

TRAVELLER, TOURIST AND THE 'LOST ART OF TRAVELLING'

The debate continues

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An agelong opposition

The opposition between a tourist and a traveller is generally assumed to be one of the most powerful dichotomies to structure tourism discourse. Already in the early stages of modern tourism, 'people on the move' (for lack of a better word) were often divided into categories. Even when other terms were used, a distinction was often made between two kinds of 'travelling'. A good example is a review for the Dutch magazine *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* from 1861, in which the reviewer explicitly mentions that he does not understand why the author of the book under review uses the word 'tourist' instead of 'traveller', seemingly for linguistic and nationalist reasons; there is a proper Dutch word, so why not use it? However, even this reviewer installs a dichotomy between an 'ordinary fun-traveller', who is looking for entertainment and pleasure only, like for instance 'the English spleen-sufferers' and others, whose travelling implies hard work, such as 'to collect material for a book' (R. V. 1861: 455).

Numerous scholars have attempted to chart this opposition (e.g.: Boorstin, 1961: 77–117; Butcher, 2003: 34–49; Buzard, 1993: 18–79; Fussell, 1980: 37–50). The American historian Daniel Boorstin argues in the chapter 'The lost art of travel' from his tremendously influential book *The Image. A Guide to Pseudo-events in America* (Boorstin, 1961) that travel used to be a demanding¹ but worthwhile educational practice that functioned as a 'universal catalyst'. In Boorstin's view, the 'conquest' of the Americas helped to create the Renaissance whereas the travels of the seventeenth century led to the Enlightenment. However, despite the fact that 'there is about five times as much foreign travel by Americans nowadays as there was a hundred years ago', he states, 'all this travel has made so little difference in our thinking and feeling' (Boorstin, 1961: 79). He concludes that the travelling experience itself must have been transformed – and he marks this belief by putting the word 'travel' to indicate the contemporary phenomenon between quotation marks and switching to the word 'tourist':

Formerly travel required long planning, large expense, and great investments of time. It involved risks to health or even to life. The traveler was active. Now he became passive. [...] The traveler, then, was working at something; the tourist was a pleasure seeker. The traveler was active; he went strenuously in search of people, of adventure,

of experience. The tourist is passive; he expects interesting things to happen to him. He goes 'sight-seeing' [...]. He expects everything to be done to him. Thus foreign travel ceased to be an activity – an experience, an undertaking – and instead became a commodity.

(Boorstin, 1961: 84–85)

This new situation, characterized by superficiality, comfort, pleasure-seeking, laziness, inauthenticity and consumerism, was enabled by important changes in society in the second-half of the nineteenth century: the rapidly improving and democratizing means of long-distance transportation, the commodification of conducted tours that become collective events, the invention of traveller's cheques, insurances, installment plans to finance the trip and the lowering cost of the enterprise. This new way of touring the world is fake, according to Boorstin. It is a pseudo-event that keeps the tourist away from 'the real thing': the 'natives', 'the landscape he traverses' (Boorstin, 1961: 94), the discomforts of true travel that insulate him in pseudo-places like hotels and cruise ships simulating 'local atmosphere', museums that radically decontextualize cultural artefacts, and staged tourist attractions ('pseudo-events'). Tourists could not care less; they prefer their 'own provincial expectations' informed by popular culture and tourism advertising over the real (Boorstin, 1961: 106). They lack freedom and individuality as well, since they obey codes prescribed in guidebooks: how to behave, how to dress, what to like (Boorstin, 1961: 105–106). Space and culture have become homogenized all over the globe so there is nothing left to discover, but for a few 'adventuring travelers who still exist' (Boorstin, 1961: 117) by fabricating 'risks and dangers', reliving 'ancient adventures' – who then proceed to publishing them and have their 'mystery abolished' (Boorstin, 1961: 117).²

The American journalist, author and historian Paul Fussell laments the same loss along rather similar lines in his book *Abroad. British Literary Traveling Between the Wars*. Tourists are passive and without initiative (Fussell, 1980: 39), they lack individuality, autonomy and even humanity (Fussell, 1980: 40–41). They are characterized by inauthenticity and consumerism:

What distinguishes the tourist is the motives, few of which are ever openly revealed: to raise social status at home and to allay social anxiety; to realize fantasies of erotic freedom; and most important, to derive secret pleasure from posing momentarily as a member of a class superior to one's own, to play the role of a "shopper" and spender whose life becomes significant and exciting only when one is exercising power by choosing what to buy.

(Fussell, 1980: 42)

Table 16.1 Distinctions between 'tourist' and 'traveller'

<i>Tourist</i>	<i>Traveller</i>
Inauthentic, fake	Authentic, original
Passive	Active
Lacking autonomy	Independent
Sightseeing	Experiencing
Superficial	Fundamental
Collective	Individual
Leisure, uninformed	Work, educated
Confirms worldviews, risk-avoiding	Challenges worldviews
Consumer	Worker

Their habitat consists of pseudo-places, that 'entice by their familiarity and call for instant recognition' (Fussell, 1980: 43) and do not call for the work of the imagination (Fussell, 1980: 45). The above can be schematized as in Table 16.1 above.

Problematizing the dichotomy

Not an opposition

In his often quoted essay 'The Semiotics of Tourism', the literary critic Jonathan Culler is wondering why Boorstin and Fussell have identified the exact moment when the 'age of travel' ended differently. Whereas Fussell situates it around 1939, Boorstin sees 'the decline of the traveler and the rise of the tourist' already in the middle of the nineteenth century (Culler, 1988: 156). Culler adds an example from his own reading of Stendhal, who complained about mass tourism in Florence as early as 1826. This leads Culler to the conclusion that:

The true age of travel has, it seems, always already slipped by; other travellers are

always tourists. This repetition and displacement of the opposition between tourist and traveler suggests that these are not so much two historical categories as terms of an opposition integral to tourism. The historical explanations are excuses for what travelers always do: feel superior to other travellers.

(Culler, 1988: 157)

Travelling as dreamt of by both scholars, characterized by direct contact with authentic reality, has, however, always been impossible, for 'authenticity is a sign relation'. It depends on markers and mediation to exist: "the real thing" must be marked as real, as sight-worthy; if it is not marked or differentiated, it is not a notable sight' (Culler, 1988: 161). He recollects a story from Walker Percy's *The Message in a Bottle* of a couple that accidentally ends up in a Mexican village where a native ritual is in progress. Although they are supposedly as close to authentic reality as one can imagine, they only manage to fully enjoy it after returning with an ethnologist friend who assures them that their experience was indeed genuine and, in doing so, provides them with markers of authenticity. Culler calls this the paradox of authenticity:

to be experienced as authentic it must be marked as authentic, but when it is marked as authentic it is mediated, a sign of itself, and hence lacks the authenticity of what is truly unspoiled, untouched by mediating cultural codes.

(Culler, 1988: 164)

No one ever really leaves the script, or rather, the beaten track, for leaving them is already a function of the system (Culler 1988: 165). The main goal of the traveller – to encounter authenticity in the sense of unmediated phenomena – is an impossible one, which puts every traveller automatically on a par with a tourist. What the tourist industry is selling to aspiring travellers (Culler, 1988: 165) is the carefully crafted illusion of an unmediated experience – and the right to call themselves travellers. So-called authenticity is a commodity that hides its own transactional and mediated nature.

If there is one pair of terms that echoes the traveller/tourist dichotomy in present-day discourse, it must be the one between backpackers (or budget travellers) and mainstream tourists.

Several of the characteristics that are generally ascribed to backpackers – mostly middle class, white and originating from what is conventionally considered to be the West – can easily be linked to Boorstin's and Fussell's 'traveller', such as their concern with authenticity (Noy, 2004), learning opportunities (O'Reilly, 2006: 999; Pearce & Foster, 2007), meeting other people, independently organizing their own travel itineraries (Larsen, Torvald & Brun, 2011: 697) and openness to change of plan (O'Reilly, 2006: 999), and less with risks and worries. They also tend to 'dislike being called "tourists", usually reserving this epithet for package tourists only' and call themselves 'travelers, or simply backpackers' (O'Reilly, 2006: 999–1000). Research on 2000 tourists to Norway from 48 countries, however, suggests that these groups are much more similar than one would assume. Both seemed to be equally motivated 'by social motives and by knowledge/cultural motives' and were 'equally worried about travel related issues' (Larsen et al., 2011: 701). The study concludes that although backpackers indeed travel on lower budgets,³ they 'are similar to mainstream tourists in most *motivational* issues investigated in this study' – with some differences as far as the needs for luxury and relaxation are concerned (Larsen et al., 2011: 702). There was, however, a difference between budget travellers' subjective perceptions concerning the tourist role, viz. 'a tendency in these travellers to view themselves as less institutionalized tourists' and what they actually did: 'It may be that this finding simply reflects a self-perception as "more individualized" and "more independent", and that this [...] may be something of a social construction in backpackers mythologies about themselves' (Larsen et al., 2011: 703). In other words, this kind of research also leads to the insight that the difference between both categories is (or has become (O'Reilly 2006: 1006–1009)) a rhetorical construction, a stereotype not based in reality.

The need for empirical research

Another line of critique is to be found in James Buzard's book *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918*, in which he rightly remarks that the 'rough consensus' (Buzard, 1993: 1) on the meaning of both terms is highly problematic because it is often taken for granted and a-historical. Neither Fussell nor Boorstin base their theory on the motivations and feelings of real people, but in fact reproduce 'nearly two hundred years of concerted cultural stereotyping' (Buzard, 1993: 3). Yet Fussell and Boorstin, but also Culler and Buzard himself, all rely on written texts. On the one hand, this means that their conclusions are based on testimonies from people that were literate and had access to the public forum. The majority of these were male and white. Fussell's (1980: 39–40) chapter 'Exploration to travel to tourism' quotes from Anthony Burgess, Paul Theroux, Lawrence Durrell, Charles Lever, Francis Kilvert, Osbert Sitwell and Frederic Harrison. Only two of his quotes are from female voices: one from Hugh and Pauline Massingham and one from Sitwell's 'sister Edith' – but the source is, tellingly, not in the bibliography. None of the quotes stems from people of colour. The same observation can be made for Boorstin (quoting from John Ruskin and 'a British consul in Italy' (viz. Charles Lever) (Boorstin, 1961: 87)), Butcher (Kilvert), Buzard (William Wordsworth, Adam Walker, Evelyn Waugh, Kilvert), and Culler (Ruskin, Lever, and Stendhal).

On the other hand, these texts often belong to genres often prioritizing identity politics: travelogues and diaries. This double observation could well cloud the entire argument that the traveller/tourist dichotomy is ubiquitous in tourism discourse: these scholars are relying on a limited number of very specific sources and genres, so their observations are only valid within those limits. It is intriguing to see that the words tourist and traveller seem to function as synonyms in other types of text, such as grammars or dictionaries. One of the earliest entries for

the word 'tourist' in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is from Samuel Pegge's *Anecdotes of the English language* and goes as follows: 'A Traveller is now-a-days called a Tour-ist' (1814²). The phrase is unaccompanied by any value judgment, which seems to suggest that the terms essentially designate the same thing (Buzard, 1993: 1). And in an old Dutch dictionary, *Beknopt kunstwoordenboek*, originally published in 1865, a tourist is defined a subcategory of the traveller: 'tourist, m. (tourists), traveller who visits many countries for his pleasure' (Calisch & Calisch, 1882: 276).

What happens if one decides to shift the focus from texts to real people, located in time and space? Several scholars have attempted to make convincing typologies of tourists making use of different sources and criteria, and avoiding normative standpoints. An early example is the model that social psychiatrist Stanley Plog published in his article 'Why Destination Areas Rise and Fall in Popularity'. Plog and his team wanted to understand 'the psychology of travel' (Plog, 1974: 55); more specifically, they wanted to know why some people were not making use of airplanes. They relied on the review of existing research, psychological in-depth interviews and the monitoring of telephone calls to airlines. The sample consisted of 1600 respondents from the United States with minimum incomes of US\$9000. Based on their research, they came up with the opposition between two 'psychograph types'. On the one hand, there is the 'psychocentric', 'a self-inhibited, nervous, and non-adventuresome type of person' (Plog, 1974: 55), and on the other the 'allocentric',

characterized by a considerable degree of adventuresomeness, self-confidence, a lack of the general anxieties common among Psychocentrics, and a willingness to reach out and experiment with life. Travel is a way of expressing his inquisitiveness and curiosity. He wants to see and do new things, to explore the world around him.

(Plog, 1974: 56)

The psychocentric and the allocentric are at opposite ends of a continuum. In between, Plog locates the 'near psychocentric', the 'mid-centric' and the 'near allocentric'. They differ in many respects: preferred media and genres, income, purchase habits, and travel characteristics. Whereas psychocentrics highly esteem familiarity, relaxation, low activity levels, travelling by car, well-developed tourist infrastructure and a high degree of tour packaging and scheduling, allocentrics prefer interacting with 'people from a strange or foreign culture', non-tourist areas, a sense of discovery, novelty, high activity levels, traveling by plane, few tourist attractions and accommodation, and 'considerable freedom and flexibility' (Plog, 1974: 57). It is not difficult to recognize the classical traveller-tourist opposition, although different terms are used⁴ and value judgment is lacking. This means that if Plog's research is valid, there indeed exist travellers and tourists (at least within his sample) – not just as discursive positions but as real-life behaviours and psychological characteristics.

Plog's model was, however, severely criticized (Smith, 1990). One of the main points of critique was that it does not accurately predict travel behaviour for numerous reasons; the model was based on US-based travellers; people are more complex than this model suggests, and practical circumstances (for instance, financial) may force people to behave differently than one would expect based on their psychological profile (Litvin, 2006). The model nevertheless proved to be very influential. For instance, it provided Richard Butler with a blueprint of his well-known Tourist Area Life Cycle-theory (Butler, 1980) who claims that 'pioneers' visit the tourist area in the first phase of its development ('exploration'), only to be replaced by less adventurous visitors in the later phases. Despite all this, Plog was one of the first to try and base the categorization of tourists on real people's behaviours and attitudes.

Other typologies

In his paper 'A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences', social anthropologist Erik Cohen (1979: 179) highlights the difference between Boorstin (1961) and MacCannell (1976). Whereas the former claims that tourists are engaged in 'a trivial, superficial, frivolous pursuit of vicarious, contrived experiences, a "pseudo-event"', the latter says that they are on 'an earnest quest for the authentic'. According to Cohen (1979: 180), they are both wrong and right at the same time; they assume that "'the tourist" as a general type' exists and neglect that there are several different types of tourist. Cohen proceeds in developing a phenomenological typology of tourist experiences based on five modes in which a person can travel, depending on their relationship to a 'centre' – defined as a 'spiritual', but not necessarily a religious nexus of moral values. This results in a continuum with five positions. At the one end there is the pilgrim, travelling in the existential mode and 'fully committed to an 'elective' spiritual centre' (Cohen, 1979: 190). They are, thus, looking for a place that will restore meaning and authenticity – and that place can be one 'external to the mainstream of his native society and culture', a 'traditionally given centre' or somewhere in between (Cohen, 1979: 191). At the other end stands the tourist travelling in the recreational mode, for whom authenticity is irrelevant because all they want is to have 'physical and mental powers' restored by means of 'recreation' (Cohen, 1979: 183). This tourist is not challenging the existing centre of their world, because this kind of travel in fact 'restitutes the individual to his society and its values' by serving as a kind of 'pressure valve' to let off steam within the constraints of a holiday-away-from-the centre (Cohen, 1979: 185). In between these two poles, Cohen (1979: 186–189) situates the divisionary mode (the trip 'a centre-less person' undertakes purely for pleasure), the experiential mode (the alienated individual who travels 'to look for meaning in the life of others' who are presumed to have preserved authenticity, however without converting to that other lifestyle), and the experimental mode (travellers 'pre-disposed to try out alternative life-ways in their quest for meaning'). All modes have different subcategories, and there are some reminiscences of the old dichotomy in the sense that the recreational mode could be linked to 'the tourist' and the other three modes to 'the traveller'.

In his earlier work 'Toward a Sociology of International Tourism', Cohen (1972) proposed four categories: the organized mass tourist, the individual mass tourist, the explorer and the drifter. They differ in their use or refusal of the facilities of the tourist industry and in their appraisal of either novelty ('strangeness' (Cohen, 1972: 177)) or familiarity while travelling. Attempts to empirically verify this typology rendered interesting results. Eugenia Wickens, for instance, interviewed and observed British holidaymakers in the Greek region of Chalkidiki and came to the conclusion that these people were characterized 'by a highly diversified pattern of interests and activities' (Wickens, 2002: 849), despite the fact that they all qualified as 'individual mass tourists in Cohen's sense' (Wickens, 2002: 836). According to her, there are five subtypes of which several do interact with the locals, contrary to the assumption that individual mass tourists 'are both physically and socially segregated from the host community' (Wickens, 2002: 846).

Cohen's types can easily be linked to the dichotomy between the tourist and the traveller, as both ends of a continuum. That is no longer the case with the typology suggested by Philip Pearce (1982) in his book *The Social Psychology of Tourist Behaviour* that consists of 15 'travel-related roles' and is based on real tourists' behaviour. Pearce ordered these roles in five clusters, plus two (the migrant worker and the international athlete): "Environmental Travel' (anthropologist, conservationist, and explorer), 'High Contact Travel'

(traveller, overseas student, overseas journalist), 'Spiritual Travel' (hippie, religious pilgrim, missionary), 'Pleasure First Travel (jetsetter, tourist, holidaymaker) and 'Exploitative Travel' (businessman, jetsetter)' (Yiannakis & Gibson, 1992: 289). The tourist and the traveller are just two of the 15 roles people can fulfill. Interestingly, Yiannakis and Gibson suggest that the jetsetter, the hippie and the holidaymaker 'are simply subcategories of the broader tourist construct' whereas some other roles are 'clearly not touristic in nature'. They distinguish between 'leisure-based and work-based travel roles' (Yiannakis & Gibson, 1992: 290) and, based on interactions with several carefully composed sets of respondents, eventually compile a typology containing 14 'leisure-based tourist roles', also including types from both Cohen and Pearce. They conclude that there exist 'three bipolar dimensions which [...] point to an underlying structure characterized by Stimulation-Tranquility [...]. Strangeness-Familiarity [...], and Structure-Independence' (Yiannakis & Gibson, 1992: 299) and which enable categorizing tourists. Their list contains types reminding us of the old 'traveller', such as 'the Explorer' who '[p]refers adventure travel, exploring out of the way places and enjoys challenges involved in getting there', the 'Seeker of spiritual and/or personal knowledge to better understand self and meaning of life' and the 'Anthropologist', '[m]ostly interested in meeting local people, trying the food and speaking the language'.

In later publications, Pearce tries to take the full Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs into account by formulating his well-known Travel Career Ladder (Pearce 1988, 1991, 1993, 2005) – see also Chapter 13 in this volume. At the top there are 'fulfillment needs', and descending we find 'self-esteem/development needs', 'relationship needs' and 'safety/security' needs to reach the lowest stair with the 'physiological needs'. The more travel experience a person has, the higher up the ladder their motives tend to be situated, but it is also possible to descend. This also implies that the motives of experienced travellers assumedly are more diverse than those of less experienced travellers because, according to Pearce (1991), the higher-level motives include lower-level motives, although 'one motive at a time tends to be dominant'. It is interesting to see that the classical hierarchical opposition between the traveller and the tourist is to a certain extent reflected in this model, for the higher up the ladder we get, the more the specific needs resemble the characteristics Fussell and Boorstin ascribed to their 'superior' traveller. Take, for instance, the needs for self-actualization and development and the need for curiosity/mental stimulation, as opposed to the need for relaxation and the need to predict and explain the world. However, some of the needs higher up on the ladder, such as the need for status, remind us of Fussell's claim that tourists are yearning for a higher social status. The ladder also mentions needs that do not seem to play any role whatsoever in the classical opposition, such as the need to give love and affection. An important observation to come out of this kind of research is that 'types' are just that. Scholars have increasingly become aware that tourists are complex beings, not just driven by a single motive to travel but by a wide range of needs on very different levels that may be co-present in one tourist or trip or show variation throughout the years.

Powerscapes

Why are scholars like Boorstin and Fussell blindly relying on these stereotypes without questioning them? Fussell, Culler (1988: 156) claims, is so vehement in his description of tourists because he was afraid to be taken for a tourist himself when visiting England as an American. Perhaps the same goes for Boorstin, who stemmed from a well-off family of lawyers and was a full professor at the University of Chicago at the time he wrote his book. The privileged

world of highly educated, wealthy global citizens that these people thought was getting lost was the world they called their own. In embracing the stereotypical rejection of tourists, these scholars in fact participate in and (re)produce the discourse they are claiming to analyze, which tells more about their own identity politics than about reality.

Clearly the categories of the traveller and the tourist imply a hierarchy: the traveller enjoys a higher status than the tourist. This comes at a cost; to be able to successfully claim this identity, a person needs to have the means to do that. That meant time (travelling means not working so not earning money), mobility (it took Thomas Cook and his chartering of a train to enable ordinary people to make use of the railways), skills (language), money and above all access to media to promote this self-image. It is therefore not surprising that the 'identity' of the traveller has not been available to each and every one.

A non-inclusive cliché

For a long time, 'the status of the traveler has been assigned predominantly to the economically well-off, white, European male who has embarked on voyages motivated by heroic, educational, scientific, and recreational purposes' (Galani-Moutafi, 2000: 204). Although people of lower classes and/or of colour undertook very similar projects, it proved hard to be recognized by the dominant discourse as successful travellers: 'A host of servants, helpers, companions, guides, and bearers have been excluded from the role of proper travellers because of their race and class, and because theirs seemed to be a dependent status in relation to the supposed independence of the individualist, bourgeois voyager' (Clifford, 1986: 33). Clifford gives the example of Matthew Henson, in 1909, the first to reach the North Pole together with Robert Peary. The black explorer had to wait until the publication of S. Allen Counter's *North Pole Legacy. Black, White, and Eskimo* (1991) to be recognized as such, since a long list of accounts by 'Peary, a host of historians, newspaper writers, statesmen, bureaucrats, and interested institutions such as *National Geographic* magazine' preferred to focus on his white companion (Clifford, 1986: 33).

Women often suffered a similar fate. Although many travellers throughout the ages were female, existing travel accounts and media often tended to marginalize them, for instance by depicting them in the company of male protectors, or by leaving them out altogether (Meens & Sintobin, 2019: 6). Ann Lister, the first person to make it to the summit of the Vignemale in 1838, even needed a lawyer to be able to claim her achievement from a prince who made the ascent a few days later (Lyons, 2019: 166). The higher altitudes of the mountains were considered to be male territory for a long time; women were supposed to prefer 'less strenuous excursions in the foothills' while men 'as individuals sought the distinction of making the first ascent or "conquest" of those surrounding peaks which still enjoyed "virgin" status' (Lyons, 2019: 165).

One of the most iconic symbols of the heavily scripted figure of the traveller must be the *Rückenfigur* on the painting *Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer*, which Caspar David Friedrich painted in around 1817. It shows a solitary male figure, looking out over a vast mountainscape from a panoramic position. It suggests individuality, autonomy, control and adventurousness. The work has triggered many different interpretations (Keck, 2007: 35–37). Some interpret it as a patriotic statement, since the man seems to be wearing a uniform from the time of the Napoleonic wars. Others have claimed that the figure is the painter himself taking refuge in nature to escape industrialization. Yet others see it as a depiction of mankind in the peak of its life and akin to God, or as a visualization of an aesthetic program centralizing the sublime.



Figure 16.1 Images of ‘traveller’
 Source: Snapshot from Google Images – 7 October 2020 (Nijmegen).

Interestingly, the painting refers to the genre of the veduta (a large, highly detailed painting, often a cityscape) that played an important role in the Grand Tour since painters provided the visitors with depictions of the cities and landscapes they consumed. Friedrich’s biographer Jens Christian Jensen (1999) claimed that this painting depicted real trips the painter undertook – which in a sense implies that he was painting his own vedute. Friedrich nevertheless could not have foreseen that this particular work would haunt the imagination and social media of so many twenty-first century travellers. It suffices to enter the term ‘traveller’ as a search term in Google Images to generate a ‘random’ sample and see how often this painting functions online as an intertext (see Figure 16.1).

Whether it is bloggers such as Nomadic Matt, Brook Verlini and Nikolaj Salinger of my-travelbackpack.com or Rob from atraveler.world,⁵ podcasters such as Nativetraveler.com,⁶ traditional media such as Turkey Daily Sabah,⁷ promotional and commercial websites such as Worldlyadventurer.com, Dreams Voyager, bustickets.com, reviewpro.com, McKinsey and Keys Hotels,⁸ or www.pandotrip.com,⁹ or lifestyle magazines such as The Ascent, Fortune and Jetsetter,¹⁰ in their visual language they all consciously or unconsciously refer to Friedrich’s Wanderer. Smith (2019) has identified the ‘promontory witness’ as one of the visual tropes on Instagram, echoing both colonial and Romantic iconography.

Evidently, there are differences from the original painting. The landscape does not necessarily consist of mountains; there are also skylines of cities, ocean fronts, forests, and lakes, for the modern sublime clearly has many faces. Quite often, the male traveller is replaced by a woman and occasionally even by a couple¹¹ facing the camera.¹² To claim that this goes to show that the role of the traveller is now open to everyone seems, notwithstanding, to be still largely an illusion, since there are no people of colour featuring in my random sample – not even in the Turkish newspaper that depicts a white man and a white dog. Studying lists of successful travel influencers online¹³ leads to a similar conclusion. Successful travel influencers on these lists usually originate from wealthy, Western countries or from one of the new economic powers globally, such as Brazil or India. The

Forbes-list from 2017, for instance, mentions one woman of colour (as part of a travelling duo that is half American and half Brazilian).¹⁴

Although it has been claimed that modern tourism implied a democratization of the practice, ‘a broadly accessible form of leisure travel no longer based in the overt class and gender prerogatives of the Grand Tour’ (Buzard, 1993: 18), it may be clear that even nowadays ‘the right to travel’ is still the privilege of the wealthy ‘while the poor and the marginalized serve and host them on their holidays, in order to eke out a living, try to pay off the debts fostered by capitalist globalization and hopefully eventually to enjoy their moment as consumers’ (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2010: 124). The United Nations telecommunications agency ITU estimated that in 2018, 51.2 percent (3.9 billion people) of the global population had access to the Internet.¹⁵ According to recent statistics, 2.65 billion of those people were using social networks in that same year. This means that about half the planet’s population is theoretically able to produce and/or consume travel images and stories online, whereas the other half are unable to participate. The sociologist and philosopher Zygmunt Bauman has even argued that there are only two categories of people in our modern societies: tourists and vagabonds. ‘The tourists’, claims Bauman, ‘travel because *they want to*; the vagabonds because *they have no other bearable choice*’ because “‘staying at home” in a world made to the measure of the tourist feels like humiliation and drudgery’ (Bauman, 1998: 93). Tourists are welcomed everywhere, they have the papers and the funds to move at will – whereas the vagabonds ‘are the waste of the world which has dedicated itself to tourist services’ (Bauman, 1998: 92). A vagabond is anyone unable to meet the demands of consumerism: tramps, emigrant, refugees – but also former tourists who descended into poverty (Bauman, 1998: 97). Bauman later restored part of the dichotomy in an interview, when contrasting “‘standardized” tourism’, which aims for ‘the right proportion of genuine or pretended “otherness” [...] and reassuring familiarity’, and he who travels ‘to learn, [...] to understand, [...] to get in touch with alien people and to embrace and imbibe and assimilate untold riches stored in their heads, in their timeless cultural lore’ (Franklin, 2003: 213).

New moral tourists

In his book *Sun, Sand... and Saving the World. The Moralization of Tourism*, Jim Butcher (2003) studies new types of tourism that are contrasted to mass or package tourism: ‘new tourism’, ethical tourism, responsible tourism, sustainable tourism and ecotourism. He brings those new forms together under the umbrella term ‘New Moral Tourism’, summarized in Table 16.2.

Table 16.2 Mass tourism vs. new moral tourism

<i>Mass tourism</i>	<i>New moral tourism</i>
Sameness (not interested in cultural differences)	Difference (interested in cultural and environmental differences)
Crude (lacks self-restraint; pleasure-seeking only)	Sensitive (tries to learn the host’s culture and language)
Destructive (disregards the host’s environment and culture)	Constructive (tries to support and preserve local cultures)
Modern	Critical of modern ‘progress’

Source: Adapted from Butcher (2003, 21–22).

Butcher suggests that in a sense the New Moral Tourist has always been around, ‘in the guise of the traveller’ from the nineteenth century: he claims to be

a “thinking tourist” – someone prepared to strike out, experiment with different ways of life, and not be part of a packaged product put together by global companies. He is someone who takes interest in the culture and the environment of the host.

(Butcher, 2003: 41)

as opposed to the mainstream tourist. Butcher does not just argue that this self-perception is false (in reality both categories are very similar in their actual behaviour and the resulting effects (Butcher, 2003: 41–49)), but also deconstructs the very claim that New Moral Tourism could be wholesome. Wealthy Westerners, discontented with their own lives, indulge in fantasies about unspoiled but fragile authentic places and cultures and project them on the Other, who is assigned the role of ‘guardian of nature’. This not only departs from the false premise that carrying capacities of sites cannot be extended if managed well, claims Butcher, it also denies the Other access to global culture and progress. Butcher gives the example of a project in India where the so-called ‘reverence and “respect” for tradition provide an obstacle to a critical examination of the grinding poverty of the people of Ladakh’ (Butcher, 2003: 30). Another tendency of New Moral Tourism is that its practitioners believe that there are ‘individual solutions to social inequalities’:

They effectively take people’s aspirations to do good and convert them into personal guilt at the poverty evident in Third World destinations. Yet to travel or not to travel, to stay in a hotel or in a village, to enjoy the culture or just the climate, will make no difference to the broader inequality that exists between nations and peoples. More importantly, it is an agenda that discourages a critical examination of the causes of poverty by presenting individual behaviour as a strategy to bring positive change to the Third World. This makes for degraded politics, and a diminished travel experience too.

(Butcher, 2003: 109–110)

In other words, the identity politics of New Moral Tourists/travellers, embracing stereotypical beliefs about hosts and other tourists, have far-reaching real life consequences. They not only spoil the fun travelling is supposed to be, but also deny the ‘Other’ access to the modern world.

It is not difficult to find more examples of this mechanism. All over the internet, travellers are vlogging and blogging with the best intentions, largely unchecked. Reproducing old colonial tropes, they frame their trips as unique encounters with authentic Others who are savage and even dangerous but noble, or as explorations into the last wildernesses of this planet. They largely remain silent about the financial transactions that enabled these visits because they claim to be on friendly terms with locals and to not make use of existing tourism infrastructure. In doing this, they construct identities for themselves as worthy travellers and gain money with it, but forget about the real world effects their representations have on the people and places they visited (Sintobin & Tonnaer, 2020)

Twenty-first century trends

In contemporary travel discourse online, the opposition between traveller and tourist is definitely very present. The internet is full of manifestos,¹⁶ quizzes,¹⁷ blogs,¹⁸ lists of

characteristics,¹⁹ opinion articles and so on that are explicitly using it. It is not difficult to recognize many of the conventional characteristics in them, for instance by reading the ‘about me’ sections of influential bloggers. They describe themselves as active, adventurous, independent, hardworking travellers (never tourists), who have a lot of individual agency, are very reflexive about what they are doing and travel to learn new things. In this section, I will give a brief overview of what could be seen as problems typical for twenty-first century tourists.

Overtourism

In the years before the pandemic, overtourism had clearly become one of the central tourism-related problems. The internet was flooded with pictures of huge crowds in tourist attractions such as beaches, nature reserves, heritage sites and evidently cities (Amsterdam, Barcelona, and Venice became exemplary cases) and many a newspaper published series of before/after- or advertising/reality pictures. This was generally considered to be destructive to cultural and natural ecosystems,²⁰ and triggered well-mediated protests (Hughes 2018; Milano, Cheer & Novelli, 2019; Zemla 2020). The discourse was strikingly similar to its nineteenth-century counterpart, with metaphors of flooding, invasion and dehumanization. Evidently, overtourism also radically ended the Wanderer’s fantasies of discovery and solitude.

Strategies proposed to try and deal with overtourism included the limiting of platforms such as Airbnb, the regulation of low-cost airlines and cruise ship tourism, enhancing the carrying capacity of sites and, relevant to this chapter, trying to redistribute visitors by opening up more spaces than just the conventional hotspots. *Amsterdam*, for instance, encourages visitors on its website ‘to get off the beaten track and discover some of Amsterdam’s lesser known attractions’.²¹ Other cities brand themselves as places that are off the beaten track in their entirety.²² Unofficial tourism discourse contributed greatly to this effort; travel magazines, tour operators, influencers, travel authors, TV shows, travelogues, and so on are all promoting alternative sites to avoid crowds.

This is evidently not a new phenomenon, as we have seen above; drifters, travellers, allocentrics, backpackers or whatever one wishes to call them were all characterized by the wish to leave the beaten track. However, with the arrival of Web 2.0 and the resulting proliferation of travel writing and filming, this state of mind does seem to have become even more prominent and mainstream than ever before (Matoga & Pawlowska, 2018). TV shows dedicated to non-mainstream travelling abound, such as Anthony Bourdain’s *No Reservations* and Michael Palin’s work, and so do Netflix-series and documentaries. All over the internet, people are writing about their passion for ‘off the beaten path places’²³ and ‘discovering hidden gems’,²⁴ compiling endless lists of alternative must-sees for their readers or even developing cunning apps to identify ‘where the locals go’.²⁵ News media do exactly the same in similar terms,²⁶ specialized travel agencies offer ‘Off-the-beaten-track holidays’.²⁷ Even companies exploiting the most conventionalized sites find ways to commodify the illusion of adventure and discovery on site. The cruise ship company Royal Caribbean offers their customers at the totally artificial peninsula of Labadee the opportunity to book ‘a private beach’ in ‘a remote cove’ – and even experienced travel bloggers are writing about that highly staged experience as if they have discovered something new (Labrousse, 2015: 28).

Some of these popular media productions are in fact very similar to earlier bestselling projects, such as Richard Halliburton’s reliving of ancient travels (Boorstin, 1961: 116–117). Extreme travel TV, as it has been called, represents these trips as adventurous, authentic and

potentially even lethal. *Don't crack under pressure*, so we are told, is about travellers who 'risk their lives for it by dodging avalanches, free-diving with sharks, and surfing inches above a razor sharp coral reef'.²⁸ Whether all of this is true or not remains to be seen. The Belgian traveller Tom Waes, of the *Reizen Waes* show on national television, claimed in 2013 that he was the first to visit the Caño Canoas waterfall in the Colombian rain forest, previously controlled by the rebel group FARC. He lost quite some credibility after it became clear that thousands of tourists had been visiting that site for years. Waes tried to explain away the problem afterward by saying that he had been misled himself: 'our local guide claimed that we were the first. He even had special negotiations with the military to be allowed to bring us to the waterfalls'.²⁹ Waes later apologized for his naivité, but the example shows the radical commodification of exclusivity and remoteness, no matter how far one ventures. One pays for the right to call oneself a traveller or even an explorer.

Several forms of niche tourism that are becoming more popular in recent years also can be related to the urge to leave the beaten path. Urban explorers, for instance, focus on sites and sights 'beyond the radar of commercial tourism', such as 'abandoned places (e.g., industries, hospitals, residential buildings and sites of leisure and tourism)' and 'places that are hidden or difficult to access (e.g., urban rooftops, subterranean spaces and military complexes)' (Jansson, 2018: 105). As Jansson (2018) shows, some of them are well aware of the double bind they find themselves in: the quest for the extraordinary, pristine and genuine leads ironically enough to the erosion of what is unique (places, experiences and identities). This is all the more so since many urban explorers are sharing their pictures on social media or even in one of the numerous books on 'Abandoned places'.³⁰ Another example is dark tourism, also called thanatourism, grief tourism and so on that allows increasing numbers of people to claim adventurous identities. The number of visitors to Chernobyl, for instance, has been rising for years (Bordun & Komar, 2018). A big surge came after the TV-series *Chernobyl* was aired in 2018, but the site had been successfully exploited as a tourist attraction before that. The same can be said of many of the trips undertaken for the Netflix-series *Dark Tourist*. The episode shot on the Mexico–US border is exemplary; although it is represented as a dangerous adventure, in reality, it is a simulation taking place over 500 miles away from the border that had been open since 2004.³¹ Research on motivations for visiting such sites has identified some factors that can be connected with the stereotypical traveller, such as the quest for 'authenticity', 'self-discovery and the intrinsic desire to learn' (Robinson 2015: 28–29), although curiously the dream of leaving the beaten path is not present. Sharpley and Stone (2009: 18–19) do mention the possibility that tourists are visiting such places to enhance their status by having undertaken 'forms of travel [...] that are dangerous for the tourist', and specialized travel agencies use it for their branding.³² Interestingly, there is already a new distinction within this discourse, the one between real and fake dark tourists. The former is defined as: 'sober, unsensationalist engaging with the real, and often difficult, contemporary world, without any recourse to cheap thrills of horror and disgust, or anything actually dangerous, or anything "paranormal"'.³³

Redefining the traveller

In May 2019, pictures taken by the mountaineer Nirmal Purja of a people queuing up to reach the summit of Mount Everest hit global news. These pictures made clear that there no longer was an off the beaten track where solitary wanderers would be able to find refuge. Even the most remote or desolate places on this planet are part of the tourist circuit – exploited as a tourist site and mediatized as such. There are *Lonely Planets* for every spot, even

for ‘dark lands’ ruled by dangerous regimes³⁴ and, apocryphal of course, for the caliphate.³⁵ Several styles of tourism seem to be well aware of the fact that there is nowhere left to travel and that an anti-tourist attitude does not make sense in a world where we are all tourists (MacCannell 1999: 9). To conclude this chapter, I will discuss some tendencies.

New eyes

In the spring of 2020, Covid-19 abruptly halted an industry that had been projected to keep growing exponentially. International mobility was greatly reduced, which led to more interest in domestic tourism and a reflection on the future of tourism with many considering the pandemic a ‘transformative opportunity’, a chance to reform the industry and people’s mentality. Early on in the crisis Freya Higgins-Desbiolles wrote:

Staying closer to home could be a catalyst awakening us to the value of eating locally, travelling less and just slowing down and connecting to our community. After this crisis passes, we might find the old business as usual less compelling. We might learn that not travelling long distances didn’t stop us travelling; it just enlivened us to the richness of local travel.

(Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020a)

Although the industry itself seems to prefer the idea of a return to business as usual and Higgins-Desbiolles was attacked online by Jim Butcher (2020) for her ideas,³⁶ her words reflect a sentiment that is shared more broadly. We find it on social media, where travel influencers, unable to leave their countries, are actively promoting domestic travel by making lists of reasons to travel in one’s own country during Covid-19.³⁷ *Girlswanderlust* claims that ‘traveling and exploring your own country is beautiful and worthy’, because ‘it will make you realize that there is so much more to see than you once thought.’³⁸ A quote by Marcel Proust is trending: ‘The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes, but in having new eyes.’ Real travellers are not those desperately trying to get off the beaten track, but those who manage to discover something new on conventional sites.

This movement was, in fact, already present before Coronavirus struck the planet, under the name of slow travel. Mainstream tourism, it was argued, is ‘based on the principles of the supply chain’ (Dickinson & Lumsdon, 2010: 6), relying on speed, efficiency and disregard for the environment. The unsustainability of this enterprise, it was predicted, would eventually lead to new forms of tourism in which people would be prepared ‘for more locally-based recreation near to our homes’ and ‘where the supply sector becomes more educational and inspirational than simply selling tourist products’ (Dickinson & Lumsdon, 2010: 12). This opposition between commercial/superficial and educational/inspirational echoes the traveller/tourist dichotomy.

Authenticities

In 1985, Maxine Feifer proposed a new category in her book *Going Places*: the post-tourist (Feifer, 1985). Although scholars have attempted to broaden the scope of the definition to include other new phenomena (Jansson, 2018; Munt, 1994), one of the key elements characterizing such tourists remains a postmodern sense of irony. They are aware of the radically commodified, staged and mediatized nature of any tourist activity, but they eclectically play along anyway, tongue in cheek. ‘The post-tourist or post-modern tourist is a consumer who



Figure 16.2 The author's daughter wandering the Alps

Source: T. Sintobin.

embraces openly, but with some irony, the increasingly inauthentic, commercialized and simulated experiences offered by the tourism industry' (Smith, Macleod & Hart Robertson, 2010: 129). Post-tourists' irony tends to be explicitly marked as such; a good example are the many pictures of people performing in humorous ways in front of well-known flagship attractions (Edensor, 2009: 548). The fact that at some sites, such as the Leaning Tower of Pisa, such pictures outnumber more conventional ones, shows that this behaviour has become mainstream and heavily scripted as well.

There also exists a style of conscious tourism that is not ironical. The ethnographer Eduard Bruner relates an experiment he did when working as a tour guide-lecturer in Indonesia. He tried to educate his group of tourists – much to the dislike of the owner of the company that hired him – on the way tourism worked by taking photographs of them and by contextualizing and deconstructing the so-called traditional performances they had attended. This could be called metatourism: tourists travelling to see how the tourist industry works. Bruner (2005) claims that even the most staged tourist ritual is authentic (because it is a new form of cultural ritual that merits study), which means that the metatourist is, in a sense, always dealing with authentic reality. This attitude also reinstalls the association of travelling with learning and (anthropological) work. Perhaps the aestheticizing of tourist crowds – analogous with festival crowds³⁹ – will be the next step, although for now tourists seem quite keen on maintaining the illusion of solitude.⁴⁰

Bruner is not the only one to question existing definitions of authenticity. Ning Wang described the concept of 'existential authenticity', 'a special state of Being in which one is true to oneself' (Wang, 1999: 358). This kind of authenticity often has nothing to do with 'realness' of toured objects, but rather with '*the existential state of Being* activated by certain tourist activities' – 'derived from tourists' participation in the event rather than from merely being spectators of it' (Wang, 1999: 59). In other words, true travellers are those who experience this state of being, which can, in principle, be evoked by tourist hotspots and places off the beaten path alike. This is, again, an idea that online influencers frequently evoke when they state that they are 'a passionate traveler' for whom 'it's not about ticking destinations

off the bucket list but experiencing each one of them to the fullest',⁴¹ or wonder rhetorically: 'But is it not the ultimate goal of the traveler to experience a place in a manner that is his, no matter how many others have treaded there?'⁴²

Go offline

Evidently, the arrival of social media brought enormous changes to the world of the traveler. The permanent and ubiquitous connectivity to the internet radically altered his or her state of being; people are now 'actually-locally absent' to be 'virtually-globally present' (Oosterling, 2000). 'The new temporal order of tourist photography', Larsen (2006: 255) writes, 'seems to be "I am here" rather than "I was here"'. On the one hand, this could be seen as an opportunity. People no longer need to leave their house to visit the entire world – as the virtual and imaginative travellers Urry and Larsen noted but did not yet see 'replacing corporeal travel' (Urry & Larsen, 2011: 23). Many museums did promote virtual tours in 2020, to receive visitors despite the strict lockdown restrictions – so perhaps that time has come at last.⁴³ For those who keep travelling physically, the internet offers equal opportunities to everyone who has access to it, which means that the media in which to proclaim oneself a traveller are more broadly available than ever. It is up to the individual to use his or her creativity to come up with a convincing identity. Successful travel influencers now have the chance to actually make a living out of their travelling. On the other hand, however, this situation also radically destroys any fantasies a traveller may have about being a solitary individual who goes where no one has gone before. Actual solitude is forever gone; tourists are constantly live-performing in front of potentially vast audiences online. It also means that wherever one goes, one is simultaneously consuming and producing mediated places.

Tourists are struggling to deal with this. 'I will remember to get off Facebook, put my camera down, and enjoy the moment', is one of the '26 ways to be a traveler, not a tourist', but this 'manifesto' is, paradoxically, online.⁴⁴ Travellers who participated in research on digital-free travel responded in emotionally very different ways. Some of the reported feelings were negative, such as frustration regarding navigation and information acquisition, a sense of isolation from significant others and boredom in empty moments. There were many positive feelings as well, however; people felt liberated, 'started to perceive and actualize other environmental affordances and engaged in more social interactions at the destination that they previously ignored' and got the feeling that they 'learned more about sights, places, and beaches that were not on any tourism websites or guidebooks, but were beautiful and a highlight of their trips' (Cai, McKenna & Waizenegger, 2020: 920). All these aspects can be linked to the identity of the traveller dreamt of by Boorstin and Fussell.

Notes

- 1 'The Old English noun 'travel' (in the sense of a journey) was originally the same word as 'travail' (meaning 'trouble', 'work' or 'torment')'(Boorstin 1961: 85).
- 2 Interestingly, Boorstin's contemporary, Max Kaplan, a sociologist, identifies the opposite evolution in his *Leisure in America: a Social Inquiry*. The 'American tourist abroad', he writes, used to trigger some very bad publicity, with his inclination to exhibit a sense of superiority 'over people with less material advantages', but this is improving as the category of the 'comparative strangers', who 'never, or seldom, leave their own familiar ideas and judgments' while travelling and who 'view, but do not understand' is being replaced by the category of 'the empathic natives', who 'become native as much as their backgrounds, study and empathy permit' and in doing so gain real knowledge – 'not particulars but universals' (Kaplan 1960: 216).

- 3 The relationship of the tourism-traveler dichotomy to funding is rather complex. Boorstin claimed that travelling was expensive, as opposed to tourism. Travel agencies such as Thomas Cook and Henry Gaze & Son and books advising people how to travel low budget, like Henry Gaze's *Switzerland: how to see it for ten guineas* (1861) or its twentieth century counterpart *Europe on 5 dollars a day* (Arthur Frommer 1957), brought more and more people on the road and destroyed the exclusivity of travelling. Another line of thinking, however, claims that the lower the budget the more authentic a travel experience is. A good example is the hitchhiking movement, that started in the early twentieth century with Tickner consciously avoiding 'any of the wonted means of conveyance beloved of tourists' (Tickner, 1910:vi) and became synonymous with adventurous in the course of the century.
- 4 In an update of his article he uses the terms dependables and venturers (Plog, 2001).
- 5 <https://www.nomadicmatt.com/travel-blogs/new-traveler-advice/>, <https://www.mytravelbackpack.com/category/guides-resources/>, <https://www.atraveler.world/a-traveler/a-little-bit-about-me/>
- 6 <https://www.nativetraveler.com/blog-main/2017/9/20>
- 7 <https://www.dailysabah.com/travel/2019/09/28/a-journey-into-becoming-a-mindful-traveler>
- 8 <https://www.worldlyadventurer.com/about-me/>, <https://www.dreamsvoyager.com/what-kind-of-traveler-are-you/>, <https://bustickets.com/bus-travel/10-items-every-solo-traveler-needs/>, <https://www.reviewpro.com/blog/high-season-traveler-types/>, <https://www.mckinsey.com/industries/travel-logistics-and-transport-infrastructure/our-insights/how-to-serve-todays-digital-traveler#>, <https://www.keyshotels.com/blog/travel/solo-woman-traveler-destinations>
- 9 <https://www.pandotrip.com/awesome-destinations-for-solo-female-travelers-and-their-less-er-known-alternatives-30666/>
- 10 <https://medium.com/the-ascent/what-type-of-traveler-are-you-d7f09e00af11>, <https://fortune.com/2019/09/01/travelers-foodies-perks-rewards/>, <https://www.jetsetter.com/magazine/products-for-solo-travelers/>
- 11 <https://blog.virtuoso.com/uncategorized/5-trends-know-today-millennial-traveler/>; <https://traveler.marriott.com/tips-and-trends/holiday-travel-gift-ideas/>
- 12 <https://travelfave.com/mystery-traveler-guizhou/>
- 13 <https://www.amraandelma.com/100-top-travel-influencers/>; <https://www.under30experiences.com/blog/top-10-travel-bloggers-you-should-already-be-following/>; <https://www.wanderlust.co.uk/content/the-top-travel-bloggers-you-must-read/>; <https://medium.com/wearewoop/10-travel-influencers-that-you-may-not-know-to-include-on-your-digital-strategy-aa2e205b1160>
- 14 <https://www.forbes.com/top-influencers/2017/travel/#14ddd1d6d04>
- 15 <https://www.itu.int/en/mediacentre/Pages/2018-PR40.aspx>
- 16 <http://www.pandatraveller.com/a-travelers-manifesto-30-travel-rules-to-live-by/>; <https://thoughtcatalog.com/matthew-kepnes/2015/08/the-travelers-manifesto/>
- 17 <https://blog.flyporter.com/quiz-are-you-a-tourist-or-a-traveller/>
- 18 <https://777cebuadventures.blogspot.com/2013/08/traveler-or-tourist.html>; <https://hoponboard-blog.wordpress.com/2017/06/12/tourist-or-traveller/>
- 19 https://www.boredpanda.com/traveller-vs-tourist-differences-holidify/?utm_source=bing&utm_medium=organic&utm_campaign=organic
- 20 E.g. *Bye Bye Barcelona* (Eduardo Chibas, 2014).
- 21 <https://www.iamsterdam.com/en/see-and-do/things-to-do/itineraries/off-the-beaten-track>
- 22 <https://www.thisiseindhoven.com/en/visit/eindhoven-wanted/top-picks/de-ultimate-eindhoven-bucketlist>
- 23 <https://www.anitahendrieka.com/off-the-beaten-path-places/>
- 24 <https://mypathintheworld.com/unusual-things-to-do-in-barcelona/>
- 25 https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/sep/15/authentic-tourist-app-instagram-holiday?CMP=tw_t_gu
- 26 'They're off-the-beaten-track, under-appreciated... and utterly fantastic. Welcome to the hidden gems you never thought to visit, but really should if you're planning a trip.' - <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/expert-traveller/experiences/adventure/adventurous-destinations-you-shouldnt-overlook>
- 27 <https://www.audleytravel.com/inspiration/off-the-beaten-track>
- 28 <https://www.themannual.com/travel/best-travel-documentaries-on-netflix/>
- 29 https://www.standaard.be/cnt/dmf20130919_007
- 30 E.g. Kieron Connolly, *Abandoned places: A photographic exploration of more than 100 words we have left behind* (2017); Mathew Growcoot, *Abandoned: The most beautiful forgotten places from around the world* (2018); Henk van Rensbergen, *Abandoned places* (2007, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2019).

- 31 <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/04/travel/04HeadsUp>
32 <https://www.youngpionertours.com/dark-tourism/>
33 <https://www.experiencetravelgroup.com/blog/2018/09/dark-tourism-explained-by-a-real-dark-tourist/>
34 Tony Wheeler, *Badlands. A tourist on the axis of evil Lonely Planet* (2010).
35 <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/22/world/middleeast/from-minneapolis-to-isis-an-americans-path-to-jihad.html>
36 See Higgins-Desbiolles (2020b) for an overview of the debate.
37 <https://www.bucketlistly.blog/posts/travel-in-our-own-country#why-you-should-travel-in-your-own-country>
38 https://girlswanderlust.com/why-travel-in-your-own-country/?utm_source=rss&utm_medium=rss&utm_campaign=why-travel-in-your-own-country
39 E.g. Rutger Geerling, *This is my church* (2020).
40 <https://digital-photography-school.com/taking-photos-in-busy-tourist-destinations-with-no-people-in-the-shot/>; <https://krijnvandergiessen.com/2018/01/travel-photography-without-tourists/>;
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