established and emergent, heard and unheard meanings.

Salience For Tourism Here in tourism, Ankomah's (In Prep.) work mirrors the insights of Bhabha. In his critique of the tactics adopted by governments in sub-Saharan Africa in the name of cultural preservation and tourism development, Ankomah finds that such government activities are nothing but prextexts for gross violations of what he sees as the human rights of their citizenry. Thus, if Ankomah's views are to be accepted, the rubric of authentic African culture is indeed being utilised to construct visions of unified nations even under post-colonial (and not just under colonial) conditions. According to Ankomah (personal communication, July 16th 1996), "the wholesale drive for preserving 'authentic' culture is dynamic and not static" and when practitioners of the tourism industry and torists passively accept such governmental calls to authenticity "without questioning the motives behind such calls, [they are] tacitly endorsing human rights violations [by the new post-colonial governments] in the sub-region". Here in tourism, therefore, Ankomah takes something of a Bhabhian line where 'the Other' can have no fixed phenomenological point, but is subject to all sorts of interpretations and reinterpretations. Hence, it is not only colonialist powers that can attempt to mummify culture, to concretise ethnicity, and to solidify visions of race to their own advantage in or via tourism—the yoke of oppression through representation can also be handily or heavily deployed in supposedly corrective post-colonialist settings, too!

SYNTHESIS

SOME LESSONS FROM BHABHA

Through such experimental questioning of identity and representation, then, Bhabha's critical research agenda on post-colonial identity has much merit for tourism researchers and for practitioners. It comprises an open-ended outlook upon and over the world that tourists traverse, invade, and capture; it stands as a perceptive set of accounts about the fluidity and the non-essential ways-of-being that travellers do and will encounter. Its unusual value as a regime of inquiry into cultural-theoretical thought is that it does not seek to totalise the experiences of the world's peoples, and it resists holistic explanations of culture and of affinity as it destabilises so many of the precious notions of Western Englightenment and of Western ethnocentric blindness by which the aggrandising tourism industry has certainly been indulging (Hollinshead, 1993/A, 1993/B). In this sense, the value for tourism researchers and tourism practitioners of Bhabha's ideas on hybridity and ambiguity from his research agenda, as captured in The Location of Culture, is that—in the genre of Benjamin (1970, p. 265)—it helps unfreeze the dead, cold, hard, edifice of history, freeing the past and the present from

the false security of fixed worldviews, permitting the world's populations to be seen differently in their own various times of the now. Of course, the new multiplicitly of liberated identities and spawned affiliations that this kind of plural thinking gives rise to certainly makes the world a little more confusing and a little more seemingly inconstant. History becomes changeable perspective instead of solid fact: heritage becomes fundamentally a matter of admixed intersubjective context in lieu of universal and enduring truth.

The real worth in Bhabha's ongoing work, thereby, is that it emancipates awareness about vital matters of difference and critical issues of macro-social affiliation, enriching our outlooks on the cultural orientations and the geopolitical bearings of the cluttered, the subject, and the mixed populations of the world. It consequently constitutes—as Bhabha (1994, p. 6) rightly claims for himself—"a radical revision in the concept of human community, itself". In revealing something of complex ways in which communities artfully "become" (p. 954), it questions not only the fixity of the boundaries of places and nations, but it assails those who seek singular and within-discipline explanations of or for such macro-social bonds. And, in furthering Spivak's (1987) contention that post-colonial/postmodern places and populations largely exist in capricious catachrestic space, Bhabha (1994, p. 25, 188, 185) advances the cause of dialectical calculation and of dialogic negotiation/interrogation in measuring the inter-national span and in mapping the sociocultural geography of the world's social spaces—something that Hall (1994, p. 199) has loudly maintained is of immence and immediate need in the political science of tourism (i.e., within inquiry into who has power and agency over whom in tourism), and something that Hollinshead (in press) explores more fully elsewhere.

But Bhabha's 1980s and 1990s vision of and on resurfacing emergent identifications is no faultlessly executed regime of work. Tourism practitioners, and tourism reearchers who are heavily 'applied', will be inclined to find that his densely argued reasoning of and about 'text' is frequently obscure: indeed Eagleton (1994) deems it (in The Location of Culture) to be only "a shade less opaque than [that of the writing of] Gayatri Spivak"! In particular, Bhabha's ongoing observations on the ambivalences of "mimicry" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 85-92) are difficult to follow, and his development of the term "transparency" is, ironically, rather opaque (109). Other difficult pieces abound in the routine expression he uses in his ongoing research, occasionally yielding long paragraphs of purest fog in The Location of Culture, itself, for instance. And still other readers of Bhabha's output from the 1980s and 1990s may be unsatisfied with the absence of recommendations from him towards the political liberation of the subjected or of the misconstrued populations that he tends to champion—a perceived absence of pragmatic solution-finding which rather disturbingly disappoints Eagleton (1994), for one. It is a difficult enough challenge to translate postmodern transnational thought into 'doable' and 'realworld' inquiry anywhere, in any discipline of field (Bruner, personal communication, September 15th 1997): the frequency of Bhabha's vaporous language and fine-mist conceptions only render the eventual production of neat and ordered theory from the foment of his numerous essays on the polarities on the Self and the Other, and on the so-called East and West, to be an even more traumatic exercise in comprehension for budding theoreticians in tourism studies, in leisure sciences, in public culture, [and in et cetera].

Despite the frequent opaqueness of the articulation of Bhabha's ongoing critiques of post-colonial affiliation, The Location of Culture is itself—for those probing or operating in tourism—a highly significant collection about essentialist thought and subjugating action. It suggests (as Table 3 notes) the kind of flexible framework by which investigators can examine the rhetorics, the dialogues, and the identities of

excluded/disenfranchised/illrecognised communities which Bowman (1992, p. 134) has demanded of tourism/travel research, and which the recent pioneering studies of Lanfant (in Lanfant, Allcock, and Bruner: 1995), Selwyn (1996), Dann (1996), Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), and others, have tentatively begun to approach in recent years in the literature of tourism studies. For researchers keen to generate Brunerian theory into the quintessential industry of difference and business dealing in access to the Other, one is reminded by Bhabha that the processes of identification never work to a priori visions of being, and never yield 'finished product' identities. The contours of difference are always agonistic, as Table 3 indeed now attempts to make apparent; they are always shifting, and they are always splitting (Bhabha, 1994, p. 109). For those who are involved in the staging of cultural differentiation through tourism/travel promotion in general and through heritage projection in particular, one is reminded that "a white world" of rationality will generally lie between those presented on display and those who travel and gaze (p. 237). For those who project the cultural and environmental storylines of the present on which the industry feeds, one is reminded that in writing the brochure and in detailing the exhibit, one indeed writes the nation (p. 161, 239). For those who peddle heritage storylines about places and people on which the vast trade of tourism depends, one is reminded by Bhabha (in his sceptical and circumspect, poststructural sense of history) of the acute slenderness of any narrative of or from the past (p. 195). For those who work in tourism and travel about and across the globe, one is reminded that so many of the destinies of cultures have perhaps been largely prefigured "in the tryst of colonial history" (p. 231) where the imperial, auratic, nominalistic discourse of that storytelling amounts to the nature of warfare on and against the pasts and the inheritances of local/receiving/subjugated populations, but also in the post-colonial predicament of the present. And, for travellers themselves who seek to recreate themselves aborad, or to create invigorated others of themselves, far from home, one is continually reminded in all of Bhabha's critiques of post-colonial thought and action that the 'signs', the 'symbols', and the 'images' they will adopt or play with will always be imperfectly reliable and never completely or comfortably definable.

The demand in tourism studies—as is implicitly ignited by Bhabha's ongoing post-colonial intellectual project—is for researchers in and of tourism to find ways to probe the emergent identities and the accreative nationalities of hybridity and how to distill the ambivalences and ambiguities of the new in-between forms of culture, difference, and affiliation that are cultivated through the presentations and the performances of tourism. Such a broad, umbrella interrogation of hybridity conceivably consists of the following ten lead challenges:

* Challenge 1: The Social-Geography of Host Community Identities
The challenge to improve the capacity of tourism researchers to trace the traditional, the geographic, and the emergent parameters which circumscribe the cultural and subcultural identities of populations, and the capacity of tourism researchers to crystallise the contexts where 'tighter' and 'more localised' affinities of in-groups take over from the "broader" affinities of larger group affinities, and vice versa;

* Challenge 2: The Complexity of Relationships Between Host 'Post-colonial' Communities and 'Post-colonial' Masters
The challenge to improve the capacity of tourism researchers to examine representations of people, places, and pasts in tourism in order to clarify what those representations say about the desire of colonialised populations to recapture lost, pre-colonial traditions, and/or to sustain the kinds of mixed, emergent identities that arose under the post-colonial moment, and/or to otherwise forge new, emerging, cultural and "natural" spaces;

* Challenge 3: The Power of Dramatical Host Community 'Performance' in Tourism Projections

The challenge to improve the capacity of tourism researchers to monitor the dialectics of host population dramas, narratives, and representations in tourism to determine whether such performances within the presentations of the industry are staged as a form of viewable 'tourism realism" which is distinct (in matters of time, mood, association, et cetera) from the lived realities of other/everyday realms outside of tourism in that particular locality;

* Challenge 4: The Liberality and Power of Performance in Tourism Presentations

The challenge to improve the capacity of tourism researchers to filter the narratives articulated within post-colonial presentations in tourism settings to determine whether those very settings are indeed used as a secure platform to issue storylines/truths/propaganda which are difficult to promulgate anywhere else in that society;

* Challenge 5: The Reflexive of Encoding of Host-Visitor Presentations

The challenge to improve the capacity of tourism researchers to trace whether the truths or the emphases articulated in the narratives of post-colonial presentations in tourism are significantly altered or repositioned with regard to the known origin, history, or make-up of different arriving groups of tourist visitors;

* Challenge 6: The Reflexive Encoding of Host-Visitor Presentations

The challenge to improve the capacity of tourism researchers to trace whether a presented narrative within a given tourism drama is 'interpreted' or 'received' in a significantly unexpected/unpredicted/contested fashion by different visitor populations;

* Challenge 7: The Nature and Type of Sacralised Things

The challenge to improve the capacity of tourism researchers to examine whether (and which!) different 'objects'/'events'/'ideas' become sacralised over time in the particular society or territory—or are otherwise deemed to be 'authentic'—and thereby to critique how different competing interests in that given society have risen or fallen in their capacity to decree what is truthful, precious, or sacred about people, places, and pasts;

* Challenge 8: The Sustainability (and/Doctoring) of Colonialist Narratives

The challenge to improve the capacity of tourism researchers to trace the prevalence or the maintenance of so-called master colonial discourse within the articulations of emergent/emerging post-colonial storylines, and to ascertain whether those master truths have indeed been significantly retreated (or slightly realigned) to render them even more tenable locally, vis-a-vis a or the master discourse in currency elsewhere;

* Challenge 9: The Sustainability of Particular Held Narratives

The challenge to improve the capacity of tourism researchers to identify whether particular pre-colonial/colonial/other held worldviews (e.g., pre-colonial pastoral visions or colonialist/romanticist visions of Eden) continue to exist in a pure or a revitalised form within the tourism discourse of a so-called post-colonial population, and to otherwise crystallise whether those outlooks on reality have merged with different/alien/competing visions of the world;

* Challenge 10: The Appearance of New 'Essentialisms'

The challenge to improve the capacity of tourism researchers in or at a given post-colonial setting to trace whether any new essentialisms about the traditions of a given population have emerged or have been inventively hybridised within the imagined heritage of that supposedly post-colonial society.

It is from the informed scrutiny of such held truths and such exhibited storylines that the rise and fall of different privileged narratives can be ascertained. It is from the

intelligent monitoring of such subtle representations or otherwise of such loud representations of peoples, places, and pasts that the constructive power of tourism as a or even the leading performative force within the imagination of a society can be synthesised and calculated.

The 'new' internationalism that has been heralded by Bhabha's critical research agenda of the 1980s and 1990s therefore hovers over some very particular Selwynian (after Selwyn [1996] on the power of myth behind identity-making in tourism) and Dannian matters (after Dann [1996] on the sorts of dominance-loaded language and rhetoric that is used in tourism) concerning representation in tourism/travel, and also over some very larger Lanfantian issues (after Lanfant's (1995) study of the juxtaposition of the local with the global) across the whole of society. Yet, the height of significance about the work regime of Bhabha is that it is another postmodern work which attests—along Brunerian trajectories—to the protean nature of cultural possibility within societies: overall, perhaps the weight of Bhabha's (1994, p. 256) continuing critique of post-colonial thought adumbrates that it is, in fact, over-signification which persistently reduces the infinite variety of lifestyles and lifespaces, as it "transforms our sense of what it means to live [and] to be". Where emergent populations pay too much attention to the articulation of signatures of and about their felt societies, they can considerably artificialise life, and can leave so little time for 'real' life!

But if a cumulative assessment is required over Bhabha's ongoing examination of the exchange between eras, between genres, and between nationhoods, one could suggest that his sustained critique succeeds in helping subvert the claimed authenticity and the believed preciousness of things. It is an outlook which instructs tourism researchers and practitioners that there cannot indeed be any unique meaning to things, to events, to stories (p. 190), and it is one which helps undo "the sociological solidarity" (after Anderson (1988)) of states and spaces. Only slowly through the rare Michauds, the rare Bruners, and the rare Ankomahs of tourism studies is the field cottoning on to the interstitial character of so much that is cultural, and also to the dark and hidden nature of the oh-so-many Bhabhian third space habitats that speckle the globe.

In place of the as yet dominant and subjugating monadic certainties on culture-dom, Bhabha (building solidly on Said, subtly refining Fanon, retuning Jameson, and borrowing from the agitated disquiet of Spivak, amongst others) now offers hybridity for us in his sustained critique of race, ethnicity, and nationhood—that is, hybridity as an empowering notion, but one which elusively knows no fixed phenomenological point. Though such notions of ever-changing interstitial, third space cultures are seemingly extremely complex and rather confusing to behold—as is in evidence from the dialectics of Table 3—they are less likely (perhaps) to grow into master discourses about places and people, and thus they are not so likely (perhaps) to bloat up and out beyond meaningful relevance than our old notions of culture and community have done: yet, as reductionisms themselves, they will inevitably be seen by some observers in the social sciences to be fledgling, and dangerous metanarratives themselves.

That large worry aside, Bhabha offers for us worlds that are less 'false'—but they are realms of experience, affiliation, and being which will take great levels of discernment to know. And when found and identified they will each inevitably tend to be that little bit more ex-centric. It is certainly hard to escape the judgement—in the wake of Bhabha's 1980s and 1990s protracted examination of 'difference'—that the world's universities and vocational institutions must be encouraged to prepare cohorts of interpretive researchers or interpreting managers who are more richly multivalent in their powers of critique of matters of 'class', 'gender', 'race', 'nation', 'era', and now 'location' whether they seek to work in travel promotion, in heritage projection, in public culture, or wherever else in tourism and leisure.

The field of tourism and leisure studies needs enhanced levels of awareness about the difficult intersections of culture, being, and desire which the world's in-between peoples, places, and pasts awkwardly 'inhabit'. The schools of tuition in tourism and leisure studies must not just produce resource managers who are at ease martialing their concrete objects of culture, heritage, and nature, and dealing in holistic and highly-polarised notions of nationhood, ethnic longing, and racial identity. They must also produce critico-managers who are comfortable in teasing out ex-centric, peripheral, and ambiguous noumena. The field of tourism and leisure studies must have such personnel and insights to the fore, to be relevant to the continually dynamic and reforming social world which surrounds and runs through each location of culture, and across each tourist drawcard.

In endeavouring to understand Bhabha's dialectics on hybrid and interstitial cultures, the aggregate field of tourism and leisure studies can hopefully, eventually, and much more discernedly, trace the important and the emergent diasporas of and across the world-shrinking activities of tourism. But first the field needs a few more Fjellman-style transdisciplinary translators of and about Bhabha's probings into the post-colonial condition. Bhabha's thinking on ambivalence and hybridity must be built sensitively into the en-broadening conceptuality of tourism and leisure studies, and not be seen as to only disassociatively belong in some nether region of esoteric cultural thought. It is time for Bhabha's ideas to be connected to the world of tourism and be influentially located within the realm of tourism and leisure research.

Added material

Dr. Keith Hollinshead

The author can be contacted at: The Dept. of R.P.T.S. at Mail Stop 2261, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX 77843-2261. Tel: 409-845-5411 / 9392. E-mail: khollins@rpts.tamu.edu [KHOLLINS@RPTS.TAMU.EDU]. Fax: 409-845-0446.

REFERENCES

Allcock, J. B. (1988). Tourism as a sacred journey. Lorsir et Societé, 11:1, 33-48.

Anderson, B. (1983). Imagined communities. London: Verso.

Ankomah, P. (In prep.). Tourism, tyranny and cultural presentation: The pase of sub-saharan Africa. In K. Hollinshead & C. De Burlo (Eds.), Journey into otherness: The representation of difference and identity in tourism. New York: Cognizant Communications Corp.

Appadurai, A. (1986). Introduction: Commodities and the politics of value. In A. Appadurai (Ed.), The social life of things—commodities in cultural perspective (pp. 3-63). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and difference in global cultural economy. Public Culture, 2.2, 1-24.

Arendt, H. (1958). The human condition. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). The diologic imagination. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1986). Speech, genres, and other late essays. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Benjamin, W. (1970). Theses on the philosophy of history. In W. Benjamin (Ed.), Illuminations. London: Jonathan Cape.

Benjamin, W. (1973). Illuminations. Trans. H. Zohn. London: Fontana.

Bhabha, H. (1990). Nation and narration. London: Routledge.

Bhabha, H. (1994). The location of culture. London: Routledge.

Bowman, G. (1992). The politics of tour guilding: Israeli and Palestinian guides in Israel and the occupied territories. In D. Harrison (Ed.), Tourism and the less developed countries (pp. 121-134). London: Belhaven Press.

Bowman, G. (1996). Passion, power and politics in a Palestinian tourist market. In T. Selwyn (Ed.), The tourist image: Myths and myth making in tourism (pp. 33-48). Chichester, England: John Wiley.

Brown, D. (1996). Genuine fakes. In T. Selwyn (Ed.), The tourist image: Myths and myth making in tourism (pp. 33-48). Chichester, England. John Wiley.

Bruner, E. M. (1989). Cannibals, tourists and ethnographers. Cultural Anthropology 4(4).

Bruner, E. M. (1991). Tranformation of self in tourism. Annals of Tourism Research 18(2).

Bruner, E. M., & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994, May). Maasai on the lawn: Tourism realism in East Africa. Cultural Anthropologist, 9(2), 435-470.

Bruner, E. M. (1994 June). Abram Lincoln as authentic reproduction: a critique of postmodernism. American Anthropologist 96(2), 397-415.

Bruner, E. M. (1995). The ethnographer/tourist in Indonesia. In M-F. Lanfant, J. B. Allcock, & E. M. Bruner (Eds.), International Tourism: Identity and Change (pp. 224-241). London: Sage.

Bruner, E. M. (1996 June). Tourism in Ghana: the representation of slavery and the return of the black diaspara. American Anthropologist 98(2), 290-304.

Chippendale, C. (1990). Who owns Stonehenge? Batsford: London.

Clifford, J. (1986). On ethnographic allergy. In J. Clifford & G. E. Marcus (Eds.), Writing culture (pp. 98-121). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cohen, E. (1986). Lovelorn farangs: the correspondence between foreign men and Thai girls. Anthropological Quarterly, LIX(3), 115-27.

Cohen, E. (1988/A). Tradition of qualitative sociology of tourism. Annals of Tourism Research 15(1), 29-46.

Cohen, E. (1988/B). Authenticity and commonditization in tourism. Annals of Tourism Research 15(31), 371-386.

Crick, M. (1989). Representations of sun, sex, sights, savings, and servility: International tourism in the social sciences. Annual Review of Anthropology 11(1), 37-76.

Dann, G. (1989). The tourist as child: Some reflections. Cahiers du Tourisme. Série C. (135). Aixen-Provence: C.H.E.T.

Dann, G. (1996). The language of tourism: A sociolinguistic perspective. Wallingford, Oxford: CAB International.

Dann G. (1996). The people of the tourist brochures. In T. Selwyn (Ed.), Myths and mythmaking in tourism (pp. 61-82). Chichester: John Wiley.

Dann, G., & Potter, R. (1994). Tourism and modernity in a Caribbean setting. Cahiers du Tourisme. Série C. (185). Aix-en-Provence: C.H.E.T.

Dollimore, J. (1991). Sexual dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Dumont, J-P. (1977). Review of MacCannell 1976. Annals of Tourism Research, 4, 223-5.

Eagleton, T. (1994, Tuesday 8 February). Goodbye to the enlightenment: Review of Homi Bhabha's "The location of culture". The Guardian.

Edgell, D. L. Sr., & Smith, G. (1994). International tourism policy and management. In J. R. B. Ritchie & C. R. Goeldner (Eds). Travel, tourism, and hospitality research:

A handbook for managers and researchers (2nd ed., pp. 49-64). New York: John Wiley.

Edwards, E. (1996). Greetings from another world. In T. Selwyn (Ed.), The tourist image: Myths and mythmaking in tourism, (197-222). Chichester, England: John Wiley.

Fanon, F. (1986). Black skin, white masks. London: Pluto.

Fees, C. (1996). Tourism and the politics of authenticity in a North Cotswold town. In T. Selwyn (Ed.), The tourist image: Myths and mythmaking in tourism (pp. 121-146). Chickester, England: John Wiley.

Feifer, M. (1985). Going places. London: Macmillan.

Geertz, C. (1973). The interpretation of cultures. New York: Basic Books.

Gero, J., & Root, D. (1990). Public presentation and private centers; archaeology in the pages of the National Geographic. In P. Gathercole & D. Lowenthal (Eds.), The politics of the past. Proceedings of the World Archaeological Congress—Southampton, England. September 1986. London: Unwin-Hyman.

Golden, D. (1996). The museum of the Jewish Diaspora tells a story. In T. Selwyn (Ed.), The tourist image: Myths and mythmaking in tourism (pp. 223-250). Chichester, England: John Wiley.

Graburn, N. (1983). The anthropology of tourism. Annals of Tourism Research 10, 9-33.

Greenwood, D. (1989 [1977]). Culture by the pound: an anthropological perspective on tourism as cultural commodification. In V. Smith (Ed.), Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hall, C. M. (1994). Tourism and politics: policy, power, and place. Chichester, England: J. Wiley & Sons.

Hall, D. (1992). East European ports in a restructured Europe. In B. S. Hoyle & D. A. Pinder (Eds.), European port cities in transition (pp. 98-115). Belhaven: London.

Heidegger, M. (1971). Building, dwelling, thinking. In M. Heidegger (Ed.), Poetry, Language, Thought. New York: Harper and Row.

Hollinshead, K. (1994). The unconsious realm of tourism [a counterstatement on Foucault, in 'Rejoinders and commentary']. Annals of Tourism Research 21(2), 387-391.

Hollinshead, K. (1993/A). Encounters in tourism. In M. A. Khan, et al. (Eds.), VNR's encyclopedia of hospitality and tourism (pp. 636-651). New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Hollinshead, K. (1993/B). Ethnocentrism in tourism. In M. A. Khan, et al. (Eds.), VNR's encyclopedia of hospitality and tourism (pp. 652-661). New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Hollinshead, K. (1993/C). The truth about Texas: A naturalistic study of the construction of heritage. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Dept. of Recreation, Park and Tourism Sciences, Texas A&M University. College Station, Texas, USA.

Hollinshead, K. (1998). Disney and Commodity Aesthetics: A Critique of Fjellman's Analysis of 'Distory' and the 'Historicide' of the Past. Current Issues in Tourism. 1:1.

Hollinshead, K. (In prep.). Tourism and the restless peoples: A dialectical inspection of Bhabha's halfway populations. Paper submitted to Tourism, Culture and Communication. 1:1.

Hollinshead, K., & De Burlo, C. (In Prep.). Journeys into otherness: The representation of difference and identity in tourism. New York: Cognizant Communications Corp.

Horne, D. (1992). The intelligent tourist. McMahons Point, N.S.W., Australia: Margaret Gee Publishing.

Hughes, R. (1987). The fatal shore: A history of the transportation of convicts to Australia: 1787-1868. London: Collins Harvill.

James, H. (1975). The portrait of a lady. New York: Norton.

Kahn, J. S. (1995). Culture, multiculture, postculturel. London: Sage.

Kaplan, F. (Ed.). (1994). Museums and the making of ourselves: the role of objects in national identity. London: Pinter.

Keesing, R. (1989). Theories of culture revisited. Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C.

Kirsenblatt-Gimblett, B., & Bruner, E. M. (1989). Tourism. In International Encyclopedia of Communications, Vol. 4, pp. 249-253. New York: Oxford University Press.

Krippendorf, J. (1987). The holiday makers: Understanding the impact of leisure and travel. London: Heinemann.

Lanfant, M-F. (1995). Introduction. In M-F. Lanfant, J. B. Allcock, & E. M. Bruner (Eds.), International Tourism: Identity and Change (pp. 1-23). London: Sage.

Lanfant, M-F., Allcock, J. B., & Bruner, E. M. (Eds.). (1995). International tourism: Identity and change. London: Sage.

Lyotard, J-F. (1984). The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge. Trans. G. Bennington & B. Massumi. Manchester: Manchester University Press. First published: 1079.

MacCannell, D. (1976). The tourist: a new theory of the leisure class. New York: Schocken.

MacCannell, D. (1992). Empty meeting grounds. London: Routledge.

Marcus, G. E., & Fischer, M. J. (1986). Anthropology as cultural critique: An experimental moment in the human sciences. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Martinez, D. P. (1996). The tourist as deity: Ancient continuities in modern Japan. In T. Selwyn (Ed.), The tourist image: Myths and mythmaking in tourism. Chichester, England: John Wiley.

Merrifield, A. (1993) The struggle over place: Redeveloping American can in southeast Baltimore. Transactions Institute of British Geographers, NS 18(1), 102-121.

Michaud, J. (1995). Frontier minorities, tourism and the state in Indian Himalaya and northern Thailand. In M-F. Lanfant, J. B. Allcock, & E. M. Bruner (Eds.), International tourism: Identity and change (pp. 84-99).

Nash, D. (1978). Tourism as a form of imperialism. In V. L. Smith (Ed.), Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Papson, S. (1981). Spuriousness and tourism. Annals of Tourism Research, 8, 220-235.

Picard, M. (1995). Cultural heritage and tourist capital: Cultural tourism in Bali. In M. F. Lanfant, J. B. Allcock, & E. M. Bruner (Eds.), International tourism: Identity and change (pp. 44-46). London: Sage.

Puranik, A. (1994, February 11). Post-colonials from the edge: Review of Homi Bhabha's 'The location of culture'. The Times Higher Education Supplement, p. 7.

Richter, L. (1983). Tourism politics and political science: A case of not so benign neglect. Annals of Tourism Research 10(3), 335.

Ritzer, G. (1993). The McDonaldisation of society. Newbury Park, Ca.: Pine Forge.

Sahlins, M. (1976). Culture and practical research. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Said, E. W. (1976). Orientalism: Western representations of the Orient. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Sampson, E. E. (1993). Celebrating the other: A dialogic account of human nature. New York: Harvester.

Sangren, P. S. (1988). Rhetoric and authority of ethnography: 'Postmodernism' and the social reproduction of texts. Current Anthropology 29, 405-435.

Selwyn, T. (1996). The tourist image: Myths and mythmaking in tourism. Chichester, England: John Wiley.

Shweder, R. A., & LeVine, R. A. (1984). Culture theory. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Spivak, G. C. (1987). In other worlds. London: Methuen.

Stallybrass, P., & White, A. (1986). The politics and poetics of transgression. London: Methuen.

Tedlock, D., & Mannheim, B. (1995). The dialogic emergence of culture. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Tunbridge, J. E., & Ashworth, G. J. (1996). Dissonant heritage: The management of the past as a resource in conflict. Chichester, England: John Wiley.

Urry, J. (1969). The tourist gaze. London: Sage.

van Dijk, T. A. (1987). Communicating racism: Ethnic prejudice in thought and talk. Newbury Park, Ca.: Sage.

Wetherall, M., & Potter, J. (1992). Mapping the language of racism. New York: Harvester-Wheatsheaf.

Williams, B. (1985). Ethics and the limits of philosophy. London: Fontana.

Wolf, E. (1980, November 30). They divide and subdivide, and call it anthropology. The New York Times, Sec. 4:9.

Young, R. J. C. (1995). Colonial desire: Hybridity in theory, culture, and race. London: Routledge.

TABLE 1 BHABHA AND THE NEW IMAGINED GEOGRAPHICS OF IDENTITY AND DIFFERENCE: THE RELEVANCE OF THE NEW POLITICS OF LOCATION AND DIFFERENCE FOR TOURISM—THE INDUSTRY OF DIFFERENCE, PAR EXCELLENCE

KEY: A = The emergent recognitions about the new politics of location as deconstructed by Bhabha and like theorists on cultural production;

B = The potential high relevance of these new imagined geographies of difference, being, and belonging for tourism studies.

THE NEW CONFLICTUAL LOCATIONS OF CULTURE

A Bhabha recognises that under the enlightenment of modernity, the identifications of people around the world were heavily ethnocentric, colonialised, and gendered; in drawing attention to the degree to which such ethnocentric polarisations imprison people, Bhabha now celebrates whole new arenas of conflictural articulations of meaning and place where the individual (and his/her felt community) are contested categories;

B If tourism celebrates 'difference' and 'otherness', to what extent has the industry become highly relevant politically in the degree to which new populations or emergent peoples use it as a means of "credentializing opportunity" [1] to correctively project themselves?

THE EVERYDAY PRODUCTION OF PEOPLE AND PLACES

A In the contested debates over cultural identity, Bhabha recognises that representations of ethnic identity, racial difference and cultural belonging are not just received and derived 'archaeologically' from the past, but are also produced in the here and now, in "the terrifying simultaneity of today" [2];

B If tourism celebrates 'difference' and 'otherness', to what extent are its researchers trained to spot the way representations of peoples, places and pasts are harnessed in the everyday realities of political practice, and to what extent are practitioners in the industry aware of the guerilla wars of identification they may be indulging in?

THE EMERGENT, AND PARTIAL, IDENTITIES OF POPULATIONS

A At the contested locations of place and identity, Bhabha recognises that many of the emergent locations of meaning and belonging—particularly those within post-colonialist discourse—are only 'partial', and may be caught up with other seemingly incommensurable elements [3];

B If tourism celebrates 'difference' and 'otherness', are tourism studies investigators appropriately trained to trace the role tourism plays or serves in the creation of such partial or unfixed identifications, particularly by socially marginal populations who wish to newly articulate or empower themselves?

THE EMERGENT AND MULTIPLE IDENTITIES OF POPULATIONS

A At the contested locations of place and identity, Bhabha recognises that many of the emergent representations of race, gender, class, and generation—particularly those within post-colonialist discourse—help constitute double-identifications of being where an individual may claim to belong to competing or to seemingly incongruous affinities at the same time;

B If tourism celebrates 'difference' and 'otherness', are researchers in tourism studies investigators appropriately trained to deconstruct the assertive character of the unfixed, the resistant, and the multiple identifications which individuals may hold, especially those living in marginal or peripheral locations?

THE PARADOXES OF PLURAL CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION

A Bhabha recognises that many locations of culture—not just those in post-colonial settings—are becoming liminal zones of cultural identification where the population resident there in that 'space' respond to several different geographic articulations or cultural spatialities simultaneously, and may respond paradoxically (for instance) to felt colonialist and to felt post-colonialist realities at the same time and juncture;

B If tourism celebrates 'difference' and 'otherness', are researchers in tourism studies appropriately tooled to detect the privileges that received/established "geographical vocabularies" [4] evoke, or sufficiently skilled to be able to identify where the contemporary cultural theory ought to be supplemented by a new vocabulary on cultural production which is more richly and forcefully able to invoke the emergent and seemingly paradoxical spatialities of the contemporary world? [5]

THE NEW POLITICAL-GEOGRAPHY OF SPACE

A Under the new cultural politics of resistance and under the new politics of decentred discredited 'Enlightenment', Bhabha recognises that those who wish to coognitively map cultural identifications and local ties of belonging must revise their geographical conceptions to reflect 'the spatial' just as much as 'the temporal'—a point echoed by Urry: "it is space rather than time which is the distinctively significant dimensions [in the representations of] contemporary capitalism" [6]

B If tourism celebrates 'difference' and 'otherness', are investigators in tourism being prepared on a sufficiently decent and thorough transdisciplinary basis (where, for instance, 'familiar' geography will conceivably appear 'strange'(?) [7]) to be able to explore the identifications of space as a central element of cultural production and of socio-political identification?

THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF RESISTANCE

A Although many articulations of post-colonial identity are only seemingly or paradoxically incommensurable—according to Bhabha—the emergent discourse of post-colonial racialization, of post-colonial ethnicity, and of post-colonial cultural affinity frequently invoke or produce iconic identities which are irreconcilable, and which place the individuals (or rather the populations living at that locale) in difficult/fractured/uncertain situations;

B If tourism celebrates 'difference' and 'otherness', does the industry (or, will the industry ever(?)) admit the existence of a cultural politics of resistance whereby representations and interpretations of 'black politics'/'feminism'/'gay liberation'/'radical ethnicity' become a large or significant part of the site interpretation or the thematic projection invoked or indulged in by the industry?

THE NEW PERFORMATIVE POWER OF ENUNCIATION (DISCURSIVE REMEMBERING)

A The new socio-geographic analyses of cultural production—as typified by Bhabha's work upon the emergent/restless locations of culture—require new epistemological concepts with which iconic identities, halfway identities, and national identities can be examined, such as enunciation.

[Where the received/established theoretical epistemology of a cultural place was platformed upon quite stable referents which were fixed prior to performance, and which were monitored in terms of intention and function, the new replacement theoretical tool of enunciation is an emergent conceptual understanding used to describe those social processes of signification and of institutionalization where a new/half-light/restless population seeks repeatedly to inscribe/re-inscribe (or locate/relocate) itself through the revision and hybridization of received/established articulations of being; these new inscriptions and revised articulations of felt identity tend to be pungently iconic and highly performative, but they are often only transitional in time and effect (Hollinshead. In press)].

B If tourism celebrates 'difference' and 'otherness', are contemporary researchers in tourism studies appropriately schooled in the new radical socio-geographics of cultural survival to be able to deconstruct and/or interpret the discursive remembering [8] by which the world's suppressed or emergent populations project their felt histories, and by which they identify (and open up!) space and boundaries around themselves through the storylines of tourism?

THE GAINS AND LOSSES OF SYNCRETISM

A Under the recent work of Hannerz, (Stuart) Hall, Bhabha—and other researchers in the discursive field of globalized (?)/totalized (?) cultural production [9]—delineations of the hybridity and ambiguity of contemporary cultural politics not only empathetically herald the new emergent/post-colonial syncretisms which are happening in the new/real/cross-genre world out there, but are substantively disproclaiming the old racisms, the old ethnicities, and the old cultural hierarchies of the world of modernity/enlightenment;

B If tourism celebrates 'difference' and 'otherness', are tourism studies investigators decently schooled in understanding the hurt which new narratives of ethnicity or of cultural 'location' may cause in or through tourism as they transgress old unitary mobilizations of color/class/ethnic identity [10]?

THE UNPROBLEMATIC USE OF THE NEW VOCABULARIES OF IDENTIFICATION

A Under the new descriptions of hybridity and ambiguity advanced by (bell) hooks, Gilroy, Bhabha, and their like [11] many of the new subject positions of alterity and transitional identity are highly difficult locations to position, and a whole new vocabulary of specialist vocabulary is indeed required to cover the vocality, the viewing positions, the iconology, the gestural moments, the symbolic geographies, and the imagined communities of contemporary/cross-genre/post-colonial cultural production (Hollinshead 1998);

B If tourism celebrates 'difference' and 'otherness', are there sufficient numbers of researchers in tourism studies who are able to converse within or employ the new vocabulary/vocabularies of cultural theoretical thought on essentialism, on iconic identity

and on transitional being which will nowadays arise in and through tourism as its deployed narratives axiomatically challenge old injustices/received polarities, and as its deployed representations help forge whole new articulations of empowered difference and ennobled otherness? [12]

Citations within the table:

[1] Keith and Pile (1993: 223);

[2] Massey (1993: 158);

[3] Bhabha (1992: 60);

[4] Keith and Pile (1993: 223)

[5] Hollinshead (In Press)—especially for a glossary of new terms in the new emergent vocabulary of cultural production/iconic representation, such as agonistics, alterity, chronotype culture, displaced peoples, disseminated storylines, enunciation, fantasmatics, fractured locations, interstial spaces, non-sense/new sense, restless people, scopic drive, third space cultures, transgredients, voice, et cetera.

[6] Urry, cited in Massey (1993: 141);

[7] Wolff (1997:165);

[8] Bhabha (1992);

[9] Tagg (1997);

[10] Sivanandan (1990);

[11] Keith and Pile (1993:33 and 224);

[12] Hollinshead and De Burlo (In Prep.).

TABLE 2 THE EMERGENT AND AMBIVALENT LOCATIONS OF CULTURE: BHABHA'S IDEAS ON CULTURAL HYBRIDITY AND AMBIGUITY IN THE POST-COLONIAL MOMENT

Bhabha's elipsian explanation of the term 'cultural hybridity'

Cultural hybridity is:

* that liminal space or interstitial passage between fixed identifications which entertains 'difference' without an assumed or imposed hierarchy—an expanded or ex-centric site of experience and empowerment. (4)

* those productive Third Space articulations of cultural difference which reinscribe in-between spaces in international culture through cutting edge enunciations of translation and negotiation to thereby permit the people of those Third Spaces to elude the politics of polarity and emerge (i.e., to begin to re-envisage themselves) as the others of their selves. (38)

* that inherently inauthentic or impure site where new anti-essentialist signs of symbolic post-colonial consciousness are iteratively generated in opposition to the hierarchy and the ascendancy of powerful cultures. (58)

* those sites of emergent cultural knowledge which resist unitary and ethnocentric notions of diversity, and which reveal culture to be uncertain, ambivalent and transparent, and open to the future. (127)

* those transnational and transitional encounters and negotiations over differential meaning and value in 'colonial' contexts where new ambivalent and indeterminate locations of culture are generated, but where that new celebration of identity consists largely of problematic forms of signification which resist discursive closure. (173)

* that space in-between received rules of a priori cultural engagement where contesting and antagonistic forms of representation of culture stand on truths that are only ever partial, limited, and unstable. (193)

* those marginal places where cultural differences contingently and conflictually touch to yield borderline experiences resistant to [both] the binary oppositions of racial and cultural groups and to homogenized and polarised political consciousness. (207-9)

* that fantastic location of cultural difference where new expressive cultural identities continually open out performatively to realign the boundaries of class, of gender, and

of contingent upon the stubborn chunks of the incommensurable elements of past, totalized identity. (219)

* those locations of social utterance which undergo historically transformative moments through the enunciation of 'inappropriate' symbolism to permit in-between peoples to contest these modernist understandings of being and identity which have hitherto tended to deprive them of their own subjectivities. (242)

* that discourse of space which iteratively interrogates (i.e., resists) the Western sense of synchronous tradition, and which repels modernist and teleological consciousnesses of and about class, race and sexuality. (251)

* those transnational and transitional encounters and negotiations over differential meaning and value in 'colonial' contexts where new ambivalent and indeterminate locations of culture are generated, but where that new celebration of identity consists largely of problematic forms of signification which resist discursive closure. (173)

Key: Numbers in parentheses (italics) refer to pages in Bhabha (1994).

TABLE 3: POINTERS FOR TOURISM ON THE EMERGENCE OF INTERSTITIAL CULTURES: LESSONS FROM BHABHA'S INSPECTION OF THIRD SPACE, POST-COLONIAL POPULATIONS

* The Problematics of 'Culture', Itself
>>> cultural identity is rising in importance vis-a-vis other affiliations, but culture itself—in each instance, and at each locality—is untotalizeable;

* The Problematics of 'Natural Inheritance'
>>> all cultural groups tend to celebrate characteristics of and about themselves which they are inclined to assume are 'natural', but which are nowadays increasingly recognised (in the human sciences) as being 'social' markers by which each respective group sets itself apart from significant 'Others';

* The Problematics of 'Difference'
>>> tourism visitation is heavily driven by the desire of people to experience time-immemorial 'differences' between peoples, but it is itself a strong inventive and performative creator/co-creator of those believed longstanding differences;

* The Problematics of 'Racism' and 'Ethnocentrism'
>>> tourism thrives on the arrestive presentation of the culture, the ethnicity, and the race of Others, but these captivating interpretations of Other populations, as used in tourism, tend to be highly superficial, highly polarised, and rather unengaging;

* The Problematics of 'Ideological Action'
>>> the tourism industry promotes interest in the ways of life of distant and different peoples—often in the claimed cause of world peace and of global understanding—but the narratives of nature, culture, and geography which the tourism industry/travel trade tends to rely upon are frequently trapped within inherited ethnocentric-cum-racist accounts which inevitably continue to disenfranchise those 'highlighted'/'target' populations;

* The Problematics of 'the New Narratives' of Travel
>>> many players and agencies in tourism seek faithfully to help local/host/indigenous populations tell their own stories about their past and their traditions, but frequently the resultant new narratives are only poorly sanitised projections of culture and ethnicity which continue themselves (often in small but vital ways) to violate those peoples by curtailing their own right to change with the times and be contemporary.

Source: Adapted by Hollinshead's (In Press) synthesis and translation of Bhabha's (1994) dialectics on culture and identity-making.

WBN: