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A Mobilities Approach to Tourism from Emerging World Regions

Abstract

Increasing numbers of people from the emerging world regions, Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East engage in tourism practices at domestic, intra-regional and long-haul international scales. In this article we deploy an innovative application of the mobilities approach, which we argue moves beyond the Eurocentrism implicit in modernist tourism studies, in a comparative analysis of tourism in and from these regions and those in the ‘West’. Our analysis opens up the systematic study of tourism in emerging world regions in terms of the mobilities paradigm, and concludes: one, travel had a multiplicity of origins in societies in the emerging regions, but most did not possess an equivalent emic term to ‘tourism.’ Two, tourism at domestic and intra-regional levels tends to be entangled with other discretionary mobilities, whereas the long-haul level is more differentiated. Three, the development of domestic discretionary travel in emerging regions can be represented by four overlapping ‘mobility constellations’. Four, there are significant historical differences between the regions in their long-haul mobility constellations, although their kinetic hierarchies are all still steep. Five, forms of movement and associated practices of discretionary travellers from the emerging regions and Western countries became increasingly similar under the impact of socio-technological, economic and cultural globalisation. Six, differences between the emerging regions, particularly Asia, and the West are most salient on the emic level of representations of international travel: the specific cultural motive forces for tourism do not centre on authenticity-seeking, but are instead bound up with prestige and markers of modernity.

Keywords: Emerging regions, Eurocentrism, domestic/regional/long-haul tourism, discretionary mobilities, mobility constellations

Introduction

In this article we employ a mobilities approach to the comparative study of tourism from the world’s emerging regions: Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, and Sub-Saharan Africa. The rapid growth of tourism in the last two decades from these

regions, on the domestic, regional and long-haul international scales, has not been matched by adequate theorising in tourism studies. Tourism studies have been slow in recognising the significance of this rapid rise and the epistemological, theoretical and comparative issues that it raises (Cohen and Cohen, 2015).

The main theoretical approaches in modernist studies of tourism have from the outset been explicitly formulated for the study of 'Western' tourism. Tourism was perceived as a modern, Western phenomenon; the principal issue was the relationship between tourism and modernity (MacCannell, 1976; Wang, 2000). Thus MacCannell (1976) conceived tourism in terms of an eminently modernist problematique: tourism as a deceptive quest for wholeness and authenticity to remedy the dissatisfactions of a differentiated modernity. 'Non-Westerners' entered that analytic framework by default as 'tourees' or the Other. That approach, which had a decisive influence on the theoretical discourse on tourism at least to the end of the 20th century, ignored people from the emerging regions *as* tourists.

Critics have argued that, since modernist tourism theory is based on Eurocentric paradigmatic assumptions, it cannot deal adequately with tourism from the emerging regions (Alneng 2002; Nyíri, 2006; Michael and Beeton, 2007; Mkono, 2011; Winter, 2009a). The critics alleged that modernist theory assumes that tourism originated in the West (Hazbun, 2009), is characterised by North-to-South, or West-to-East flows (Winter, 2009a), and prioritises Westerners as international tourists, while representing the people of the emerging regions as hosts or 'tourees' (Lengkeek and Platenkamp, 2008). These authors framed their criticism in terms of the contrast between 'Western' and 'non-Western' regions of the world.

While we basically agree with this criticism, we consider the 'Western' – 'non-Western' terminology inadequate, since it is implicitly 'othering' the latter

regions, designating them as a residual category. We instead use here the term ‘emerging regions,’ since conventional older terms, such as ‘developing’ or ‘Third World’ seem antiquated in the contemporary globalised world, and because some countries in those regions, such as Singapore, Japan and South Korea, are highly developed. We are thus attentive to differences within and between countries in the emerging regions, as well as to similarities between some of these and Western ones.

State of the Art

This article is based on studies of tourism from the emerging regions in English, Spanish, Portuguese, and other main European languages accessible to us, but is not intended as an exhaustive literature review. We recognise that there is a wealth of other relevant publications in Asian languages (particularly Chinese) that we have not been able to consider.

The distribution of the surveyed studies between regions is unequal. The rise of Asian tourism has gained growing attention by researchers in recent years (e.g. Singh, 2009a; Winter, Teo and Chang, 2009), but tourism of other emerging regions is unevenly treated, and some, such as Sub-Saharan Africa has until recently been paid little attention (Rogerson, 2012; Visser and Hoogendom, 2011). English-language publications have rarely discussed Latin American tourists, except for some studies on their travel to other North American destinations (e.g. Sullivan et al., 2012; Villegas, 2012), and have largely disregarded the extensive literature on that topic in Spanish and Portuguese (e.g. Meurer, 2012; Sammarchi, 2001). Though conspicuous, tourism by Middle Easterners, has also been little studied (Al-Hamarneh, 2005; Aziz 2001; Cai, Scott and Jafari 2010; Jafari and Scott, 2014). There are some promising beginnings in the study of Sub-Saharan Africans as tourists (e.g. Hannam and Butler,

2012; Mkono, 2011, 2013; Rogerson, 2002; Rogerson 2011, Rogerson and Lisa, 2005; Rogerson and Rogerson 2011).

Much of the existing research on tourism in and from emerging regions was driven by planning and management considerations, serving the interests of governments and the tourism industry, rather than by theoretical issues. The praxis-oriented tendency has led to the prioritisation of the study of outbound long-haul international tourism from the more developed countries (e.g. Japan, South Korea and recently China), while the study of the less prestigious, but more voluminous domestic and intra-regional tourisms was neglected (Ghimire, 2001a; Scheyvens, 2007).

Theoretical Approach

The theoretical status of the concept of 'tourism' in the modernist approach is open to more than one interpretation. It seems to be a universal, 'etic' concept, but has in fact been deployed as an 'emic' term, referring to the specific motives and practices of modern Western travellers. This left open the question of whether travel 'emically' resembling Western tourism at all existed in other societies before they underwent modernisation, and if so, what were its distinctive manifestations? This issue was rarely discussed theoretically, while the scope of early empirical studies of tourists from outside the West was limited to those from the more modernised Asian countries, particularly Japan (e.g. Graburn, 1983; Moeran, 1983; Moore, 1985).

The narrow concept of 'tourism' implicit in modernist tourism theories has exposed researchers to accusations of entertaining a Eurocentric (Alneng, 2002; Winter, 2009a), 'post-colonialist' view of tourism (Hall and Tucker, 2004), in which the 'Westerner' is the tourist, the 'non-Westerner' the 'toureer,' with apparently

universal theoretical claims derived on this basis (Nyiri, 2006). The historian of tourism John Towner already in the 1990s argued that '[t]he conventional image is a colonial view of tourism history, whereby an activity defined by and researched in western cultures is seen to have been brought over time to new peoples and societies' (1995: 340). Towner pointed out that '[s]uch a view...underplays the informal, the routine, the "ordinary", more localized, tourism practices as they have varied between and within countries and cultures'. He concludes: '[s]o far, all we have studied is a western model of tourism evolution, not how it has varied in different cultures and different times' (ibid: 340). Studies by historians of independent tourism development in countries such as Japan (Vaporis, 1995) had little impact on the Eurocentric view of tourism evolution.

Passing from a methodological to an ideological criticism of tourism researchers, Alneng (2002: 124) argued that '[i]f the West is appointed the homeland of both modernity and tourism, this is...a view based on an autocentric modernity expressing self-proclaimed universal certainty.' Alneng asserted that there exists a variety of forms of modern tourism outside the West, which had at that time passed largely unnoticed in tourism studies. Winter (2009a: 27), further elaborating that point, advocates a 'pluralistic discourse' and a 'multi-centered analysis' of tourism, and seems to embrace a call for an alternative, 'non-Western' epistemological approach to Asian social science (Winter, 2009b: 322), and thus implicitly to tourism (Cohen and Cohen, 2015).

Ironically, however, even as modernist researchers found it hard to adapt or expand their theoretical approaches, or evolve alternative ones, for the study of tourism from the emerging regions, the prevalent modernist theoretical approach found itself in a quandary: its very paradigmatic basis was threatened by the

postmodern attack on its fundamental presuppositions (e.g. Ritzer and Liska, 1997; Baudrillard, 1994). While Towner's and Aleng's calls for recognising a multiplicity of historical and contemporary forms of tourism sought to destabilise the conventional modernist concept of tourism from the 'outside,' namely from an anti-Western perspective, the concept was meanwhile destabilised by contemporary postmodernist approaches from the 'inside'. Consequently, novel conceptual and theoretical perspectives have in the last decade transformed our basic ideas and presuppositions on (Western) tourism. Though differing in their paradigmatic assumptions, approaches and emphases, such innovative theoretical frameworks as the mobilities paradigm, the performativity approach and actor-network theory (ANT) share important commonalities (Cohen & Cohen, 2012: 2180):

[f]irst, a shift from a synchronic to a diachronic perspective, involving a change of emphasis from permanence to flux, from being to doing, from structure to agency, from sedimented social patterns to the process of their emergence, and from the focus on the more stable features of social life to the mobilities linking them; and second, a postmodern tendency to stress the de-differentiation between social domains, the break-down of conventional binary concepts, the interpenetration between formerly opposite categories, and the blurring of the border between reality and virtuality.

The emergence of these innovative paradigmatic and theoretical perspectives has challenged some of the established, conventional assumptions in the study of tourism: they have destabilised the modernist view of tourism as a discrete activity, separated from, and indeed contrasting, everyday life (Franklin and Crang, 2001). They have denied the 'extraordinariness' of tourism and the sharp division between 'home' and 'away,' and proposed to conceive of tourism as an everyday activity (Haldrup and Larsen, 2010; Edensor, 2007). They have thus uncoupled contemporary tourism from the quest for the authentic or exotic Other, which has been seen as the quintessential motive of the modern Western tourist. And they have weakened the distinctions between tourism, pilgrimage and other forms of discretionary travel: as

Maoz and Bekerman (2010) argued, under conditions of postmodernity fixed categorisations of tourists break down. The modernist concept of 'the tourist' has consequently lost much of its analytical usefulness.

In view of these broader trends, we have chosen the mobilities paradigm (Cresswell, 2006; Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2000; 2007) as the most appropriate theoretical framework for the study of tourism in emerging regions. There are four reasons for our choice: first, it emphasises a dynamic perspective on touristic phenomena, having incorporated the above shift in attention from permanence to flux; second, it is hence free of any expressly Eurocentric bias, found in prevalent modernist theories in tourism studies (Cohen and Cohen, 2015); however, we do recognise that its roots are in Western modernist thought and that it may reflect some neoliberal, individualistic tendencies. Third, it is a general approach, and thus helps to avert a split in tourism studies between separate paradigms for Western tourism and tourism in the emerging regions, especially Asia, advocated by some authors (e.g. Winter 2009a; 2009b). And fourth, it sees tourism realistically as a strain in a cluster of discretionary (i.e. optional and voluntary) travel practices, interwoven with other types of mobility, rather than as a distinct extraordinary practice, disentangled from everyday life (Duncan, Scott and Baum, 2013; Franklin and Crang, 2001; Hall 2005a; Hannam et al., 2006; Cohen and Cohen 2012; Williams 2013). Tourism is thus viewed from a mobilities perspective as an everyday activity (Haldrup and Larsen, 2010; Edensor, 2007). The mobilities paradigm therefore helps deal with the increasingly blurred boundaries between tourism and other categories of local, national and global corporeal movement (S. Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark, 2013; Hall, 2005a). Our application of the mobilities approach to tourism in the emerging regions is consequently aimed at moving beyond

modernist Eurocentric viewpoints in tourism studies, while deploying a relatively unbiased comprehensive framework for examining the differences and similarities between tourism phenomena at differing geographical scales.

Mobilities as Constellations of Movement, Representation and Practice

The mobilities approach proposes a radical shift in the perception of ‘societies’, as merged in an encompassing ‘boundless network of diverse flows...interconnected by nodes’ or moorings (Urry, 2000; Hannam et al., 2006: 5), rather than a collection of bounded entities. Tourism is conceived as embroiled in these flows and nodes in an increasingly globalised and dedifferentiated world. The approach is conceptually equipped to take account of the diverse, localised and everyday forms of tourism in emerging world regions, without the ‘colonial view’ implicit in modernist tourism theory (Towner, 1995: 340).

The mobilities approach foregrounds movement and embraces all varieties of corporeal, virtual and imaginative human mobility (as well as the mobilities of objects, information, ideas and wastes) (Urry, 2000; Hannam et al., 2006), from walking and everyday routines through to domestic, regional and long-haul international travel. Within that multiplicity of mobilities, tourism can be conceived as part of a fuzzy cluster of ‘discretionary mobilities’ (a concept resembling Hall’s [2005a] ‘voluntary temporary mobilities’), which, in addition to ‘traditional’ tourist activities such as sight-seeing and vacationing, also includes pilgrimages (Timothy and Olsen, 2006), visits to friends and relatives and familiar places (Pearce, 2012; Uriely & Shani 2012; Larsen, Urry & Axhausen, 2007), excursions, shopping trips, visits to entertainment venues (Pearce, 2008), variations of contemporary global nomadism (e.g. S. Cohen et al., 2013; Kanisto and Kanisto, 2012) and similar

activities. The cluster of ‘discretionary mobilities’ generates distinct flows, travelling styles and nodes or moorings (Hannam et al., 2006), distinguishing it from other types of mobilities.

However, the conceptualisation of ‘mobilities’ in earlier key texts was primarily positivistic (e.g. Hannam et al. 2006; Urry 2007), and hence imbued with an ‘etic’ character, focusing on systems, networks and flows on the ‘macro-level’ (Hall, 2005b: 97); it thus lacked an ‘emic’, culturally nuanced approach to tourism. We have therefore adopted Tim Cresswell’s (2010) recent more ‘micro-social’ conceptualization of mobilities as an auxiliary approach to facilitate a complex interpretive analysis of discretionary mobilities in emerging regions.

Cresswell (ibid: 18) conceives of ‘mobilities’ as comprised of an entanglement of *movement* (‘physical movement – getting from one place to another’), *representation* (‘the representations of movement that give it shared meaning’) and *practice* (‘the experienced and embodied practice of movement’). Cresswell emphasises that the three components are ‘bound up with one another’ and at any one time constitute ‘constellations of mobility;’ hence their ‘disentanglement is entirely analytical and its purpose is to aid theory construction’ (ibid: 19). However, while he stresses that the three components are always mutually entangled, he does not discuss the manner of their entanglement.

Cresswell further distinguishes six aspects of moving that each play a role in what he calls the ‘politics of mobility’ (ibid: 21-26): motive force (‘why does a person or thing move?’), speed (‘how fast does a person or thing move?’), rhythm (‘in what rhythm does a person or thing move?’), routing (‘what route does it take?’), experience (‘how does it feel?’) and friction (‘when and how does it stop?’). He does

not expressly relate these aspects to the three components of mobility, but rather illustrates how the political dimension of each of them is constituted.

We have for present purposes slightly adapted Cresswell's (2010) concepts: first, we conceive of 'movement' as a purely spatial concept, positivistic and 'etic.' Second, in contrast, we view 'representation' as an 'emic' perception and interpretation of movement (such as adventure, tedium, education or freedom [ibid]). Diverging from Cresswell, we claim that the interpretative meanings of movement are not always shared, but different parties might interpret a movement in often contrasting terms (for example, an African person travelling to Europe might claim to be a tourist, while immigration authorities suspect him or her of being an economic migrant). Third we conceive of 'practices' as performative (Austin, 1978) acts, having both an 'etic' character as movement, and an 'emic' character as representation: the meaning of a performance of some embodied practice can be perceived in many different ways (e.g. as 'work,' 'play,' 'simulation' or 'acting'). Some of Cresswell's aspects of mobility detail primarily 'etic' facets of 'movement' (e.g. speed, rhythm, routing and friction), while others detail primarily 'emic' aspects of 'representation' (e.g. motive force and experience). All of them are aspects of 'practices'.

We thus propose to conceive of mobilities as a complex of *movements* (etic), performed by configurations of activating, regulating and resisting performative *practices* (etic/emic), endowed with (contested) meanings, which tend to coagulate into (conflicting) *representations* (emic).

Cresswell (2010) uses his conceptual kit to trace changes in *constellations* (or assemblages) of mobility in Western Europe, effectively illustrating changing politico-historical patterns in the regulation of enmeshed mobility practices. But he resisted the tendency to a strict periodisation of such constellations; rather he sees

‘constellations as emerging, dominant and residual’ so that ‘elements of past exist in the present just as elements of the future surround us’ (ibid: 29). And, one should add, elements of co-existing constellations often penetrate into one another, as is particularly the case in the contemporary, globalised world.

While Cresswell drew his examples primarily from the West, we apply here our modification of his approach to the study of the dynamics and variety of discretionary mobilities from the emerging regions on three scales: domestic, intra-regional and long-haul international.

Distinguishing Domestic and International Tourism

Discretionary travel in pre-modern times can hardly be called ‘domestic’, because many pre-modern societies were lacking the enveloping formal borders that typically function as transition points in modern states (Heesterman, 1985). But some societies had a vague emic concept of the territory of their cultural community. In India, for example, it was called *deśa*, and stood in opposition to *mleccha*, the surrounding land of the impure, non-Sanskritised people (Parasher, 1991); the modern term for domestic travel, *deshatan* (lit. travel within the national boundary) is based on this opposition (Singh, 2009b).

Pre-modern societies did not generally have an emic terminological equivalent for ‘tourism,’ and created it only through growing contact with the West. In the Thai language, for example, there was an emic term, *tiao*, which signified taking a leisure trip, often to enjoy (male) illicit activities, such as drinking and visiting prostitutes. This term became the basis for the neologism *khan tong tiao*, for ‘tourism’ and *nak tong tiao* for ‘tourist’ (E. Cohen, 2014). Such neologisms were at the outset typically deployed to denote foreign tourists, rather than domestic ones; the concept of

‘domestic tourism’ emerged only at a later point in time, to distinguish local from foreign discretionary travellers. Thereby a dichotomic division between ‘international’ and ‘domestic’ tourism was instituted, rooted in the widely accepted modern image of the world as a map of distinct, differently coloured patches, denoting (nation) states (Cresswell, 2012), and the lines surrounding them signifying the borders separating them. That dichotomic division determined the basic structure of tourism statistics, which is presently universally deployed.

In the modern image of the world, borders were seen as the most important barriers (or sources of ‘friction’ in Cresswell’s [2010] terms) to the free movement of people and goods. That image was criticised by the early mobilities theorists, who offered a contrary image of a postmodern globalised future, which would be ‘characterized by “flows” and networks, [thus suggesting] that we are moving towards a “borderless world”’ (Paasi, 2009: 213). In such a world borders would become obsolete. But, contrary to that expectation, under the impact of such developments as ‘securitisation’ in the face of rising terrorism, protectionism and anti-migration sentiments (Johnson et al., 2011), as well as of their persisting symbolic role, the salience of ‘borders’ again increased. But the concept has been deterritorialised, losing its conventional connotation of a line between states, and acquiring the character of a ‘spatially stretched’ assemblage of surveillance apparatuses, which begin to examine the admissibility of prospective visitors long before they reach the physical border-crossing (ibid: 63-64).

Consequently, borders acquired different degrees of permeability for diverse categories of people: from routine admittance of visitors into border areas of neighbouring countries, to highly restrictive barriers, such as those imposed by the European Union or the United States on the admittance of citizens from many

countries in the emerging regions. This creates a new kind of ‘kinetic hierarchy’ (Cresswell, 2012) on the global scale: ease of travel for most Westerners and the elites from emerging regions, serious limitations for the rest; as the latter were frequently ineligible for international travel, they often turned to domestic tourism.

While the domestic-international dichotomy thus remains pertinent even in a globalised world, it is important to note that it masks significant continuities between, and variations within, those categories, such as the bifurcation of ethnicities by borders between states (Sur, 2013), or the presence of ethnic or migrant minorities within nation-states. Where borders cut across national or ethnic territories, visitors between co-ethnics – though crossing borders – as, for example mainland Chinese visiting Hong Kong (Huang and Hsu, 2005; Qu and Li, 1997), Macanese crossing into mainland China (Vong and Lam, 2009), or Malaysians visiting southern Thailand (Askew and E. Cohen, 2004) – can hardly be seen as ‘international’ tourists.

Contrariwise, in countries in emerging regions various indigenous or national or religious minorities often represent a domestic alien to members of the majority, to be either despised by dint of feelings of superiority, or curiously gazed upon as an exotic Other, against which the majority defines its own identity (Oakes, 2006). Vasantkumar (2009: 130-131) offers an excellent example of the ‘problematic “domesticity” of contemporary Chinese tourism practices’ in his study of Han Chinese tourism to ‘China’s Little Tibet,’ which, rather than ‘tying the nation together’ throws ‘its internal disparities into bold relief’.

The ‘international’ category similarly embraces a range of highly heterogeneous forms of tourism, which have to be analytically distinguished. Especially, the highly popular border and ‘exclave’ (Gelbman and Timothy, 2011) tourisms, which probably constitute the majority of ‘international’ tourists in the contemporary world, are in

fact intermediate cases, neither wholly ‘domestic’ nor wholly ‘international’. They constitute a different mobility constellation in terms of type of movement, representation and associated practices, than intra-regional, and especially, long-haul international tourism.

Pre-modern Discretionary Travel in Emerging Regions

In the period preceding modernisation in the emerging regions, spatial movement was typically low in scale, slow, with barriers of a geographical, technological, administrative and often political nature causing many kinds of friction, even along established routes (see e.g. Vaporis [1995] on Tokugawa, Japan). Travel was either on foot, on the back of domestic animals or carriages drawn by them, or by boat on rivers and along canals, with the introduction of trains, mostly by colonial powers, presaging the modern period of mass transportation. The ‘kinetic hierarchy’ (Cresswell, 2010; 2012) was highly skewed, with the free movement of the lower social strata often impeded by various restrictions, such as bondage, the need for travel permits and other controls imposed by diverse authorities (Vaporis, 1995), and by limited discretionary means. The elites were less constrained in their movement, and often entitled and able to engage on extensive journeys, a state-of-affairs resembling that in medieval feudal Europe (Cresswell, 2006). Thus members of Latin American upper-classes cherished trips to Europe, while the indigenous highland population hardly ever moved beyond the nearby market town.

Under the circumstances, discretionary travel of the majority was largely routed into three main practices: visits with friends and relatives (VFR), outings, and trips to sacred places, represented as ‘pilgrimages’. However, except for the latter, there is little detailed information available on those practices. Mutual visits between

friends and relatives seem to have been frequent, particularly on festive occasions, but distances travelled were probably mostly short. For rural people, outings were mostly limited to brief trips to nearby market towns, for urbanites, to excursions into the surrounding countryside. But, as Towner (1995) has pointed out, for people of limited mobility even a short trip from home might have offered novel experiences. Outings might also have provided relief or escape from constraints of daily life, or an outlet for (illicit) activities, proscribed at home. But recreational travel of the lower strata was not encouraged in pre-modern societies. Longer trips by adventurous individuals, beyond the confines of their social world, were often condemned as antinomian. However, outside the confines of sedentary communities, there were also individuals and groups, such as nomads, outcasts, vagabonds, brigands or religious recluses, who lived permanently on the move, with 'degrees of necessity' between choosing to move or 'being compelled to move' (Cresswell, 2010: 22).

Pilgrimages have been ubiquitous in most pre-modern societies of the emerging regions (see R. Singh [2011] and Sh. Singh [2009a] for Asia; Crumrine and Morinis [1991] and Christoffoli [2007] for Latin America; Bhardwaj [1998] for the Middle East; Tanner [2003] for Sub-Saharan Africa), and constituted the distinguishing trait of the prevailing mobility constellation. They have been the principal form of discretionary travel, with their motive force straddling the borderline between obligation and voluntariness (Turner, 1973). However, pilgrimages were not only of religious, but also of major environmental, economic, social, political and cultural significance (Collins-Kreiner, 2010).

From an 'etic' perspective, pilgrimages, as a widespread practice, constituted the backbone of networks of discretionary travel, connecting hierarchically ordered centres along established routes, which often channelled through wide regions,

crossing boundaries, and culminating in major regional or even global pilgrimage nodes. These may have been excentric to the socio-political centres of pre-modern societies, or, in Turner's (1973) phrase, 'centres out there' (as in the case of Jerusalem or Mecca) or concentric with the former, as the sanctuaries in capital cities of Asian empires (E. Cohen, 1992).

Pilgrimages were also a widely recognised 'emic' representation, referred to by a distinct terminology: in India, for example, *tīrthā yātrā* (pilgrimage journey) was distinguished from other types of movement, such as *ghumna* (touring), *milna* (visiting people) and *dekhna* (sightseeing) (Singh, 2009b). Though, interestingly, '[i]n contemporary times, traditional and modern travel and touring practices are collectively referred to as *ghumna* – an accepted term with [an] all-embracing scope' (ibid: 83). In Thailand, the term for going on a pilgrimage is *tudong* (from Sanskrit *dhutanga*), while *tiao* is used for engaging in other forms of discretionary travel (E. Cohen, 2014). The Hebrew term for pilgrimage (*aliyah le-ragel*) was reserved for the three annual 'ascents' to Jerusalem for the high holidays, and is at present used for pilgrimages to Jewish holy places, whereas *tzalyanut* is a general term for 'pilgrimage'. In Islam, the principal pilgrimage is the *hajj* to Mecca (Bianchi, 2004); pilgrimages to other Muslim holy places are referred to as *ziarat* (Bhardwaj, 1998) (also spelled *ziyarat*, from Arabic *ziyārah*). In Latin America, whatever pre-Columbian pilgrimages might have existed were superseded by, and often incorporated into, the Catholic custom of *peregrinación* or *peregrinação*, introduced respectively by the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors (Morinis and Crumrine, 1991; Turner and Turner, 2011 [1978]). But pilgrimages were rarely a purely religious activity; in fact they mostly involved some leisure practices, such as entertainment at fairs, or shopping at markets adjoining major pilgrimage sites.

This historic mobility constellation, in which pilgrimages served as the dominant form of discretionary travel, was absorbed and adapted into the mobility constellations, which have emerged in the modern era.

Constellations of Contemporary Domestic Tourism in Emerging Regions

‘Domestic tourism’ is a fuzzy concept. It is an often seamless mixture of diverse kinds of discretionary travel, some bordering on everyday leisure activities, others on ‘work’; hence even if its connotation were clear and unequivocal, its denotation remains obscure. Thus, any estimate of the scope of domestic tourism in the emerging regions will be based on insecure ground.

The governments of newly emergent nation states, preoccupied with foreign exchange earnings and investments from the development of international tourism (Silveira da Rosa and Tavares, 2002), virtually ignored ‘the unglamorous phenomenon of mass domestic tourism’ (Rogerson and Lisa, 2005: 88). Some countries, however, like Israel at an early stage (Katz, 1985), Brazil under President Vargas (dos Santos Filho, 2008), Indonesia (Adams, 1998) and India (Hannam and Diekmann, 2011) have encouraged domestic tourism, not so much for its economic value, but rather as ‘a mechanism for national integration and nation building’ (ibid: 103), and sought to direct it towards sites of collective symbolic significance; this has in fact engendered a variety of hegemonic nationalist pilgrimages, masked as ‘tourism’.

In the course of recent decades, motorisation, improvements in the transportation system, urbanisation (Rodrigues, 1996), and the growth of discretionary income, particularly among the middle classes, facilitated and motivated the emergence of spontaneous domestic travel. This expanded rapidly (Scheyvens, 2007)

and was undertaken with increased velocity. Especially in Asia, domestic travel recently surged to immense proportions, provoking considerable friction in the transportation system.

It is convenient to distinguish analytically between an ‘informal’ and a ‘formal’ sector in domestic discretionary travel in the emerging regions (Gladstone 2005; Ihalanayake, 2009), and deal with them as separate constellations of mobilities, even though they might partly overlap in practice. The ‘informal sector,’ defined as that part of the travelling public which typically does not make use of tourist-oriented means of transportation, accommodations and services, is in many respects a modification of pre-modern domestic travel. It is less regulated by the authorities, less convenient and more dangerous (Hannam and Butler, 2012) than the formal sector. The sector is the principal segment of domestic discretionary travel in many, particularly the less developed countries; but it is generally excluded from official tourism statistics.

The informal travel sector serves principally the more traditional, lower and lower-middle strata of society, thus facilitating the mobility of the lower sections of the kinetic hierarchy. Jain and Jain (2011: 119) however report that in India domestic travel presently embraces all classes: the Scheduled Castes and Tribes constitute 25% of domestic travellers, proportional to their representation in the general population. In Brazil, domestic tourism occurs primarily in the informal sector: the majority of trips are made by road transport due to the historically high costs of domestic air travel, with accommodation predominantly taking place in the homes of friends and relatives (Lohman and Dredge, 2012).

Much of the informal travel consists of VFR (Griffin 2013), a practice which considerably expanded in scale, in wake of the dispersion of local family and social

networks owing to massive rural-to-urban migration (Hannam and Diekmann, 2011; Diegues, 2001). Rhythmic home trips by displaced rural-to-urban migrants surge particularly during major festivals and public holidays, and often create enormous jams on the main traffic arteries and pressures on the railway systems. Though China had recently made efforts to improve its railway system, the principal means of domestic long-distance travel, during the Chinese New Year (and other public holidays), the system experiences difficulties in handling the ever bigger travelling public, reaching into hundreds of millions, and many people, especially among the poorer social strata, have to put up with considerable friction in terms of time and convenience in the struggle to reach their destination or to return home (Jiang, 2013).

Pilgrimages remained the distinguishing practice of the informal sector. A representation is Ihalanayake's (2009: 262-263) characterisation of that sector in Sri Lanka:

Religion is the main purpose of visits of domestic visitors...during the special festive periods [at pilgrimage sites]...they tend to travel in...groups of 20 to 40...in relatively less comfortable buses and vans that are used for public transport purposes. In the past, they even travelled in the back of lorries/trucks that were used for the transportation of goods...in most cases visitors tend to become self-sufficient...they bring [along] required groceries, such as rice and vegetables, and prepare their meals wherever they stay. In most cases they stay in halls that are designed for such large crowds [where] there are no beds and visitors sleep on the floor...The accommodation facilities targeted at the informal sector are scarcely compatible with any standards [set by the tourist authorities] and are provided in a casual way.

Moquillaza (1999) describes domestic travel by the lower social strata in Peru in virtually identical terms. E. Cohen's (2014) observations of the informal travel sector in Thailand also largely support Ihalanayake's characterisation.

Rather than receding in the modern era, pilgrimages, a 'residual [human mobility] tradition' (Cresswell, 2010: 29) of earlier times, have actually proliferated in the emerging regions. There is considerable evidence from many countries,

particularly from India (Hannam and Diekmann, 2011; Singh, 2004), Japan (Singh and Hashamoto 2011), Thailand (E. Cohen, 2014) and Brazil (Christoffoli, 2007), on the continued vigour of pilgrimages. The Maha Kumbh Mela festival celebrated on the shore of the river Ganges in Allahabad, India, every 12 years, the biggest religious gathering in the world (Tharoor, 2013), drew in 2013 an estimated one hundred million people during its 55 day period (ibid). On the most auspicious day, about 30 million came to bathe in the Ganges. The pressure on the local railway station at the end of the day caused the railings on a bridge to crush, and tens of people fell to their death (*Bangkok Post*, 2013). This is an extreme example of the incapacity of the ‘moorings’ in populous countries to handle the huge numbers of domestic travellers at times of peak demand. But even some hitherto little known pilgrimage sites acquired a nation-wide popularity, as did, for example, the previously little known Virgin Mary of Urkupiña, in Quillacollo, Bolivia (Derks, 2009).

Pilgrimages were in the past predominantly ambulatory and have hence progressed at a slow pace, over short stages. Walking, or other forms of ambulatory movement, used to be, and in some instances still are, the distinguishing marks of some pilgrimages. In Brazil, for example, special associations were recently founded to prepare prospective pilgrims for the 800 km long walk of the ‘Camino de Santiago’ [Way of St. James] in Spain, by reproducing locally the landscape, difficulties and distances of daily stages on that route (Toniol and Steil, 2010: 101). In Northern Chile, Catholic pilgrims, organised in dancing societies, rhythmically danced (rather than just walked) the route to popular local Marian sanctuaries (Tennekes and Koster, 1986).

With the modernisation of transportation systems, motorised land and air transport have been increasingly substituted for walking, boosting the number of

pilgrims to ever further pilgrimage centres. Older forms of movement are being neglected, as contemporary pilgrimage practices shift increasingly from the informal to the formal sector. Pilgrimages to major global centres such as Jerusalem or Mecca were in the past complex, dangerous and protracted undertakings. The modern means of travel had a major impact on the speed of pilgrimage mobility: it reduced travel time radically, thus enabling growing numbers of pilgrims to reach in a fast and comfortable trip heretofore remote pilgrimage centres, such as Mecca (Bianchi, 2004) or the Buddhist sanctuary of Bodghayā in India's Bihar state (Goldberg, 2011).

But motorisation also produces new 'forms of waiting, stillness and stuckness' (Cresswell, 2012: 645). Bianchi (2004: 15) offers a lively description of logistic friction on the *hajj* created by the transition from walking to motorisation on sundown of the 9th day of the pilgrimage, the Day of Standing at the Plain of 'Arafat:

...all two millions pilgrims assembled at 'Arafat depart at exactly the same time. More than 100,000 buses, trucks, cars and vans plunge in to a couple of narrow mountain passes [to the valley of Muzdalifa], producing complete gridlock ...The [Muzdalifa] valley is a grisly parking lot – miles of jet-black asphalt under blinding lights where thousands of air-conditioned buses sit, their motors churning carbon monoxide thick enough to chew.

In order to deal with the logistics of the massive inflow of pilgrims, old pilgrimage centres are being transformed into huge moorings; Mecca's old historical quarters are being destroyed to accommodate hotels and services for pilgrims (Taylor, 2011; Wainwright, 2012). Bodhgayā town, according to Goldberg (2011: 61), 'degenerated from a spiritual refuge to a tourist site filled with commercial activity and greed,' as a consequence of an accelerated, unregulated development of tourist services for the growing number of pilgrims.

In recent times, pilgrimage became increasingly merged with tourism (Collins-Kreiner, 2010; see, e.g. Peon Arcero, 2009 for Mexico; Al-Hamarneh, 2005 for the

Middle East; Fairer-Wessels, 2007 for South Africa). New forms of pilgrimage crop up, straddling the boundary between religion and tourism (e.g. Steil and de Sá Carneiro, 2008), and pilgrimage sites are rapidly becoming tourist attractions. Thus Alneng (2009: 33) points out in his case study of Núi Bà Đen (Black Lady Mountain) in Tây Ninh province of Vietnam, which attracts annually over one million predominantly Vietnamese visitors, that ‘Núi Bà Đen is both a pilgrimage site and a tourist site, and [the visitors] seem to have no difficulty shouldering an amalgamation of these presupposed incompatible identities’. While another popular pilgrimage site, Trúc Lâm (Bamboo Grove) in Vietnam’s Central Highlands, has ‘as a religious site...very little to do with its success in attracting visitors – the touristic rather than the sacred has taken the front seat’ (ibid: 36).

The introduction in recent decades of neo-liberal economic policies (Teo, 2009) set off a spectacular rise of new urban middle classes (Kharas, 2010) in Asia (Dyck, Hansakul and Saxena, 2009) and Latin America (Yukhananov, 2012; for Argentina see Svampa, 2000; 2005; for Brazil, Luci de Oliveira, 2012), and a more moderate one in Sub-Saharan Africa (see Kharas, 2010; Rogerson and Lisa 2005; Sindiga, 1996). Driven by the congestion and pollution of the city, facilitated by widespread automobilisation and the availability of more disposable income, the new strata acquired a taste for travel. Wah (2009: 71), for example, noted that in China, a ‘craze for travel’ emerged already in the 1990s. The growing desire for travel provoked a rapid expansion of the ‘formal’ domestic mobilities constellation in many countries, based on a system of attractions and service moorings, oriented primarily to the needs and preferences of the new middle classes, rather than of a foreign clientele.

That domestic constellation emerged in many instances independently of the often already existing, upper-market oriented foreign ‘international’ tourism

constellation. National authorities mostly prioritised the latter and made it subject to governmental planning, direction and support, while disregarding the emergence and development of the former. Domestic tourists were often undervalued as an economic asset, and perceived as a mere security net, to serve as a substitute for declining foreign tourism in times of economic or political crises (e.g. Yue, 2009), when upper-market, foreigner-oriented facilities would cut rates to fill their premises with ‘local’ clients. The ‘formal’ domestic mobilities constellation hence mostly developed haphazardly or rhizomatically, outside the framework of governmental planning (e.g. Rao and Suresh, 2001 for India).

An infrastructure of down-market accommodation facilities, such as home-stays, local hotels and resorts, and a wide choice of services, such as restaurants, markets, malls, festivals, theme parks and similar mass entertainment complexes catering for domestic visitors gradually emerged in many countries, especially in Asia. But the economic and social significance of domestic travel gained official attention only in recent years, with the recognition of its considerable potential, and of the increasing ability of more affluent domestic travellers to patronise even upper-market tourist facilities.

From an ‘etic’ perspective, the ‘formal’ domestic mobilities constellation in the emerging regions shows significant similarities to its Western counterpart. One of these is the interpenetration of tourism and daily life, recently emphasised by Western theoreticians (Edensor, 2007; Haldrup and Larsen, 2010; Cohen and Cohen, 2012). Recent studies of such city-states as Singapore (Yue, 2009), Hong Kong (Wah and Fung, 2009) and Macao (Vong and Lam, 2009) have shown how a variety of domestic tourist activities often seamlessly meld with ordinary leisure pursuits. The bulk of domestic touristic activities tends to be of brief duration and limited in geographical

scope. Crucial in that respect was the introduction of a custom taken over from the West - the long weekend. This led to the popularisation of *weekendismo*, a term devised long ago by Nuñez (1963) to signify weekend excursions of urban middle-classes into the areas surrounding a major Mexican city.

Weekend excursions (see e.g. on China Su, Ding and Zhou, 1996; on Brazil Hoeffel et al., 2009; Shirley, 1996; on southern Africa Rogerson, 2002) became the dominant rhythm of contemporary domestic mobility in the formal sector: a stream of vehicles, predominantly private cars, vans and coaches, carrying groups of families or friends leave the cities at the onset of the weekend, and return at its end. Most are routed to the ‘recreation belt’ (Wu and Cai, 2006) surrounding the metropolis. In Asia, ‘recreational belts’ often extend to a distance of up to several hundred kilometres around metropolitan centres, and offer a heterogeneous mixture of attractions, amenities and services catering to the needs and preferences of the excursionists. In countries like Thailand, the huge demand for such facilities and services tends to transform the destination localities in the belt into ‘weekend economies,’ quiet during the days of the week, and highly active over the weekends; a leading example of such a reversal are the small urban settlements in Bangkok’s huge ‘recreation belt’ (E. Cohen, 2014).

Improvements in surface infrastructure and the more recent expansion of small domestic and regional air companies, especially in such vast countries as Brazil (Silva and Parra, 2010; Théry, 2003), China (Shaw, Lu, Chen and Zhou, 2009; Takada, 2012), India (O’Connell and Williams, 2006) and Indonesia (Hooper, 2005), facilitate brief excursions from the cities into remoter regions of those countries. Even in Thailand, which in global terms is a middle-sized country, well-off domestic tourists can take weekend excursions by air to less accessible destinations, such as the popular

remote town of Pai in the country's north (E. Cohen, 2006). Binge flying, heretofore a predominantly Western phenomenon (S. Cohen, Higham and Cavaliere, 2011), is incipient in the emerging regions of the world.

As newly affluent domestic tourists progressively penetrated the upper-scale tourism facilities, which had been initially intended for foreign guests, the domestic and international mobility constellations increasingly co-mingled. But foreign and domestic tourists, though using the same facilities, tend to keep socially apart, especially when they do not share a similar ethnic, religious or linguistic background. This is particularly the case in Asia, with its great cultural diversity; it is probably less so in Latin America, with its greater religious and linguistic homogeneity.

The information on the distinctive practices of the new middle class domestic travellers in the emerging regions is limited; but considerable differences seem to prevail between the world regions. In Asia, domestic tourists usually engage in a cluster of related activities, which might include nature trips, visits to heritage and religious sites, shopping, tasting local specialties, and dining or feasting; they mostly abstain from exhaustive ones, such as trekking, or from extended sea-side vacationing, which is a major indulgence of domestic tourists in Latin America, especially in Brazil and Argentina (see Diegues, 2001; Silveira de Roso and Tavares, 2002 for Brazil; Sammarchi, 2001 for Argentina). But Chinese domestic tourists seem to have recently begun "shifting their gaze to the Ocean" (*eTravel News*, 2013a).

A fundamental issue in the comparative study of tourism are the differences in the motive force between Western tourists and those from the emerging regions, and especially, whether the latter travel in quest of "authenticity" (MacCanell 1973; 1976); however, since the question was implicitly stated with respect to international

tourists, we shall deal with it below, and refer here only to the distinguishing motive forces of domestic tourists in the emerging regions.

According to Nyíri (2009: 155), Chinese domestic tourists perceive travel as a quintessentially modern experience. When Chinese group tourists:

...visit 'scenic spots' and theme parks...their expectation for the site/sight to be 'developed' (*kaifa*) is rather more explicit than that of Western tourists, who value 'authenticity'...[T]he experience of the modern – in accommodation, infrastructure or entertainment – appears as an explicitly articulated, central desire in mainstream Chinese tourism, reflected in the popularity of theme parks but also in the bounded and performative nature of sites that are based on nature or tradition (ibid: 156).

Nyíri distinguishes carefully between the Chinese and a postmodern attitude to 'authenticity':

Chinese tourists realize that they are shown staged performances and yet appreciate, even expect, them. But unlike the 'post-tourists' of Western literature – who have stopped pursuing the 'authentic' because they have realized that everything is fake anyway...Chinese tourists seem to 'play along' because they consider participating in performances of the nation serious business (ibid: 165).

For Chinese tourists 'consuming scenic spots is quite naturally an exercise in recognising canonical representations of the nation, while enjoying the modernity of hotels and the evening entertainment of ethnic dance shows' (ibid: 168). Chinese, as well as Thai (E. Cohen, 2014) and other Asian tourists, seem to be less concerned than Westerners with the strict preservation of natural and heritage sites in their countries, and tend to consider the introduction of modern amenities and buildings on such sites as signs of 'progress' rather than of spoliation. African tourists similarly prefer an aesthetically satisfying presentation of local culture to authenticity (Mkono, 2013). While the authenticity of *gaucho* traditions played a major role in South American identity politics and *tradicionalista* festivals, the popular non-functional

gaucho estancias close to the cities show few efforts to present authentic *gaucho* shows (E. Cohen, forthcoming).

Constellations of Intra-Regional Tourism in Emerging Regions

The conventional division of the world into major regions, as a level in-between the ‘domestic’ and the ‘global,’ such as Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa, might have been initially a Western construction (Hall, 2009); however, it has over time achieved general currency, and was gradually reinforced by the emergence of organisations and economic and transportation networks, based on those constructions (ibid), thus identifying major regions as bounded entities. Tourism within those regions has been defined as a ‘sub-category of international tourism and refer[ed] to [as] “intra-regional” flows of tourists’ (Rogerson, 2004: 229).

Outbound tourism flows in Asia, the Middle East, Latin America (Ghimire, 2001b; Meurer, 2012) and Sub-Saharan Africa (Rogerson, 2004) are primarily intra-regional. For instance recent work suggests that 72% of outbound Indian tourist trips are to Asian destinations (Haden, 2008); most outbound travel from South American and Southeast Asian countries is similarly intra-regional. However, despite its numerical significance, intra-regional tourism in emerging regions has been neglected in the literature (Rogerson, 2004; Chan, 2006; Ghimire, 2001a, 2001b) and in national tourism policies, possibly because it ‘is seen as far less glamorous than [long-haul]... international tourists’ (Rogerson, 2004: 229). Much of this intra-regional travel is routed between adjoining countries, or between countries within sub-regions (Teo, 2009), particularly between those belonging to sub-regional organisations, such as the Association of Southeast Asian countries (ASEAN) (Ghimire, 2001a), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (ibid; Rogerson, 2004, Rogerson and

Rogerson 2011) or the South American Mercado Común del Sur (Mercosur) (Ghimire, 2001a; Santana 2001).

Intra-regional tourism flows are marked by some dominant patterns of movement. For example in Asia, mainland Chinese tourists follow routes to Hong Kong (Huang and Hsu, 2005; Qu and Li, 1997), Macau (Song and Witt, 2006; Zhang and Heung, 2002) (which are under PRC sovereignty, but involve passing border controls), Singapore, Taiwan and some other Southeast Asian countries with a significant Chinese population, such as Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand (Cai, Boger and O'Leary, 1999), as well as to neighbouring Vietnam (Chan, 2006). There are regional tourism flows of Indians to Southeast Asia (Yahya, 2003), especially to Malaysia (Sudipta, Narat and Babu, 2010), Thailand (Siri et al., 2012) and Indonesia (Thirumaran, 2009), Japanese to South Korea (e.g. Kim, Agrusa, Lee and Chon, 2007) and vice versa (Kim and Prideaux, 2012), and Malaysians to Thailand (Askew and E. Cohen, 2004). In the Middle East, Arabs from the wealthier countries travel mainly to Lebanon, Syria (before the civil war), Dubai and Bahrain (Al-Hamarneh, 2005; Ladki, Mikdashi, Fahed and Abbas, 2002). In South America, Brazil and Argentina are the major hubs of both outbound and inbound regional travel (Diegues, 2001; Sammarchi, 2001; Sobral, Peci and Souza, 2007), while Mexicans engage in lively border tourism with the US (Bojanic, 2011). The hub of regional travel in Sub-Saharan Africa is South Africa (Rogerson, 2004). Most of this travel is conducted by air but, at least in South America, automobility is a significant but neglected means of intra-regional movement (Lohmann, Santos and Allis, 2011).

The informal sector of intra-regional travel, namely that part of the travelling public which typically does not make use of tourist-oriented means of transportation, accommodations and services, consists primarily of border crossings by locals, living

in adjoining areas (e.g. Askew and E. Cohen, 2004), and often illegal cross-border trips by members of minority populations (e.g. McCaskill, Leepreecha and He, 2008). Labour migration from less to more developed sub-regional countries has led to a rise in VFR travel (Rogerson, 2004) that is probably to a large extent also informal. The bulk of intra-regional travel is in the formal sector, which was in most destination countries initially created to provide facilities and services to Western international tourists. With the growing significance of regional visitors, it came under pressure to adapt to the needs and preferences of intra-regional tourists from a variety of cultural and religious backgrounds.

The expansion of the formal sector of intra-regional travel was made possible by the rise in discretionary income in the hands of their expanding middle classes. It was facilitated by the emergence of budget airlines offering affordable and faster connections between numerous regional destinations, especially in Asia and Latin America (e.g. Freire-Medeiros and Name [2013] on the recent entry of low cost carriers into the Brazilian market). This enabled members of even less affluent strata to take advantage of cheap trips to nearby countries.

Intra-regional travel in the emerging regions shares a common mobility constellation, differing from the domestic and long-haul ones, but manifesting some traits of both. Ghimire (2001a: 101) points out that, compared to inbound long-haul travel, intra-regional travel is 'likely to [have] many distinct features in the composition of the principal tourist groups, their leisure interests and activities and their influence on the local economy [and] culture.' Unfortunately, the literature is quite vague regarding the nature of these features. It seems fairly evident that regional travel is typically of shorter duration than long-haul international travel (Sammarchi, 2001), but apparently longer than most domestic trips; it is cheaper than long-haul

travel, but more expensive than most domestic trips; and it in most cases involves fewer formal barriers, or points of friction (such as visa requirements), than long-haul travel to the West.

Representations of intra-regional travel have been little researched. In Asia, especially in contemporary China, a ‘craze for travel’ or *luyou re* (Chan, 2006) has emerged, growing from travel’s deep roots in Chinese culture (Tse and Hobson, 2010), but its main outbound travel aspiration is for destinations in the West, considered, like in Latin America, as more prestigious than the more easily available, but less exciting, intra-regional travel. A distinction can thus be made between ‘outbound travel,’ an etic category referring to crossing a national boundary, and the representation of a destination as ‘abroad,’ an emic category, referring to the sense of contrast between a destination and one’s home country, perhaps best exemplified by the Chinese term ‘elsewhereland’ (Arlt, 2006).

Intra-regional travel involves exposure to different, sometimes complex, combinations of familiarity and strangeness, which impact upon its representation. There are some marked differences between the regions in the degree of exposure of intra-regional travellers to strangeness. In Latin America and the Middle East similar languages, Spanish and Portuguese in the former, Arabic in the latter, are dominant, and most countries share a common cultural and religious background; hence, we suggest that intra-regional travellers in Latin America and the Middle East will generally experience less exposure to strangeness, will presumably feel less ‘abroad,’ and find independent travel within their regions to be easier, than those in Asia, with its kaleidoscope of linguistic, ethnic and religious groups and diverse political and legal systems. In Asia, differences even between adjoining countries can in some

respects be quite sharp, confronting intra-regional visitors with a confusing mix of the strange with the familiar (e.g. Wah, 2009).

Under these circumstances, the formal Asian intra-regional mobility constellation was from the outset based on the mode of organised group travel. That mode, which involved an assemblage of specialised travel companies, charter flights and guides, and accommodation, shopping and entertainment nodes, served to facilitate the movements of groups of tourists with often limited cultural capital and little discretionary income from countries, such as Japan (March, 2000), China (Wah, 2009) and South Korea, around well-established regional routes, in popular, primarily Southeast Asian, destinations. Mainland Chinese outbound tourists were until recently even forced by governmental regulations to travel in all-inclusive groups (Sparks and Pan, 2009).

However, the group mode of intra-regional travel began recently to loosen up; in China, an Individual Visit Scheme (IVS) has been made available to residents of certain mainland Chinese cities for independent visits to Hong Kong, Macau (Li, Lai, Harrill, Kline and Wang, 2011; Ong and du Cros, 2012) and most recently Taiwan (WantChinaTimes, 2011). Upwardly mobile young Chinese, tend to take up individual travel, mainly in the mode of backpacking (Ong and du Cros, 2012; Chen, Bao and Huang, 2013; Lim, 2009), either intra-regionally via the IVS (Ong and du Cros, 2012) or farther afield adjoined to a study abroad visa (King and Gardiner, 2014). These movements are represented colloquially as ‘donkey travel’, with fellow backpackers referred to as *liuyou* or ‘donkey friends’ (Lim, 2009; Shepherd, 2009), and have engendered popular digital communities such as www.qyer.com that foster these imaginative and physical mobilities.

There are also signs of an increasing tendency of tourists from other Asian countries to adapt a more individual mode of travel (Bui, Wilkins and Lee, 2013). Backpacking, heretofore a mostly Western mode of tourism, has been also adapted by Japanese and other Asian youths. Teo and Leong (2006) address the experiences of Japanese, Korean, Malaysian and Singaporean backpackers in Thailand from an emic perspective, while Muzaini (2006) in an auto-ethnographical study explores his and others' experiences as Asian travellers in Southeast Asia.

In Asia, intra-regional group tourists' practices typically combine visits to iconic sites, natural sights, shopping (especially for gold ornaments and jewellery), tasting unfamiliar foods (and feasting on familiar ones), and visits to entertainment venues. In contrast to Westerners, an important motive force of some intra-regional tourists, such as the Chinese (Wah, 2009), lies in quest of markers of modernity (rather than the residua of pre-modern culture and life-ways); hence they are particularly attracted to Hong Kong and Singapore. Male visitors from more conservative to more liberal countries may also be attracted to risqué or illicit forms of entertainment, such as transvestite shows and prostitution (e.g. Askew and E. Cohen, 2004). In contrast to long-haul Western tourists, intra-regional visitors in Asia rarely engage in extensive vacationing, as Middle Easterners visiting Lebanon (Al-Hamarneh and Steiner, 2004), or South Americans visiting Brazil tend to do (Diegues, 2001).

A distinguishing trait of some Asian intra-regional tourism is a desire for the culturally familiar in a foreign setting. Thirumaran (2009) proposed the concept of 'cultural affinity tourism' for Indian tourists' visits to Hindu performances in Bali; in a slightly different sense, the concept is applicable to Southeast Asian diaspora Chinese, who travel to southern Thailand to experience and participate in the Chinese

Vegetarian Festival celebrated by the descendants of Hokkien immigrants to the region (E. Cohen, 2001).

The principal motive force of Asian intra-regional tourists in visiting landmarks of the destination is often the desire to document their presence there, rather than a quest for some profound experiences of authenticity (Shepherd, 2009). This motive is expressed in the ritualised practice of rhythmic stops for picture taking at attractions or spectacles, during a high velocity visit. This often leads to a disposition to ‘tick-off’ a list of attractions, by hurried visits from one to another, akin to Burns’ (2005) description of ‘trophy tourism’.

The linguistic and cultural differences even within Asian sub-regions are often sharp enough to be an obstacle to significant interaction between visitors and locals; culturally induced reticence causes reluctance from attempting contact with locals or tourists from other countries, while the mode of group travel, with its often rapid pace, further reduce opportunities of such interaction. Socialising is hence mostly restricted to the in-group. In major Asian cities, ethnic tourist enclaves of different groups of origin have emerged, such as the Middle Easterner’s ‘Little Arabia’ (E. Cohen and Neal, 2012), the ‘Korea House,’ and small African enclaves (Lehtinen, 2004) in central Bangkok. In that respect Asian regional tourism may differ significantly from that in Latin America or the Middle East, where a more outgoing cultural disposition and common or close languages, probably facilitate personal interaction between regional tourists and locals at the destination.

Constellations of Long-Haul International Tourism from the Emerging Regions

Domestic and intra-regional tourism is based on a mix of means of movement, ranging from walking to motorized transportation and aviation; however, considering

the substantial distances involved, long-haul tourism from the emerging regions was made possible only by the development of frequent, comfortable, secure and affordable air travel, during the last decades of the 20th century.

On the long-haul international tourism scale, some similarities between the regions can be noted. In the past long-haul travel to the West was restricted to the elites of all the emerging regions, in recent decades it has become available to the higher middle classes. ‘East-to-West’ long-haul international tourism is a much aspired to route, and an act of relative privilege and a sign of prestige that confers status (Correia and Kozak, 2012), but it is still actualised by only a relatively small segment of the population. Not just costs and lack of cultural capital (see Casey, 2010 on how cultural capital regulates participation in the low cost airline boom) impede a widening participation in long-haul international tourism, but also the frictions caused by the mobility regimes (Schiller and Salazar, 2013) of Western destinations. Suspicions of terrorism and immigration by ‘less desirables’ have reignited processes of ‘securitisation’ (Cunningham, 2007) in the contemporary crisis-laden world. Through rigorous visa procedures and the intensification of border controls ‘for certain groups of people, for instance migrants from Arab or African countries’ (Jensen, 2013: 37), flows of movement are controlled, slowed down and even blocked; those people experience this friction quite differently from the kinetic elite, whose movement often progresses seamlessly.

Despite these similarities there are significant differences between the four emerging regions in the historic origins and trajectories of their respective mobility constellations on the long-haul international scale. Since Asian countries presently feature the highest rates of long-haul travel, which has been relatively well-documented, but the other three regions lack detailed information, we shall focus in

this section on Asia, but will precede that by a brief outline of the development of the mobility constellations of Latin American, Middle Eastern and Sub-Saharan African long-haul travel.

Latin American long-haul tourism has a long history. Owing to their roots in the Iberian peninsula, the Europeanised Latin American elites maintained ties to Europe since early modern times. Visits were mostly to Western European countries and the numbers were tiny because the practice was predicated upon substantial financial and cultural capital. The kinetic hierarchy of long-haul tourism remains even at present very steep (e.g. Maurer 2012), as such tourism still remains restricted primarily to trips of wealthy individuals to Western Europe and the US. In some cases, however, tourism from Latin America to Europe is used as a subterfuge for labour migration and illegal immigration (particularly to the Iberian peninsula). Much Brazilian (female) tourism to Europe is in fact covert labour migration, especially for work in prostitution (Piscitelli 2007; Pontes, 2004). The boundaries between discretionary mobilities and forms of corporeal mobilities where persons are more compelled than free, to move (Cresswell, 2010), are thus fuzzy.

Middle Eastern long-haul tourism was in the past the exclusive privilege of high-ranking members of royal families, who indulged in prolonged luxurious trips to the US and Western Europe, often combining pleasure with medical treatment. India (Shetty, 2010) and Southeast Asian countries, especially Thailand (E. Cohen and Neal, 2012) and Malaysia (Zulkifli et al., 2009) became popular destinations with Middle Eastern males, for vacationing and sex tourism. After the US instituted more restrictive visa policies following the 9/11 events, these countries also became popular destinations for Middle Easterners seeking medical treatment (E. Cohen and Neal, 2012). But other world areas are also increasingly attract Middle Eastern tourists, as

documented by some specific studies, such as of UAE tourists to Western Europe (Prayag and Hosany, 2014) and to Australia (Michael and Beeton, 2007; Michael, Armstrong, Badran and King, 2011), and of Saudi tourists to France (Alghamdi, 2007).

Despite the friction caused by increasingly tough border controls, there is a near constant flow of travellers from Sub-Saharan Africa to the West and to Asia, but much of it is for trading (Bodomo, 2009; 2012; Le Bail, 2009), drug smuggling (Ellis, 2009) and (mostly illegal) migration (Grillo and Mazzucato, 2008); bona fide Sub-Saharan African long-haul tourism appears to be still a very limited affair, restricted to members of urban economic and political elites.

Asia has significantly more outbound long-haul tourists than any other emerging region, but there are major differences in the scope of such tourism between Asian countries. Asia is also the only emerging region on which relatively extensive information on outbound long-haul tourism is available, particularly on that from Singapore and Hong Kong, and the more developed countries, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and recently intensively, mainland China.

Asian countries differ regarding the formation of their respective long-haul mobility constellations, but, in contrast to Latin America, Asians did not tour Europe until after World War II, except for a very limited elite. In Siam (present day Thailand) long-haul travel was initiated in 1897, by King Chulalongkorn's (Rama V) extensive trip to Europe, and was followed by members of the Thai aristocracy for studies in France and England (Leiper, 2008). Even afterwards, it was mainly selected students, rather than tourists, who, until the last one or two decades, visited the West. The Thai kinetic hierarchy of long-haul travel is still steep, as access remains primarily a preserve of the Thai upper classes.

In Japan during the Tokugawa period, ‘travel outside the country was prohibited as part of the so-called national seclusion edicts’ (Vaporis, 1995: 25). Even after Japan opened to the West in the nineteenth century, outbound tourism remained of limited scope. In the pre-World War II period, Japanese tourism policies were influenced by militant nationalism ‘which mandated a valorization of an idealized Japanese culture,’ even as the introduction of Western lifestyles prepared the ground for outbound tourism’s post-war expansion (Leheny, 2000). After the war the government ‘created various disincentives on overseas travel’ (Carlile, 1996: 11); overseas tourism started to expand only by the mid-1960s. Encouraged by the increasing economic prosperity and social reforms in the late 1970s, combined with the liberalisation of air travel, it grew rapidly from about 128,000 in 1964 to about 13.5 million in 1994 (ibid: 12). Those factors also contributed to growth in long-haul travel demand to destinations such as Europe (particularly France), the US, Australia and New Zealand (Lim, Min and McAleer, 2008). By the mid-1990s, about half of the outbound travel from Japan was to these long-haul destinations (Carlile, 1996).

Japanese outbound long-haul tourism constituted the most important early East-to-West tourist flow; hence earlier work on long-haul tourism from emerging regions focused on that rapid expansion (e.g. March, 2000; Polunin, 1989). As Japan was perceived as a democratic and capitalist country, and the Japanese became represented as ‘big spenders’, the spread of Japanese tourism around the world was virtually frictionless, as against tourism from communist China, whose expansion suffered from internal and external restrictions, which were only gradually removed. On Australia’s Gold Coast, however, the rapid growth in the ‘80s and early ‘90s of incoming Japanese tourists and their reported high levels of property investment

generated friction. It manifested in significant media criticism of the Japanese, despite New Zealanders being the actual largest investors there at the time (Hall, 2007).

In Japan, the authorities introduced a policy of ‘cultural internationalization’ to familiarise their citizens with foreignness, and facilitated potential long-haul tourists to learn at home, by means of the so-called ‘foreign countries theme parks’, the conventional practices of conduct in Western countries (Graburn 2001; Hendry, 2000). These policies contrasted with those of China, whose rapidly growing mass tourists to Western Europe are often unprepared, and their conduct has encountered negative media backlash (Cripps, 2013). However, economic recession since the mid-1990s redirected the preferences of Japanese outbound tourists to closer and more affordable regional destinations, such as Taiwan and Hawaii (Lim et al., 2008; Kim and Agrusa, 2008).

In China there was no interest in travel abroad until the Opium Wars in the nineteenth century shattered the empire’s self-centred representation as the centre of the world. The Communist regime until 1978 saw in tourism a wasteful bourgeois practice (Arlt, 2006). Hence there was no significant outbound tourism until the last quarter of the twentieth century. The economic reforms of China’s transition towards a market economy, following its 1978 announcement of an ‘open door’ policy (Cai, Li & Knutson, 2008), were accompanied by increasingly more liberal tourism policies. In 1983 ‘family reunion’ trips to Hong Kong and Macao were permitted, and later extended to some South East Asian countries (Arlt, 2006). The most important new policy instrument, the Approved Destination Status (ADS) system, based on bilateral tourism agreements between China and other nations, was launched in 1995 (Li et al., 2010). Covering at the end of 2011 140 destinations (Xinhuanet, 2011), the ADS has been a major policy tool in the regulation and expansion of mobility flows.

The removal of this friction facilitated a substantial growth in the scope of China's outbound long-haul international travel, and opened Western countries to Chinese tourists (Li, Harrill, Uysal, Burnett and Zhan, 2010; Lim and Wang, 2008; Ryan and Gu, 2008).

Chinese long-haul tourists travel mainly to Australia (Breakey, Ding and Lee, 2008; Sparks and Pan, 2009; Yu and Weiler, 2001), the US (Hua and Yoo, 2011; Xu and McGehee, 2012), Canada (Lu, 2011) and increasingly Europe (e.g. Yang, Reeh and Kreisel, 2011; Corigliano, 2011; Wang, Vela and Tyler, 2008). As China became one of the fastest growing source markets for countries such as the US, Canada and the UK (Cripps, 2013, Li et al., 2011), studies of outbound long-haul Chinese tourists have proliferated (e.g. Arlt, 2006; Leung et al., 2013; Li et al., 2010). As China became the focus of attention of the bulk of studies on tourism from Asia in the last decade, Winter (2009a: 30) warned that it is 'vital that the immense cultural, political and historical differences across the [Asian] region are not dissolved by an analytical conflation, whereby China comes to speak for the whole of Asia.'

Although China has a rapidly growing middle class with ever more disposable income, more leisure time and better accessibility to information on faraway destinations (Corigliano 2011; Mok and DeFranco, 1999; Sparks and Pan, 2009; Wang, Vela & Tyler 2008), its outbound long-haul tourism is still limited to a relatively small sector of its population (Yun and Joppe, 2011). Only the top 5% has the resources for outbound travel, whereas the mobility of the mass of the population remains limited to domestic travel. Hence, China's 'kinetic hierarchy' (Cresswell, 2012) is still steep. Especially, long-haul international tourism is still the privilege of relatively few, and hence a sign of distinction, and a demonstration of conspicuous consumption (Chang, Kivela & Mak, 2010). But owing to the size of its population,

the numbers are huge: 70 million Chinese travelled abroad in 2011 (Leung, Li, Fong & Law, 2013). Owing to the large absolute numbers and their spending power, Chinese tourists became by 2013 the biggest spenders in international tourism (*eTravelNews*, 2013b).

The blending of sightseeing with VFR, business and pilgrimage mobilities are in Asia less common on the long-haul scale, than at the domestic and intra-regional scales. VFR travel was just a minor flow during the boom in Japanese tourism. But VFR travel of mainland Chinese travelers to Australia, home to a growing Chinese expatriate community, enmeshed with vacationing, is currently expanding (Breakey et al., 2008).

The wider entanglement of tourism, business, study abroad and VFR mobilities among the Chinese economic elite is well illustrated by the boom of super-rich Chinese property acquisitions in Cyprus, for whom their investment comes with the gift of permanent residence in this EU member state, allowing them frictionless visa-free EU travel and the right to enrol their children into European schools and visit them with little difficulty (Hooper, 2013).

Long-haul international tourism from Asia is still skewed towards a small number of Western countries (e.g. the US, UK, France, Germany, Australia, New Zealand). This is primarily due to high levels of concern over personal safety in long-haul choices (Hua and Yoo, 2011) and to two motive forces, namely a curiosity as to how those Western countries have modernized, and a desire for shopping for luxury goods and discounted products (Lu, 2012; Xu and McGehee, 2012). The importance of 'indulging in luxury shopping' as a motive force has likewise been identified amongst long-haul outbound tourists from Dubai (Prayag and Hosany, 2014: 36; see also Michael et al., 2011). Bringing back gifts from overseas travel, such as branded

T-shirts, health products or local souvenirs (Xu and McGehee, 2012), is a social obligation amongst Japanese, Chinese and other Asian tourists, mandated by values of family duty (Li et al., 2011).

To what extent is the quest for ‘difference’, and particularly ‘authenticity’, a central motive force in contemporary long-haul international tourism from the emerging regions? Shepherd (2009) and Oakes (2006) suggest that tourists from Asia are generally not looking for object authenticity, as modern Westerners allegedly do; our comparative study corroborates that suggestion. A nationalistic discourse of modernisation in China has led to younger generations searching for signs of technological achievements when travelling both intra-regionally and to the West (Chan, 2006; see also Schwandner & Gu, 2005), as did Japanese tourists to the West in the past. Young Asians associate an ‘imagined West’ with modernity, progress and advancement. For the younger Chinese tourists, modernisation, rather than a spoiler of authenticity, is the desired experience. They tend to tie their experience of ‘Western cosmopolitanism’ to personal prestige (Bui et al., 2013: 134). Tasting “authentic” Australian indigenous foods by Chinese tourists seems to be tied to the accrual of cultural capital (Chang, Kivela and Mak, 2011), rather than expressing a quest for authenticity.

In some cases tourists from the emerging regions seem to seek existential authenticity, though it may be conceived in distinctive emic terms. Thus Watkins and Gnoth (2011: 1293) suggested that the motive force behind Japanese outbound travel to New Zealand had a spiritual dimension in which ‘appeals of nature and authenticity’ allow ‘a reunion with a Japanese self or *kokoro*’.

But the accrual of prestige seems to be a highly powerful motive force. Like domestic and intra-regional tourists from emerging regions, photographic

documentation of the trip as proof of 'having been there' is therefore of central concern among long-haul Asian tourists, serving as material markers of status. Japanese tourists take photos not only of landmarks, but also incorporate Western tourists into their photographs, as gazing at Western foreignness is valued as part of the touring experience (Holloway, Green and Holloway, 2011). Likewise, Westerners are pictured in Japanese tourism brochures for international destinations, whereas those for domestic ones use Japanese models (Yamashita and Eades, 2003).

Long-haul international travel by Asian tourists is still mostly practiced in groups (Moufakkir, 2011; Wong and Kwong, 2004). Japanese overseas tourists set this pattern from early on (Carlile, 1996), and it was also adapted by long-haul tourists from other Asian countries such as China, Korea, Thailand and Indonesia (March, 2000). Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong residents have until recently on the whole preferred package tours over individual travel (Wong & Lau, 2001) even if these were not mandated anymore by the ADS system, as these provided not only value for money and convenience, but also safety through the reduction of risk (Guo, Kim, and Timothy, 2007; Mok and DeFranco, 1999; Yu and Weiler, 2001).

The use by Asian long-haul tourists of the destinations' service sector is both physically and virtually regulated by intermediaries, and influenced by social reference groups such as friends and colleagues (Lim, 2009). Chinese tourists may show curiosity for the unfamiliar environment, but seek familiarity in hospitality services and food choices, with the latter often based on personal recommendations (Chang et al., 2010). While Chinese tourists enjoy tasting local cuisines, they ultimately prefer the daily rhythm of meals with familiar foods of the Chinese diet (Li et al., 2011). Amenities offered and customary practices of Chinese tourists are sometimes mismatched. For instance, outbound Chinese tourists to the US are said to

expect hot water for preparing Chinese tea, as well as being provided with disposable toiletries, as is customary in Chinese hotels, but is usually not in American ones (ibid).

The long-haul group trip of Asians to Western destinations involves a typical rhythm: a high velocity trip, with multiple destinations packed into a short space of time (European Travel Council, 2011), resulting in minimal contact with locals. Early Japanese tourists ‘demanded as much “tangible” output from the experience as possible. Gruelling multi-destination “if this is Tuesday it must be Brussels”-style tours were thus preferred’ (Carlile, 1996: 13). Over time Japanese tourists increasingly by-passed the package-tour market in quest for greater variety and choice on their trip (ibid). A recent tendency to more individualised travel can also be noted among long-haul outbound Chinese tourists, particularly on their trips to Europe (Bui et al., 2013; Prayag, S. Cohen, & Yan, 2014).

With greater cultural capital, a growing number of Asian, particularly Chinese (*The Economist*, 2010), Japanese (Prideaux and Shiga, 2007), South Korean (Bui et al., 2013) and Thai youth backpack in Europe and Australia. Independent travel represents ‘economic strength and national equality to rich nations such as Japan or the United States’ amongst young Chinese elites, whose motive force for independent travel in the West is at least partly driven by the desire to accumulate cultural capital and cosmopolitanism that might impact their future prospects once home (Bui et al. 2013: 132). The embroilment of sightseeing with studying abroad (Ryan and Zhang, 2007) is also increasingly common, as self-improvement through experiencing different destinations (Chen et al., 2013) is a common motive force for both backpacker and student mobilities among youth from Asia visiting the West for longer periods (Bui et al., 2013). Especially, international students tend to integrate

leisure trips with their studies, travelling with the rhythms of university and language school holidays, often using backpacker infrastructure and interlacing the experience with interactions in virtual online travel communities (e.g. Lim, 2009; Ong and du Cros, 2012). Lim (2009) suggests that virtual socialising with other travellers may even take priority over physical socialising at the destination. The rhythms of these international student mobilities are punctuated by significant events, such as graduation ceremonies, which engender visits from family and friends to long-haul destinations such as the UK (Bischoff and Koenig-Lewis, 2007). Shifting in role from migrant 'guest' to 'host' or guide, young student migrants often tour with their families at a fast pace and for a short duration, illustrating how such multiple discretionary mobilities are intertwined and fostered.

Conclusions

The principal purpose of this article was to apply a modified mobilities approach to tourism in and from the emerging regions of the world, and compare its principal traits to Western tourism, within a comprehensive theoretical framework free of a Eurocentric bias. We concentrated on some major commonalities shared by four emerging regions, but also pointed out some important differences between them. The unequal availability of information only rarely permitted a more systematic comparison of the patterns of tourism from specific countries within the regions.

Our presentation leads to some general conclusions: One, discretionary mobilities had a multiplicity of origins in different societies in the emerging regions. These can be seen 'etically' as precursors of tourism, though most societies did not possess an equivalent 'emic' term for their representation; but as 'tourism,' initially a Western emic representation, came to be perceived as a generic term, neologisms

were invented to represent it in the vernacular of languages of the four regions, first to designate foreign visitors, and later domestic discretionary travellers.

Two, tourism in and from the emerging regions cannot be treated as a discrete type of mobility; it tends to be blended with other kinds of travel into a cluster of ‘discretionary mobilities’, especially in its numerically dominant manifestations, domestic, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, intra-regional tourism. The still numerically limited, bona fide long-haul international tourism, characterised by a search for the different or novel, is much more differentiated from other forms of mobilities (but ‘tourism’ is often used as a subterfuge for travel for various illegal purposes, such as smuggling and labour migration).

Three, the emergence and development of domestic discretionary travel in those regions can be captured in four principal, sequential but partly overlapping, ‘mobility constellations’: its pre-modern sources, ‘informal’ and ‘formal’ discrete contemporary constellations, and the gradual merger of the latter one with the formal constellation of inbound international tourism. The significance of the informal constellation declines in intra-regional tourism and is virtually absent in bona fide long-haul international tourism.

Four, the differences between tourism in and from the four regions are relatively small on the domestic and even the intra-regional scale; but there are significant historical differences between the regions in their long-haul international mobility constellations (but for only one region, Asia, and there on only for a handful of nations, exists sufficient reliable information for a detailed analysis of the distinctive characteristics of its long-haul tourism).

Five, when looked upon from an etic perspective, the forms of movement and associated practices of discretionary travellers from the emerging regions and Western

countries became increasingly similar under the impact of socio-technological, economic and cultural globalisation. Western mass tourism, particularly mass vacationing, seems to be no less self-contained in its environmental bubble, in terms of services, cuisine and social relations, than that of its Asian counterparts. Westerners also in the main prefer organised trips to long-haul destinations in Asia or Africa, though a post-Fordist adaptability of organised travel was substituted for the more rigid forms of group travel, which are still dominant in Asian long-haul travel. However, the kinetic hierarchy in the West is generally much flatter than in the emerging regions, and individual travel, particularly between Western countries, is much more common than between Asian countries. However, individual intra-regional travel is also more common in the much more homogeneous Latin-American or Middle Eastern regions, than it is in highly heterogeneous Asia.

Six, when looked upon from an emic perspective of representation, fundamental enduring differences become apparent, despite those similarities. In particular, in Asia there is no stress on a culturally specific motive force for tourism, as there is in Western modernity. Although, as in China, there may be a 'craze for travel' (Chan, 2006) among the new Asian middle classes, and a desire 'to see the world,' there is no indication in the literature that they have adopted the Western discourse of authenticity of the Other. Tourists from Asia, especially Mainland China, are eager to see the modern West, and even learn from it, rather than perceive it as shallow and spurious, as it is often perceived by Western tourists. Tourists from Asia tend to enjoy natural sites and spectacles, but do not insist on their purity, and do not object to the admixture of modern comforts to natural, archaeological or historical sites. The prestige endowed from having been 'abroad', especially on a long-haul trip, is also a much more powerful motive force among travellers from Asia than among

modern Westerners. Hence the ubiquitous tendency to document their presence at every iconic site visited on the trip. This does not exclude the possibility that Asian tourists experience existential authenticity in the exultation provoked by striking natural sights, exotic spectacles or the high spirits of companionable partying, though they might conceive of it in different emic terms. The emic differences in the representation of 'tourism' in emerging regions resemble those found in other globalised institutional complexes like 'democracy' in politics (e.g. Schaffer, 1998), or 'football' (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2009) in sports, in which the formal similarities mask significant differences in 'emic' understandings.

Limitations

Our attempt to treat the differences between tourism from the emerging regions and Western tourism in a comparative theoretical framework, suffers from some serious limitations, beyond the mere scarcity of data, often encountered in the preceding presentation. Perhaps the most important one is that the basic sociological *Problemstellung* (i.e. the statement of the problem to be investigated) in the study of tourism from the emerging regions and from the West diverges considerably: in the West, ever since MacCannell's (1973, 1976) early work, the basic question dealt with the relationship of tourism and modernity (Wang, 2000); this was at a later time extended to the relation of tourism and post-modernity (Ritzer and Liska, 1997). But such questions, relating to the wider social and cultural framework have been rarely been explicitly stated with regard to the countries in the emerging regions. MacCannell (1973) offered the proposition that alienated moderns seek authenticity in other places and times. We have not come across any study which would examine how shared cultural premises and basic attitudes to one's own society (e.g.

identification as against alienation) shape tourism in the emerging regions; though some studies indicate that the nationalism of non-alienated Chinese tourists informs their quest for manifestations of modernity in other countries. This calls for a study explicitly designed to examine the connection between wider social and cultural trends and patterns of discretionary travel in the emerging regions.

Our study has also paid little attention to the influences of global virtual mobilities, and especially the means of communication on the formation of the motives and conduct of tourists from the emerging regions, though there exists incidental information of such influences of their choice of destinations (e.g. Ong and du Cros [2012] on Chinese backpacker cyber-communities) and consumption patterns.

This study focused only on mainstream tendencies in discretionary travel on the level of whole regions and of a few specific countries; we were unable to account systematically for specific differences between countries in their dominant patterns of discretionary mobilities. Though there exists considerable information in the literature on tourism ‘flows’ (Urry, 2000), there are few detailed descriptions of the ‘routes’ (Cresswell, 2010) tourists take, and how these are regulated, in terms of their choice of means of movement, motive forces, practices and interactions along the way, particularly on the intra-regional and long-haul scales. Points of friction, those factors that contribute to how and when movement stops, except with respect of formal border and security controls, are also rarely explicitly discussed. Our discussion of power centred largely on the manner in which access to more privileged scales of mobility is distributed unequally across a kinetic hierarchy, and regulated by mobility regimes.

Our article has only opened up the systematic study of tourism in the emerging regions of the world in terms of the mobilities paradigm. This effort has thrown light on many heretofore little noticed issues, particularly in the discussion of domestic and intra-regional tourism in those parts of the world. We have also shown the usefulness of looking at tourism as a fuzzy strain within a bundle of discretionary mobilities, rather than a crisply bounded phenomenon. The adoption of the mobilities paradigm in future studies of discretionary mobilities in both, the contemporary West and in the emerging regions, will not only render a better understanding of how tourism is enmeshed with other kinds of corporeal movement, but might hopefully lead to more comprehensive and broader new theoretical formulations, than presently available in the narrower field of tourism studies.

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