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1 Introduction
Rethinking tourism in Asia

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Introduction

It is not often that an academic book is inspired by a pair of Speedos. Here is one. As countless postcards, travel shows and holiday brochures tell us, our ideal beach is tropical, sandy and washed over by clear, warm, turquoise-colored waters. Indeed, the scene of 'paradise on earth' is deserted, apart from the romantic couple walking arm in arm towards the sunset or the beautiful bikini-clad woman lying on the water's edge soaking up the sun. Reclining alone, she seduces the viewer through passivity and possibility. She tells us the beach is a space of youthfulness, sexuality, independence, and time spent away from the chaos of everyday life. Crucial to this message is the all-over, carefully cultivated suntan. It is here we need to look closer, as it is in the suntan that we see the beach is not the space of brown skin, but the browning of skin, or, to be more exact, the browning of white skin. As a marker of sexuality, health and youthful vigor, the suntan is the desired coloring of pale, white skin. And so as the swimwear exposes this skin to the sun, it also reveals a series of broader, underlying values. Today's postcards, brochures, websites and television programs not only carefully define where in the world the ideal beach is to be found, but also who are its actors, or imagined consumers. Tracing the genealogy of these images, and the ideals they convey, quickly reveals their European and North American roots. At the beginning of the twentieth century, social commentators on both continents would express shock and contempt for an emerging trend of exposed, tanned bodies. In the wake of World War I, however, much had changed as seaside resorts in California and Southern Europe established themselves as extremely popular places dedicated to the pursuit of leisure and fun. Recent years have seen a number of books trace this evolution of the beach as a space of leisure and recreation (Lenček and Bosker 1998; Urbain 2003; Gray 2006). While their titles and introductions promise the definitive story, their accounts focus on beaches in California, the Mediterranean or the north of England. No mention is given to the cultural histories of beaches in Africa, the Middle East or Asia.

If we turn to Figure 1.1, we see an image of a sunbather that lies outside such historical accounts. Taken in Phuket in 2005, the photograph presents
the far more unusual image of a Japanese male lying by the sea; one that challenges the commonly held perception that the tourist is white and most likely living in a postindustrial, ‘Western’ country. By moving the point of focus away from the obligatory white Western female, our reclining Asian male asks us to shift our analytic attention accordingly. To date, the vast majority of studies conducted on tourism in Asia have considered encounters between local hosts and their white, Western guests. The above image demands we ask unfamiliar and important questions concerning the ongoing growth of tourism around the world today and the rapid socio-cultural changes now occurring within Asia. It also illustrates why students and scholars of tourism need to address the analytical imbalances that characterize tourism studies today by focusing on domestic and intra-regional tourists in non-Western contexts. In an Asian region that has placed far less value on the suntan historically, is the beach now being inscribed with new cultural values? Do we need to rethink who the subjects and objects of tourism are? Or how places will be constructed and represented for new forms of consumption in the future? Or indeed, the commonly held assumption that Japanese tourists prefer to travel in groups? In raising such questions and many others, our male sun-bather asks us to look more closely, scrutinize assumptions, create new modes of analysis and, where necessary, replace clichés with more rigorous, empirically sensitive accounts.

To this end we adopted the photograph as the poster for a conference on Asian tourism at the National University of Singapore in late 2006. The
response was interesting. It became a popular topic among student blogs, many of whom expressed their amazement that such 'a daring image' would be used for an academic conference. A number of posters were torn down. Some were taken as prizes to decorate the walls of student rooms. Others, we later learnt, were removed because the image was deemed too offensive. In one department, a smaller poster was carefully taped over the top, ensuring just the sunbather’s mid-rift was masked. Given that the posting of notices and adverts with sexual overtones are commonplace on the university campus, we were surprised by such responses. While a woman in a bikini would have raised few eyebrows, the image of a muscular Asian man posing in white swimming trunks clearly created a tangible and emotive response. For some, perhaps, the image was too homoerotic? Whereas, for others, maybe it merely delivered something unfamiliar in a familiar place, and offered messages that transgressed the conventional?

Away from the campus, Singapore’s department stores provide another unlikely source of inspiration for thinking about matters of 'skin tone' and 'good looks.' The range of creams, rubs and lotions on sale in their cosmetics sections indicate the presence of opposing attitudes toward skin color in Singapore today. Along one aisle, body lotions, face creams and masks all promise a 'whiter porcelain, clear complexion.' These products form part of a long-standing cosmetics industry that tailors to entrenched ideas of Asian beauty oriented around paler and lighter skin tones. More recently, however, creams and oils designed to enhance a suntan have become increasingly popular. The side-by-side display of products that promise to both lighten and darken skin offers us a glimpse into the shifting values and symbolic meanings ascribed to skin color in this Southeast Asian nation. In marked contrast to the preferences of their parents for staying out of the sun, many young Singaporeans purchase products that will help them attain the 'uniform glow of a perfectly suntanned body.' 'Working on the tan' is now integral to a day relaxing and partying at the beach. But this has not always been the case. The growing popularity of these new cultural practices can, in large part, be attributed to a convergence between increasingly influential Western conceptions of bronzed beauty and the development of certain beaches in Singapore as venues for water sports and night-time entertainment since the mid-1990s.

The growing popularity of sunbathing in Hong Kong and the fact that our subject in Figure 1.1 is a Japanese tourist on holiday in Thailand suggest such changes are not merely confined to the city state of Singapore. Read together, they indicate that in certain contexts in Asia, long-held ideas about darker skin are being superseded by new values and symbolic associations. But to what degree do these practices extend beyond the urban youth of certain countries? Across much of India today, for example, darker skin continues to be associated with unattractiveness, lower caste/class and lower prospects for marriage. It seems highly unlikely that the suntan will emerge as a marker of social and physical attractiveness across India in the foreseeable future.
Reflecting upon the seemingly simple issue of the suntan, its meanings and its histories provided the impetus for bringing together the diverse set of voices found in this book. As the project evolved, it quickly became apparent that a volume examining tourism in Asia by Asian tourists is framed by three key concerns. First, as we move into the twenty-first century, Asia is witnessing a rapid growth in domestic and intra-regional leisure travel. In some countries, the scale of tourism development can be best described as staggering or unprecedented, and with 40 percent of the world’s population living in the region, there is little doubt that this growth in travel will be a long-term trend. The impact it will have on Asia’s societies needs to be understood. Second, while much has been written about the rise of Asia, so far, very little attention has been given to the role played by intra-regional and domestic tourism; and how such mobilities create new forms of citizenship, transform local environments and foster unforeseen political tensions. Accordingly, this book sets out to foreground Asian tourism in the bigger picture of a rapidly changing region. Third, reviewing studies of the beach and sunbathing tells us much about the geographic and cultural biases that define tourism studies as a field of scholarship. To date, the vast majority of studies published in English have focused on East/West, North/South encounters between Western guests and their host destinations. Far less attention has been paid to the socio-cultural impacts of intra-regional and domestic movements in non-Western contexts like Asia, Africa or the Middle East. The ongoing growth in leisure-related travel across Asia demands a reappraisal of how tourism is analyzed and conceptualized. In response, our aim here is to offer some modest, but hopefully valuable, insights into the social, cultural and political implications stemming from Asia’s transformation from mere host destination into a region of mobile consumers.

Challenging conventions: universalism, cultural relativism and historical voids

The geographic and cultural biases that characterize the field of tourism studies extend far beyond accounts of the beach. Obviously detailing the evolution of modern global tourism or reviewing the literature that has studied it is beyond the scope of this chapter. It is, however, helpful to highlight some of the key factors that have contributed to shaping scholarship, and that are pertinent to the themes of this book. In the first instance, various concepts cultivated in the fields of sociology, geography, management or marketing have often been uncritically applied to a host of tourism contexts. Even in less positivist social science and humanities-based approaches, ideas like authenticity, development, heritage and ‘the tourist gaze’ emerged in ways that suggested they are universally applicable. Perhaps most crucially here, with the universalisms promised by structuralism and a Foucauldian post-structuralism underpinning MacCannell’s (1976) alienated authentic-seeking subject and Urry’s (1990) tourist gaze respectively, the idea of the tourist
solidified as an all-encompassing, analytical monolith. More recently this notion of a singular subject has somewhat shifted to a more plural language of subjectivities via analytical frameworks oriented around ideas of performance (Edensor 1998), embodiment (Yalouri 2001; Sheller 2003) or consumption as practice (Crouch 1999). Nonetheless, these debates invariably continue to rely upon European and North American citizens as their empirical starting point. Indeed, as already noted, the vast majority of studies have looked at 'Western' forms of tourism and their impact on communities, places and environments. This does not, however, mean that 'non-Western' forms of tourism have been ignored entirely. As we shall see over the course of this volume, contributions from Graburn (1995a), Oakes (1998), Tan et al. (2001), Winter (2004), Nyiri (2006) and Notar (2007) are among the various studies conducted on domestic and intra-regional tourism in Asia. But despite these works, scholarship on tourism generally continues to be dominated by certain analytical and conceptual ideas that have been conceived in the historical, cultural and social changes of Europe and North America. In the case of the social sciences and humanities, examples here might include modernity, post-modernity, performed identity, or the cultural economies of leisure consumption. And in the context of management and business studies, countless studies have been driven by destination life cycle theories, consumer profiling models or ‘case studies.’ Hanging their theoretical import on the hooks of replication and predictability, such approaches have commonly provided the basis for misguided claims of universality.

Moreover, and as Winter (2007a) has documented elsewhere, within a field that has prioritized ideas of a global tourism industry impacting upon a local environment, less attention has been given to regional, cultural and geographic differences and parallels. Given that the paradigm of tourism has in large part been constructed around an analysis of West-to-East, North-to-South encounters, rooted in ideas of globalization as a process of Westernization, our tourist has been silently conceived as white (and male). Like most fields of scholarship, the global lingua franca is English. The key journals in the field like Annals of Tourism Research, Tourism Management, Tourism Geographies, Tourist Studies and Tourism Economics are run from institutes in Europe or the USA. The Hong Kong-based Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research and India-based Tourism Recreation Research represent notable exceptions here. But while a number of major universities across Asia increasingly are turning their attention to tourism, we have yet to see a consolidation of scholarship that speaks back to, or transcends, the dominant discourses cultivated in academic departments located in post-industrial, ‘Western’ societies of the global north.

This book sets out with the ambitious task of countering these historical biases, and it does so by examining the ongoing rise of Asian tourism. It certainly does not proclaim a revolution by naively dispensing with the corpus of work built up over the past three to four decades. Indeed, many of the authors that follow draw upon this knowledge to frame their accounts,
continually adopting and refuting, endorsing and challenging. In selecting
the contributors for this volume we have endeavored to create a plurality
of complementary voices. The analytical boundaries of the book have been
established in part, by us as editors, and in part by factors beyond our
control. Given the enormity of the topic and the multitude of issues arising
from the rapid growth in Asian tourism at the beginning of the twenty-first
century, we have upheld certain boundaries for the sake of analytical rigor
and coherence.

First, the book focuses on Asian tourists in Asia. It does not examine how
Asian tourists are transforming other parts of the world. And with the excep­
tion of one chapter that offers a comparative study, the book does also not
examine tourism in Asia by diasporas living outside the region. Second, the
book pursues an interpretative approach. Largely working within the social
sciences and humanities, our contributors go beyond growth statistics to offer
valuable analytical depth and insight. In order to provide a comprehensive
overview of the region, we have endeavored to include pieces on as many
countries as possible. With such aims, less attention is given to discussions
of topics like marketing, facility management or future trend analysis. Rather,
the chapters that follow set out to situate tourism within its wider
social, political and cultural contexts, addressing an array of topics, includ­
ing aesthetics, postcolonialism, heritage, healthcare, and nation-building. In
bringing them together in one volume, our intention is to open up new direc­
tions of analysis, challenge a variety of underlying assumptions and stimu­
late further research.

To talk of Asia begs the question of scale. Michael Hall helps set the scene
for such ideas in Part I by questioning what is meant by ‘Asia’ in geographical
terms. First, by tracing the historical origins of the term, he demonstrates the
different ways in which the region is constructed and represented by organ­
izations such as APEC, ASEAN, UNWTO and PATA. Where do Australia
and New Zealand fit in? What regulatory boundaries do airlines use? And
why Western Asia is only institutionally weakly linked to the rest of the region
are among the questions he addresses. While many of the chapters that follow
focus on the nation-state, city or rural village to sustain their arguments,
the notion of an ‘Asian region’ is a theme that re-occurs throughout the book.
Given that authors are working across very different scales, the question of
extrapolation, and the role of qualitative research for understanding broader
trends or patterns, is an important, if not elusive, issue. Throughout the 1970s
and 1980s, accounts of tourist typologies were common. As the field evolved,
however, such approaches were increasingly regarded as static and empiric­
ally untenable. To pursue the ‘Asian tourist’ as a conceptual category today
would be a return to an analytical stasis and intransigence. On the flip side,
however, to merely continue using the term ‘the tourist’ in a universalist,
non-critical way would be equally reductive and simplistic, and would pre­
sent an artificial barrier to important and interesting lines of enquiry. The
question remains, then, what is a reliable framework for making assertions
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about motivations, desires or discernible characteristics? Should it be ethnocultural, geographic or national? Can we speak of Chinese or Thai tourists, for example? Clearly, the boundaries between recognizing 'traits' or 'characteristics,' and reductive typologies are thin and often unclear. A number of the chapters that follow accept such risks in order to ask difficult, but important questions, and cast light on issues that have yet to receive the attention they deserve.

Accordingly, in an attempt to address some of the Western-centric biases that have shaped tourism to date, a number of contributors grapple with the tensions between universalism and cultural relativism. Tim Winter considers such issues in the context of the Cambodian souvenir industry in Chapter 4. To date, the study of souvenirs, as forms of material culture, has been oriented towards the traditional, locally made, and the hand crafted. Debates over the loss of authenticity and cultural commodification rest upon the idea that the tourist dollar is the incoming force of globalization, which both transforms and distorts. Within such critiques little attention has been given to the tastes and buying preferences of visitors from different parts of the world: the tourist is once again implicitly seen as Western. Winter suggests that the sale of souvenirs at Angkor to tourists from Northeast Asia requires us to move beyond analyses of the local/global, domestic/imported, authentic/inauthentic. To understand why glass replicas of Angkor Wat lit up by red and green neon diodes or metal ashtrays in the shape of temple carvings are so popular, he claims we need to shift the lens to mass manufacturing or the culturally relative nature of what is deemed 'kitsch.' That many of the replicas and other items such as scarves and key chains are manufactured in China and look suspiciously similar to products sold in souvenir shops in other parts of Asia suggests that we must revisit how we construct knowledge about the circulation of material culture in tourism. As Winter points out, citing Gell, it is not a 'study of the aesthetic principles of this or that culture, but of the mobilization of aesthetics principles... in the course of social interaction' (1998: 4). With rapid economic growth in the region and the global expansion of consumerism encouraging more spending, discourses on consumption may need to take into account conceptual differences, and similarities, in the concerns about the phenomenon.

Chan Yuk Wah's account in Chapter 5 of Chinese tourists in Southeast Asia follows a similar line of argument. For Chan, the well-trodden path of the alienated post-industrial subject seeking 'authenticity' in the pre-modern other offers little insight for understanding the motivations of Chinese overseas tourists today. Employing the concept of 'disorganized tourism space,' she documents the touristic quest for modernity as an 'aspiring' journey. Amidst the backdrop of restricted movement in the 1970s, the newly gained mobility through international tourism represents a shake-off of tradition, poverty and political control. To travel is to possess an 'upward-looking mentality,' and the more one visits modern sites, the greater is one's cultural capital as a world citizen. However, Chan argues that the emerging tourism geography
of the Chinese is a disorganized one in which negative stereotypes and tense host-guest relations dominate. Unlike mass Western tourists who are often regarded as culturally and economically superior, the Chinese are stereotyped as country bumpkins lacking international exposure and awareness. In Hong Kong, Singapore and Vietnam, Chan shows that Chinese tourists leave in their wake unpleasant memories, images and impacts. However, these impacts vary widely, reflecting the differentiated power relations between tourists and locals in different locales and the ever-morphing identity of the Chinese as they acquire travel experience.

For Peggy Teo in Chapter 3, such discussions need to be situated within the broader context of tourism 'truths.' Using Tribe’s (2006) dissection of the 'truth about tourism' as her point of departure, Teo argues that Asia has yet to find its place in the knowledge order of the field. Various data charts detailing the scale of tourism growth across the region are cited to illustrate why this needs to be urgently addressed. She suggests that a middle path needs to be followed, one that reinterprets current Western-centric theoretical constructs for different Asian contexts. Accordingly, neoliberalism and postcolonialism are among the analytical ‘force-fields’ offered for interpreting today’s Asian tourism. But as she points out, one knowledge order should not be prioritized over another. Although mapping trends in infrastructure development or the economic growth coming from the travel industry are important, these knowledge orders need to be balanced by accounts that critically address the societal changes that inevitably follow. For Teo, the pursuit of such goals will help us better reflect upon how knowledge in tourism is formulated.

It thus becomes apparent then, that when read alongside each other, the chapters in Part I suggest that some of field’s defining analytical foundations and their claims of universality, need to be critically challenged. In harmony, they call for Asia to become the context from which theory emerges. Equally, however, a number of subsequent chapters illustrate how theories and conceptual frameworks conceived in non-Asian contexts offer illumination, clarity and rigor. By coming to different conclusions regarding the validity and applicability of existing debates within the literature, the volume avoids falling in to the trap of essentializing Asia as somewhere or something that is fundamentally 'different.'

For researchers of Asian tourism, the challenge of scale and its representation are compounded by large voids in the historical record. It was noted earlier that in the case of Europe and North America, extensive studies have shown how the beach evolved as a space of leisure and recreation. Through the work of Walton (1983), Lenček and Bosker (1998) and Gray (2006), we now have a detailed picture of ‘seaside’ architecture, gender and fashion, and how working-class mass-tourism holidays, the European grand tour and holiday camps all emerged. And yet in the case of Asia, very little has been published concerning the cultural history of the sea and its frontiers as a site of leisure. The same can also be said for many other aspects of tourism in
Asia. There are far fewer historical studies available within which scholars examining today's developments can situate their work. More specifically, the picture across the region is very uneven. In their chapters here, Graburn and Nyiri benefit from a number of earlier studies on domestic tourism in Japan and China respectively. However, for those working on Myanmar, Cambodia or Sri Lanka, to cite a few examples, finding studies that trace a history of domestic tourism poses significantly more challenges. Equally, at the conceptual level, while the social, cultural, geographic and economic histories of traveling concepts ranging from the package tour through to the grand tour have received much attention elsewhere, there are few parallels that can be cited for theoretically framing the historical growth of tourism in Asia.

Clearly, then, this lack of historical context presents scholars and students of Asian tourism with a number of analytical challenges. As a further example, although the scale of tourism in Asia today is clearly unprecedented, the degree to which increasing numbers are delivering social and cultural changes deemed to be qualitatively different or new remains unclear. Do today's patterns of consumption represent a break with tradition? Or is today's travel merely a continuation of previous forms of mobility? The difficulties of historically situating recent events also present a major challenge for those attempting to identify underlying trends. History cannot be offered as a guide to the future. Finally, the jury also remains out as to whether tourism across Asia is creating a series of distinct, even unique, cultural forms as it grows, or whether the region is merely following the same growth curves, or cycles, as those experienced in other parts of the world. Teo, in Chapter 3, for example, suggests the evolution of mass tourism to specialist tourism and from tour groups to independent travelers in Asia is qualitatively different to the pathways followed in Europe or the USA (see also Nyíri 2006). Equally, however, she recognizes that the geographical expansion of Asia's markets — from domestic to regional to long-haul — reflects a globally familiar pattern.

**Emerging markets, (re)scripting places**

Across Asia, entrepreneurs, governments, real estate developers, hoteliers, tour operators and airlines are all (re)orienting their products towards the Asian leisure consumer. As the statistics presented throughout the volume vividly illustrate, increasing levels of disposable income across the region mean that new markets for both domestic and intra-regional travel are being created all the time. Like their Western counterparts, the upper and upper-middle classes are willing to venture both near and far to garner their own cultural capital. In Part II of the book, the ongoing rise of medical tourism is a case in point that illustrates the considerable media attention given to new markets. Two chapters in this volume examine this phenomenon. In Chapter 10, Denise Spitzer addresses alternative medicine. This form of medical travel seems to encompass people going back to their roots and not merely a matter of cheaper costs. Banking on the popularity of Ayurvedic
Medicine in the recent past, Kerala deploys this method of developing wellness as an identity marker of the Indian nation-state to lure diasporic Indians within Asia (and outside of Asia) as well as North Indians to its many resorts and clinics. Whether it is for rejuvenation or the treatment of serious ailments, Spitzer shows that Ayurvedic Medicine is iconic for Kerala and indicative of a new trend of holistic wellness that has wide appeal.

In the other chapter examining medical tourism, Chapter 7, Audrey Bochaton and Bertrand Lefebvre illustrate how a recent expansion in the Asian market is significantly transforming the medical profession in Thailand and India. They posit that medical tourism has blossomed in Asia because the hospitals were able to provide a haven for ill British, American and other European subjects whose own societies face a crisis of rising healthcare costs. The market has, however, been increasingly replaced by Asian medical tourists who desire the same ‘unique experience,’ the exclusivity, the individualized attention and the quality care that Indian and Thai hospitals can provide. More like five-star hotels and resorts than hospitals, medical tourism in these countries is indicative of the changing consumption patterns of tourism within Asia.

As part of their account, Bochaton and Lefebvre ask whether the exotic Bumrungrad Hospital in Bangkok can be duplicated in Dubai. After all, the interior designs of hospitals look more like resorts than the antiseptic and functional surroundings expected in any normal hospital. The question of how Asian tourism is altering the aesthetics of design, taste and style is a theme that a number of our authors reflect upon in Part II of this book. The recent emergence of boutique hotels in Singapore provides a rich case in point. Peggy Teo and T.C. Chang demonstrate in Chapter 6 how a number of buildings dating back to the colonial period have been reinscribed with new meanings in a market place driven by hybridity, eclecticism and nostalgia. Far from arbitrary, this stylistic interweaving successfully connects with the aesthetic sensibilities of both local and overseas Singaporeans wanting to combine the comforts of a modern inn with the textualities of a rapidly fading past. For Teo and Chang, an analysis of these historic boutique hotels through a postcolonial lens that prioritizes domestic consumption offers an important counter to the current epistemological biases of existing tourism theory.

The appeal of similar values or cultural traits, derived from a shared ‘Asian-ness,’ is also fostering a great deal of intra-regional travel and regional co-operation. The government of India, for example, is now using such ideas to help foster heritage tourism industries that extend far beyond its national boundaries. The idea that the Indic civilization is a cultural legacy that endures across large parts of Southeast Asia is also proving a valuable marketing tool for tour operators and travel agents catering to a rapidly growing Indian middle class. K. Thirumaran examines this phenomenon in the context of Bali in Chapter 9. Frequently held up as the iconic island paradise, Bali has been the subject of much academic attention. In his book, *Bali: A Paradise*
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Vickers (1996) argues that a history of Dutch colonialism and modern tourism development have foregrounded representations of the island as the quintessential exotic 'other,' a place imbued with female sexuality, color and primitive culture. Crucially, however, such arguments are made from the perspective of a Western gaze. Thirumaran shifts the analysis to Indian tourists. To interpret both their motivations and encounters with local residents, he develops the concept of cultural affinity tourism. Traditional dance performances of Indian influence provide the context. Innovative in its approach, the account offered by Thirumaran reveals interesting host–guest cultural dynamics that have hitherto been unseen in studies of Balinese tourism.

As a parallel, Chapter 8 by Youngmin Choe examines the phenomenon of hallyu-induced tourism in Korea as a contributor to regional political cooperation and friendships (hallyu refers to the Korean wave of popular culture). She uses the idea of 'affect' to understand the subtle intersections between what happens on screen and at tourist sites. Unlike feeling and emotion, Choe shows how the unformed and unstructured 'affect' that film sites are able to evoke among tourists helps to overcome political hostilities which once riddled Korean–Japan and Korean–Chinese relations. At these film-induced sites, nuanced body movements and expressions embodied by the actors are understood by Asians because they share the same values and are thus able to 'interpret,' 'experience' and appreciate the melodramatic film-induced sites as well as their Korean counterparts. Hence, the film locations in Korea are being reinscribed as depoliticized affective spaces for domestic Korean tourists, Japanese, Singaporean and Hong Kong tourists alike.

The re-scripting of places will depend a great deal on the driving forces behind the demand. Since the state and private enterprise are among the key innovators here as they attempt to capture more of the tourist dollar, there is little doubt many of Asia's touristic landscapes will witness major change over the coming decades.

National imaginings and tourism development

When attempting to understand the societal implications of rapid tourism growth, we soon come to the inevitable question of its relationship to nation-building and the role the industry plays in a country's socioeconomic development. Since the 1970s, the role of 'international' tourism in such processes in the developing world has received considerable attention (De Kadt 1979; Harrison 1992; Wood 1993; Dahles 2001). In contrast, far fewer scholars have examined how domestic tourism in countries outside Europe and North America impacts upon wider economic and political events and processes. A number of authors here take up this imbalance and they are featured in Part III of the book.

In the case of China, it is evident in the studies by Pál Nyiri in Chapter 11 and Jenny Chio in Chapter 15 that the speed and sheer scale of domestic tourism have enabled it to become a potent force for both unification and
alienation, development and inequality. At the political level, the development of tourist sites for domestic consumption is following a formulaic recipe that renders greater legitimacy to the state and its ideological goals. Nyiri refers to it as the ‘socialist spiritual civilization’ wherein the state’s support of tourism development aims to improve the ‘quality (suzhi) of the people.’ Whether the attractions are eco-attractions, heritage sites or theme parks, both the tourists and the ‘tourees’ (people who live and work in the attraction site) are indoctrinated with the message that modernization is progress and this is done in the name of all Chinese who will benefit equally from the project of development. Even for the tourists, they come ‘expecting’ signs of modernization – tall buildings, clean environments and paved streets rather than any sense of past authenticity. For Nyiri, then, tourism, as modernization, is an important tool in the state’s attempts to create a new national citizenry. The question remains, however, whether this vision can be sustained as more and more Chinese travel abroad and incorporate the Internet into their travel practices.

To complement Nyiri’s panoramic analysis, Chio pulls us into the village to tell us about the contradictions and tensions inherent to the development process. She examines the village of Ping’an which is undergoing rapid change but also currently experiencing emotional and psychological distancing as villagers compete with each other for a slice of the tourism pie. Her household surveys indicate that unequal wealth distribution has fomented tensions between families who have benefited unequally through tourism. Intra-village rivalry is compounded by inter-village rivalry as different rural sites compete to attract visitors and development funds. A sense of community has thus been replaced by a feeling of self-centeredness. As one villager told her: ‘Some have gotten rich [because of tourism] . . . and there’s a bit of selfishness; it’s very difficult to manage this – everyone thinks about themselves, and no one thinks about everyone.’ While such inequalities are a familiar story, Chio interestingly situates them within a wider national context characterized by a series of cultural, economic and geographic convergences. She argues that as rural development takes place, the concepts of ‘distance’ and ‘mobility’ take on new significance. With improved roads and the opening of domestic airports, people in China are moving closer to one another as travel time between places are shortened. However, as her village interviews reveal, uneven development caused by different rates of change has also produced new forms of distancing in terms of socioeconomic and cultural disparities.

Seen together, these chapters, along with the pieces by Shepherd and Lim to be outlined shortly, vividly illustrate how domestic tourists in China have quickly become a powerful force for transformation. But as Jamie Gillen and Maribeth Erb show us, it is not only China that is experiencing such changes. In studying Indonesia, in Chapter 12, Erb demonstrates how a growth in domestic tourism has created an opportunity for planners to manage communities according to certain cultural and political ideals. The staging
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of cultural festivals in Manggarai province are cited as events that delineate ethnic differences and encourage ways of thinking and 'doing' culture. Distinctive aspects of life – from farming, marriage to other rites and rituals – are laid out as tourist sights and activities, allowing visitors and locals to actively participate in cultural practices. By so doing, tourists and locals internalize what it means to be Indonesian. Parks and beaches, musical concerts and picnic sites are also developed not just as attractions but as means to upgrade local quality of life. If travel and enjoying leisure are marks of civility, promoting domestic tourism and local sites of pleasure are seen as important stepping stones to the socio-cultural advancement of rural inhabitants. Domestic tourism thus constitutes an important process in the 'ordering' and 'civilizing' of the masses. Erb's account is not only of cultural and political value, but economic too. She argues that by focusing primarily on international tourism, the state has failed to fully appreciate the significance of its domestic tourist market. Erb thus rightfully calls for a 're-ordering' of how tourism is understood and prioritized in Indonesia, where domestic (and not just international) tourism has become large and important enough to generate positive economic benefits to local communities.

The marginalization of domestic tourists in Vietnam offers an interesting parallel. Accordingly, Chapter 14 by Gillen takes an unusual look at the travel agency industry of Ho Chi Minh City. He explores how such businesses segment their markets, not in the familiar language of cultural, eco- or special interest tourists, but via a reading of their clients' everyday spending and behavioral habits. Gillen demonstrates how this form of differentiation has emerged largely because Vietnamese domestic tourists disturb and unsettle the assumptions held by travel agents as to what a tourist should be, and how he or she should behave. They drink too much alcohol, behave in an unruly manner and do not partake in the practice of tipping guides and drivers. As Gillen puts it: 'They are not replaying the culturally specific performances that their non-Vietnamese tourist counterparts do.' He thus suggests that such clients run contrary to tourism industry stereotypes of who are its 'insiders' and 'outsiders.' Firm ideas of foreign tourists, as outsiders, have underpinned the growth of the tourism industry since the advent of doi moi. The stability of these categories, however, is now under threat; a change, Gillen argues, holds important consequences for the social fabric of Vietnamese identity.

Implicit in all these accounts is an understanding that tourism is an artful practice, one that needs to be learnt (Crouch 1999). Whether it's the everyday conventions of tipping in Vietnam or broader ideas of socio-cultural advancement in Indonesia, it is apparent that the knowledge and skills needed to be a tourist do not merely apply to those crossing borders and entering 'foreign' environments. Even for those traveling within their own country, leisure consumption involves the transmission and acquisition of 'cultural capital,' to use Bourdieu's term.

In Nelson Graburn's account in Chapter 13 of domestic tourists in Japan, we see the acquisition of cultural capital divided into stages. What emerges
is a fascinating evolutionary picture, whereby domestic tourism becomes a context within which citizens are prepared for traveling beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. In what he describes as the 'internationalization of domestic tourism,' Graburn observes the steady and more recent emergence of 'sites of foreignness' as attractions for Japanese tourists. These include the furusato (rural villages and small towns, considered alien in an age of urbanization), foreign community enclaves (such as Chinatowns and other immigrant neighborhoods), and gaikoku mura (themed foreign villages such as German Town or Holland Village). The consumption of foreign landscapes, he argues, allows locals to experiment, play and learn about foreignness from the safety of a home environment. The appreciation of foreign goods, products and lifestyles also serves as a status marker, denoting the tourist as a cosmopolitan being. Graburn documents how sites of foreignness are consumed in different ways by different visitors: as social spaces by families, an opportunity to 'go overseas' by others, and a chance to learn about foreign cultures by yet others. This interest is interpreted as a way of becoming the ideal Japanese – open-minded, cosmopolitan, and appreciative of diverse cultures. Ideologically, it is also a form of cultural consumption that prepares the Japanese for their roles as world citizens, ever ready to embrace difference and diversity. In a globalizing age, being cosmopolitan is considered an essential in economic competition and survival.

The politics of revis(it)ing heritage

The ties between tourism and the politics of nation-building are mobilized nowhere more so than in the context of cultural heritage. As the examples of Angkor, Sukothai, and Borobodur all illustrate, architectural and archaeological remnants of the past not only provide the historical legitimacy for emboldening the actions of today's governments, but also frequently occupy the center-stage in the theater of performed nations. Invariably, this seemingly benign use of culture and tradition conceals more disturbing, pernicious processes. As previously, while the broader implications arising from the use and abuse of culture for the international tourist dollar has garnered a considerable amount of critical attention in recent years, significantly less has been written about how domestic tourists contribute to such processes. We examine these issues in Part IV.

Accordingly, in Chapter 17, Olivier Evrard and Prasit Leepreecha consider the ways in which domestic tourism in Thailand has formed part of a long-standing political process aimed at incorporating the country's northern regions into a political and cultural mainstream. Since the 1960s, northern tribes such as the Hmong have constituted a source of political unease for the government, for fears of their co-option by communist and insurgent forces. Rather than leave them on the political margins, tribal groups have been subsumed within nationalist programs as a way of lessening their strangeness and securing their faithfulness to the state. The Royal Project in 1969
to promote commercial agriculture and crop substitution in the north, as well as the establishment of a souvenir store in Doi Pui village (a Hmong stronghold) in 1971 by no less than the Thai King, marked the government's direct hand in developing the north. Tourism initiatives have included the development of villages as tourist sites and incorporation of tribe members into leisure activities. Sympathetic media and non-government organizations have also worked hard to mitigate the image of a 'wild and frightening other,' promoting the north instead as an exotic yet familiar site of pleasure. However, as Evrard and Prasit argue, the zeal to touristify rural sites has also led to cultural commodification and simplification. Traditional Hmong rituals are transformed to impart a less threatening image to visitors, draining them of their meaning and significance. The practice of ntoo xeeb, for example, is marketed as the equivalent of an urban Thai ritual involving the ordination of trees called buat pha. The two rituals are completely different. Such a process of cultural conflation underlines a broader ideology of subverting difference and domesticating the 'alien,' of which tourism is an abettor. By making the other 'identifiable' and 'enjoyable,' tourists are beguiled and troublesome marginal groups are co-opted and aligned with national agendas.

In Chapter 18, Robert Shepherd pursues similar themes in Tibet. His account opens with an explanation of how, in the eyes of the West, the region and its people became the quintessential culture of mysticism and spirituality. Decades of films, novels and images have seduced Western tourists to this 'exotic, remote and untouched' part of the world. Turning to representations of Tibet within Chinese domestic tourism, Shepherd suggests these same narrative framings prevail. The exoticization of Tibetan culture within China serves to aestheticize and thus, by implication, depoliticize. Shepherd situates such processes within a cultural-political framework to argue that discourses of heritage protection and tourism promotion are part of a broader effort by Beijing to undercut Tibetan claims of cultural and historical importance. Complicit here is UNESCO, whose policies to protect Potala Palace talk of the artistic, engineering and architectural achievements of ‘Tibetan, Han, Mongol, Man, and other nationalities.’ Valued as a site of significance to the peoples of China, their account erases the site’s value as a marker of Tibetan national identity. Moreover, UNESCO's desire to protect Tibetan culture from the destructive forces of modernization, including tourism development, reinforces the image of the region as primitive, pre-modern and mysterious. Drawing on interviews with Chinese tourists and backpackers, Shepherd suggests this retention of 'Shangri-la narratives' frames the historical differences and divides between Tibet and the rest of China as cultural, rather than political.

In tracing such processes, Shepherd and Evrard and Prasit Leepreecha together show how domestic tourism has been used to rein in errant states/communities and enforce a sense of national solidarity. In both Tibet and Northern Thailand, where ethnic groups such as the Tibetans, Hmong and Kayans pose a threat to the nation-state of the PRC or Thailand, they are
brought into the fold by depoliticizing difference and reconstituting their territories as spaces of culture and tradition that have tourist appeal. What really catches the eye is the suggestion that the depoliticization process is made possible less so by international tourism and more by domestic tourism. Nyiri's chapter argues the same. Wealth and affluence are driving forces of change and it might thus be argued that tourism is a contributor to integration and peace. On the other hand, however, deeply rooted differences are now glossed over in the name of capitalist gains, the outcome of which may be museumification and commodification of cultures. Worse still, deep social divisions emerge as tourism gains are reaped by some and escape others, as pointed out in Chio's chapter on Chinese village tourism.

Understanding the implications which arise when remote, border territories are imagined in overly romantic and aesthetic terms from other parts of the country is also of concern to Shalini Panjabi. Her account in Chapter 16 of Indian-administered Kashmir highlights a series of tensions between imaginations of paradise and the realities of conflict. Rather than orienting her analysis around the now familiar themes of dark or danger zone tourism, Panjabi looks at the ways in which Indian domestic tourism fits into the everyday lives of Kashmiris who continue to endure a low-level conflict. A mountainous, scenic area, famed for its handicrafts, Mughal gardens, rivers and the historic wooden city of Srinagar, the 'vale of Kashmir' emerged as a popular destination for both tourists and pilgrims alike in the decades after partition. The filming of countless Hindi movies in the valley would visually reinforce its image as 'paradise on earth' for Indians. Such notions of tranquility and beauty would be shattered in the early 1990s, however, as the valley succumbed to militancy and inter-communal violence. Not surprisingly, the local tourist industry has suffered heavily ever since. Tired of the violence, people want to move on. Tourism offers valuable opportunities for fulfilling such desires. But as Panjabi indicates, returning to the erstwhile themes of tranquility and an unspoilt, mountainous paradise is likely to once again remove from view the Kashmiri people, and thus exclude their voices in the redevelopment of the region.

Finally, in this Part, we switch to Sidney Cheung's account of cuisine as a locus of shared patrimony. Tracing the origins of puhn choi in Hong Kong, in Chapter 19, Cheung argues that Hong Kongers' desire to return to more pristine and peaceful rural settings engendered the popularity of puhn choi which is a single communal dish shared by everyone at a table. Usually eaten during tours to the New Territories, puhn choi reinforces the idea that there is a traditional Hong Kong heritage which remains part of their identity in the modern cosmopolitan age. While heritage has always been a hotly debated issue in tourism research, especially representations of heritage and the politics of representation, less appreciated is the fact that domestic tourism plays a critical role in evincing such politics and causing heritage to be re-examined and rethought. The intrusion of globalization on architectural and archaeological heritage sites is a well-rehearsed research theme.
Cheung reminds us why we also need to look at domestic tourism's role in affecting other, less tangible forms of heritage.

**Tourism and new social networks**

Until now, we have emphasized how the transformations brought about by domestic and intra-regional tourism are bound up in reconfigurations of physical space. In Part V, the chapters by Charles Carroll, Francis Lim and Joyce Hsiu-yen Yeh shift the focus towards the ways in which tourism both constitutes and is constituent of new forms of social space. Carroll, for example, presents in Chapter 20 an ethnographically rich account of family travels in Laos from a participant's perspective. His account of travels between Laos and Thailand reveals how family networks are indeed fluid and can be redefined to suit the needs of domestic travel. Close friends become family members. Relatives of close friends can also become part of a loosely defined social unit called 'family members.' Add-ons are common so long as they help bolster the sharing of costs, emotional support or security of the traveling party. Mutual respect seems to be the order of the day and Carroll suggests that the networks are not temporary convenient arrangements but can have lasting social implications.

Equally, Francis Lim's Chapter 21 on Chinese backpackers reveals unique characteristics that distinguish them from their Western counterparts. He notes that the proliferation of Internet and virtual communities in the 1990s allowed for information exchange, laying the foundation for self-organized backpacking trips. Chinese backpackers are highly educated, urban-based and upwardly mobile professionals. In contrast to other forms of backpacking, travel does not represent an escape from the dictates of society, but rather a transplantation of rules and regulations from a socialist state to the realm of the Internet. Indeed, Chinese backpacking is a highly organized affair from initial notifications posted on travel websites, to planning, division of responsibilities, and post-trip review. Every stage of the process is documented in a virtual environment where backpackers post information, exchange tips and discuss travel 'dos and don'ts.' A traveler's reputation is often reinforced or destroyed on the net, due to his/her conduct and behavior on tour. Real and virtual spaces are thus constantly bridged as travelers move continuously between physical and virtual worlds, both of which constitute the totality of the backpacker experience.

In Chapter 22, Yeh also takes up the intersections between young people's identity, technology and travel, this time from the perspective of photography. Yeh shows how travel, and travel photography in particular, mobilize a reflexivity about what it is to be a young, modern Taiwanese citizen. Her framework for interpreting modernity centers on encounters with the 'other,' as narrated and represented by tourists traveling abroad. As she points out, the adoption of this analytical framework to date has overwhelmingly privileged the othering that occurs through Western tourism. In response,
sustained attention is given to the role photographs play in defining self and other within a youthful cosmopolitan Taiwanese identity. This account destabilizes the common perception that Asian tourists travel in groups and place collective values over the individual. The practice of selecting, photographing and displaying what is encountered abroad, enables these young travelers to secure the cultural and social capital which defines self. It thus emerges that the other of a modern individualized identity is not just the foreign abroad, but also the family and friends back home who, together, make up the audience of travel photographs.

The volume concludes with a look at the current state of tourism theory and how Asian tourism challenges many of its assumptions and norms. In the Conclusion, Winter argues that scholarship on tourism continues to suffer from an Anglo-Western centrum. Accordingly, he advocates a position of pluralism as a counter to these core–periphery dynamics. Given that the effects of Asian tourism are still very much evolving, he outlines some of the challenges and opportunities for the long-term development of grounded, critical research and teaching on Asian tourism. Winter argues embarking on such roads is vital if we are to adequately understand the profound social changes Asian tourism is now delivering, and at the same time move beyond the cultural, geographical and racial biases that underpin the bulk of tourism research today.