

NOEL B. SALAZAR AND NELSON H. H. GRABURN (eds). *Tourism Imaginaries*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. 2014. 304 p. ISBN 978-1-78238-367-3 (hardback), 978-1-78238-368-0 (eBook).

Is tourism really all about the exotic other? Certainly tourism is fuelled by polished ideas and dreams of exotic locations. Tourist and hosts alike imagine the other, both in terms of unfamiliar locations and the people who live in these locations, imaginaries that create opportunities for exertions of power and economic gain for the tourism stakeholders. In this collection, the authors explore the imaginaries of people and locations in the context of tourism. The collection is edited by Noel B. Salazar and Nelson H.H. Graburn, both leaders in the field of the Anthropology of Tourism. Imaginaries, the key term of this book, is a reference to the imagined and the expected—in this case in the context of tourism—and a wide variety of cases is presented that look at how the imagined is representative of different discourses, as performed and used by mainly the hosts or the visitors. However, the flaw of the book's approach is its way of limiting imaginaries to the exotic, in the sense of the distant and unknown other that is attractive but also subject to prejudice and expectations. This feeling of exoticism is achieved by predominantly using ethnographic examples that depict distant places; that is, distant in relation to the locations the researchers themselves call home.

The book is divided into two sections, Imaginaries of Peoples and Imaginaries of Places, each containing five essays. The introduction is authored by Salazar and Graburn, while the afterword is written by Naomi Leite. This array of authors gives a varied idea of how imaginaries are used in tourism; however, the authors appear to have different opinions about what exactly is meant by the term 'imaginaries', something that is also addressed in the afterword by Leite. She explains this confusion in the use of the term as due to its coming from such divergent realms as 'psychoanalysis, philosophy, and social theory' (p. 260). The concept of Imaginaries seems to still be searching for its exact shape in the anthropological context.

The chapters in this book show how imaginaries are two-directional in the sense that, on the one hand, the hosts in tourism are subjects of the tourists' imaginaries, while, on the other, hosts also produce imaginaries of the tourists. Rupert Stasch, for example, writes about nudity as being one element of the tourism imaginary surrounding the Korowai people of Papua. Not only do the tourists imagine they will see naked natives, but the natives realize that they can gain more money by fulfilling this expectation: money with which, ironically, they want to buy more clothes. This example illustrates how different stakeholders' (in this case the tourists and the hosts) imaginaries engender particular kinds of action.

Other examples of how imaginaries are used include expressions of power, the colonial past and the exotic. In fact, the exotic is a very present theme throughout this book. All the examples in the Imaginaries of Peoples section deal with indigenous groups from Papua, Panama, Australia, China, and Mozambique, while the Imaginaries of Places section features not only Belize and Cambodia, but also presents ethnographic examples from Italy, Portugal and the Netherlands. The first section is thus dealing with exoticised imaginaries of the other, while the second section brings them to a somewhat more European environment. Nevertheless, even then the only non-exotic example would be

the chapter by Michael A. Di Giovine, dealing with religious tourism in Pietrelcina in Italy. Conversely, Paula Mota Santos' chapter about a theme park called Portugal dos Pequenitos in Coimbra, Portugal, talks about how the colonial past of Portugal is dealt with within the realm of the park displaying the 'Portuguese-speaking world' (p. 199). This is a way of dealing with the colonial past by displaying the colonial other and exoticising the distant lands where people also speak Portuguese. The final European example in the book concerns the imaginary of the Oostvaarderplassen Nature Reserve, though even here it is informed by the exotic, illustrated by the alternative name for the reserve: 'The Dutch Serengeti'. The aim is to evoke the notion of wilderness, but as Anke Tonnaer describes in this chapter, there are many other aspects implicit in the name: above all, it references the colonial past, with the German and British introduction of tourism to East Africa as one of the major influences (p. 248).

The collection is not trying to hide its exotic understanding of tourism imaginaries; in fact, the chapter by Dimitrios Theodossopoulos is about scorn and idealisation as two major factors of the exoticisation of the other, which he argues is based on representations of the Emberás of Panama (p. 57). The exotic is so embedded in the book that the reader is clearly expected to be familiar with the concept's meaning in the context of the tourism discourse. The exotic appears to be such a given in tourism that it cannot be separated from the discourse at all, and may just have to be accepted without contestation.

Certainly the exotic does not need to be distant, as proven by the European examples in this collection. Nevertheless, not every tourism imaginary needs to be exotic. This collection could have benefitted greatly from discussing some cases of domestic tourism, where the aim for the tourist is to gain greater self-awareness or knowledge of their personal or regional past. The case of the theme park of Portugal dos Pequenitos could have proven valuable here through examination of the motives of the visitors who were there to learn about their national past. Maybe the distant other is more attractive, but certainly there are other underlying motives for the visits too.

Imaginaries present a method for combining the tangible and intangible cultural products in the anthropology of tourism. The imagined world shapes the real world and influences human mobility, including the field of tourism. However, where anthropology has departed from the study of the exotic, *Tourism Imaginaries* does dwell on it considerably. Studying the expectations, memories and motives of tourists may give an idea of how tourism imaginaries are shaped. The expression of these ideas in marketing and during tourism in practice is another valuable source of knowledge in this field. Looking beyond the exotic other, be it in terms of place or people, what else is embedded in the practice of tourism? Imaginaries of fear, excitement and learning in tourism could further the study, and maybe even prove beneficial for the tourism stakeholders themselves. Whilst this collection gives a taste of the use of imaginaries in the anthropology of tourism, the approach still needs to be more fully developed to address tourism phenomena more widely.

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