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Introduction: Eastbound

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As Chiara Cipollari, the author of one of the papers in this journal, observes, there has been markedly less social scientific study of the history and present state of tourism in central and eastern European countries than there has been of those regions in western Europe and the Mediterranean that have traditionally been the focal geographical points of reference for studies of historical and contemporary post-war tourism. Given that some of the papers in this volume originated from the 2008 conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists held in the University of Ljubljana, the convenors of the panel 'Eastbound' (i.e. the editors of this edition of Anthropological Notebooks) felt it appropriate to retain the panel's title whilst being aware that the 'East' which it denotes is not, of course, a geographical term. Had the conference been held in Beirut, for example, the panel might have been entitled 'Westbound' – which does raise several interesting questions! Nevertheless, whilst signalling that the issue of what is 'East' and what is 'West' is a discussion to be had, or joined, at another time, we have chosen to continue to use what are more or less conventional terms for the parts of the world covered by the papers. Thus the volume's centre of gravity is still taken to be Central and Eastern Europe (specifically the Dalmatian coast of Slovenia and Croatia, together with Romania, and Czechoslovakia) although the compass has been extended to the two additional 'Eastern' sites of Palestine in the eastern Mediterranean and Odessa in the Baltic.

The two aims of this brief Introduction are to introduce the papers (in the alphabetical order of their authors) and to indicate how they may be related to each other.

Bojan Baskar describes the enormous influence that the Austrian Hapsburg aristocracy, along with aristocratic visitors from elsewhere, exercised in the nineteenth century on the emergence of Dalmatia and the Adriatic as a tourist region. Following the opening of the railway from Vienna to Trieste in the 1840s and the enlarging scope at that time of operations of the (Austrian) Lloyd shipping company, it became much easier to move around the region and its coastlines. But it was such archdukes and duchesses as Ferdinand Max (the future Emperor Maximilian of Mexico), Maria Josefa, Maria Theresa, Ludwig Salvator (best known for his popularization of Mallorca), and Franz Ferdinand himself, who played a key role in bringing the region to the attention of the world. Baskar shows how these were accompanied by, and associated with, artists, poets, natural scientists, historians, and

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others, all of whom wrote about, painted, and studied the area. By so doing they raised the standing of the Dalmatian littoral and the Adriatic Sea in the eyes of 'Western' travellers to almost the same level as the French Riviera - which itself, Baskar observes, owed much to the attentions and enthusiasms of other aristocratic visitors from the north.

One of Baskar's principal aims is to counter the generally held assumption that the origins of tourism owe most to the middle-classes. His emphasis on the almost magical effects that aristocratic legitimation brings to places aspiring to attract visitors reminds us of the kinship between travel, tourism, and enchantment.

The theme of enchantment is taken up by Cipollari who argues that both locals and tourists in Botiza, Romania, play what she terms a 'self referential game' in which a mythical past is imagined that gives rise to a view of a particular type of 'authentic present' which is legitimated by the products of a cottage arts and crafts industry making 'traditional' clothes and other historical objects in the image of that past. Such 'games' are encouraged by the regional authorities who have adopted the line that Miramures (in which Botiza is to be found) is 'iconic of rural Europe: a "living museum in (and of) Central Europe"'. Such processes and practices are not unfamiliar in the tourist literature but they continue to raise real existential if not philosophical issues, not least the question of why travellers from directions west of Romania should find that country's 'myths of rurality' so compelling. The issue is even more complex given that the myth of the 'rural farm world' and its association with the 'soul' of Romania was promoted during the socialist period – even though the same rurality was simultaneously seen to be one of the main causes of Romania's economic backwardness. It is as if tourists in Botiza have been engaged in a long discussion with authorities, locals, and themselves (as they squeeze into cotton shirts, woollen waistcoats, or pleated skirts in changing rooms that are 'generally small and often hot') about the nature of socialism, capitalism, the relation between economy and society, and the symbolic worlds (including the smell of hay) that make these issues feel so poignantly relevant.

Emilio Cocco considers the historical formation of the senses of cosmopolitanism that suffuse contemporary travellers' imaginations as they consider the nature of the two cities of Trieste and Odessa. He describes how both cities were regarded by both their resident merchant traders and the authorities of the Austrian and Russian empires in the nineteenth century as being in the front line, so to speak, of the then emerging maritime and oceanic world system. Not only did the sea open routes to business but both cities were also linked to global diasporas, which were (rightly) regarded as potentially fruitful points of investment. He then places this discussion in a contemporary political context looking, *inter alia*, at the significance of contemporary tourism within and around the two cities. Just as the authorities of Miramures 'stage' Romanian rurality for tourists, so the tourism boards of Trieste and Odessa 'stage' the sea and the way in which it implies and connotes Adriatic and Baltic 'maritime cultures' and identities. Such ideas are food and drink to Western 'explorer/tourists' who are clearly increasingly attached to notions of extra- and inter- national identities and the routes and pathways through the seascapes beyond the two

cities that help form and structure them. But at this point Cocco interposes a fundamental and (to some) painful contradiction. The historical facts have been that from the end of the nineteenth century the 'watery connections that linked the port cities of the Mediterranean were progressively eroded' partly because the advance of land based transport systems and partly because of the rise of 'new classifications of people based on race, ethnicity, and nation' that began to compete with 'the old maritime affiliations'. Here Cocco makes a fascinating link between the cosmopolitan dispositions of the explorer/tourists and suggestions by some regional scholars that the sense of maritime and cosmopolitan connectedness in the Mediterranean and Baltic might be kept alive and indeed promoted by civil society institutions in the nation states along their borders. But he is less that sanguine about such a desirable outcome. Tourism is increasingly in private hands and integrated within national structures which are themselves supported by conventional nationalist and ethnicised political rhetoric. For Cocco, the chances of any 'public good' coming from a genuine engagement with questions about what a cosmopolitan heritage might mean for a cosmopolitan present seem minimal.

Hana Horáková picks up two discursive threads already touched upon: the relation between tourism and class and the fact that the geographical area discussed by the panel and this volume was (with the exception of Trieste and Palestine) not only in the 'East' but the *socialist* 'East'. What happens when socialist Central and Eastern Europe becomes part of the capitalist economies of a wider, including Western, Europe? For the two villages in what was formerly communist Czechoslovakia that Horáková describes, Lipno nad Vltavou and Stárkov, what has happened is that they have become Dutch! Showing how the geographical location of the two villages effectively 'doomed' them as sites for agricultural or other industrial development, she explains that 'the only branch of industry that was taken into consideration was tourism'. In the case of the two villages the form of tourism that emerged was second home ownership. The owners of these are Dutch and, broadly speaking, they have made more or less gated communities in which Dutch language and social conventions operate to the more or less total exclusion of anything remotely local. The authorities of the two villages encourage this pattern. The mayor of Stárkov, for example, said to Horakova 'I want the Dutch to be on the area of 13 hectares so that they do not bother the locals'. Occasionally, in the off- season, the locals of Stárkov go up to the Dutch enclave for a beer but that seems the limit of association. In the case of Lipno the Dutch enclave has a 'buffer zone' called 'New Lipno' which is for Czech *nouveau riche*.

These tourist developments contrast radically with the tourism of the socialist period. Back then, Horáková tells us, tourism was anchored within ideas and policies designed to reward the working class. She concludes by observing that for the moment, at least, the social and economic consequences of second home ownership and the associated rise in the attractiveness of the villages as sites for the new Czech bourgeois are fine. But as these processes progress into the next generation of a local population witnessing simultaneous de-population (of local families priced out of the housing market) and re-population by second home owners she wonders whether the existing 'stony silence' of locals towards

the incomers might have ‘nightmarish consequences’. Once again it is a picture that is not unfamiliar in the literature on tourism in other parts of the world including the geographical and economic peripheries Western Europe itself.

The four chapters considered so far are all, in one way or another, concerned with civil society (the Czech mayors, the scholars of the maritime heritage of the Adriatic, the small and medium sized private and public associations of Botiza, for example) and what is imagined and known about as ‘cultural heritage’. Tom Selwyn’s paper describes how both of these terms, civil society and cultural heritage, have been adopted by the European Commission’s TEMPUS Programme in order (or so the story goes) to be put to use for the post-conflict economic and social development of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Palestine. Following a consideration of where these terms come from and how they may be used and/or misused, Selwyn describes the work of university students in the two countries who, in the course of two TEMPUS projects, produced dissertations which now stand as exemplars of how an enlightened tourism policy *could* make a contribution to (precisely) the kind of local and regional development envisioned by the arguably enlightened and scholarly initiators of the TEMPUS Programme. Selwyn concludes, however, by arguing that the processes of more or less unregulated capitalism in the Bosnian case and a mixture of unregulated capitalism and political occupation in the Palestinian case make it unlikely that any such beneficial outcome is to be expected in the near term.

We have identified a variety of themes to be heard and read in our collection of essays. One of the more insistent and overarching themes starts from a concern with the relation between tourism and identity (which can of course encompass cultural, economic, and political elements). Our papers demonstrate how different actors – tourists, local residents of tourist sites, marketing specialists and operators, government and civil society institutions – engage in their own and different ways with the issues raised by this relationship. Perhaps one of the more intriguing and contradictory images that our papers leave us with is that of the Western explorer/pilgrim (unquestionably a leading player in the post-mass tourism of the areas considered) treading his or her way into an ‘East’ of imagined utopian, maritime based, cosmopolitanism only to find that the service received is based upon structural and procedural models firmly rooted in Western capitalist and nationalist traditions.

Southbound, to the Austrian Riviera: The Habsburg Patronage of Tourism in the Eastern Adriatic

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Abstract

Anthropologists writing on the beginnings of mass tourism in Europe have tended to overlook the key role played by the European aristocracies in the early development of tourism. This paper is a contribution to the historical anthropological study of the role of aristocracy in inventing and promoting seaside bathing resorts, by studying the case of the Habsburg patronage in the Eastern Adriatic. The Habsburgs produced a series of interesting personalities (typically archdukes and archduchesses) who, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, shared an interest in the 'Austrian Riviera' and strived to develop an Austrian counterpart to other prominent Mediterranean rivieras and resorts. Their efforts typically consisted of inventing seaside destinations and connecting them to the supranational networks of cosmopolitan places, encouraging tourist infrastructure development, launching/promoting local arts and crafts, and initiating measures of cultural and natural heritage preservation.

KEYWORDS: Aristocracy, Habsburgs, tourism, aristocratic patronage of tourism, Eastern Adriatic, Dalmatia, the Mediterranean

Introduction

When anthropologists write about the beginnings of mass tourism in Europe, they tend to identify the middle class as the single agency of its early development. The important part played by aristocracy, evident to historians of tourism, tends correspondingly to be ignored by anthropologists. A salient case of overlooking the pioneering work of aristocrats in the field of tourism is Orvar Löfgren's book on the history of vacations (Löfgren 1999). I choose Löfgren here as a valuable example, because he is a historical anthropologist committed to careful historical reconstruction of cultural practices. He is not a kind of 'synchronicist' anthropologist indifferent towards historical accounts of culture. In an article published prior to the mentioned book, Löfgren (1994) gave an account of the process of learning to be a tourist that took place in Sweden over the last two centuries. The colonization of the coast, the invention of the summer bathing, of seaside spas, hotels and boarding houses,

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'the cultural encounter on the coast' (ibid.: 113), the development of the bathing habits and of new forms of 'territorial behaviour' on the beach, new sensibilities, the appearance of the fine status distinctions: all these, it is suggested, emerged as a result of the Swede middle-class cultural project. The landscape sensibilities as well as the leisurely uses of the coastal environment by the vacationing townspeople, it is also suggested, were importantly shaped by the vanguard of this class, which was simultaneously the vanguard of tourism: the artists. By establishing their early colonies in remote coastal settings, they were actually the pioneering colonizers of the coast (105–106). Working-class families, on the opposite extreme of this social train, formed the rear: as latecomers, they were still infrequent visitors to the coasts in the 1930s (ibid.: 114).

But the aristocracy? While paying a good deal of attention to the development of status distinctions, e.g., in boarding houses where 'each visitor learned his place both in the dining room and among the different coteries' (ibid.: 110), Löfgren does not mention aristocracy at all. There is one passing reference to 'prominent guests' whose arrival 'was often noted in the local press. A closed, elitist world was created here' (1994: 108). Assuming that this evocative characterization refers to the intermingled society of the noble elite and wealthy bourgeoisie, one cannot avoid noticing how identification of the social class, rather precise in other cases, is blurred when it comes to aristocracy. In the chapter on the making of Mediterranean summer vacations, Löfgren similarly makes one singular passing mention of those representatives of a social class defined by a venerable sociological tradition as the leisure class par excellence. Before summer was invented on the French Riviera by 'one or two entrepreneurial American couples' in the 1920s,[1] Nice and other places along the coast were flooded by visitors only during winter: 'The English and French dominated in numbers, but the most striking cosmopolitan element was flamboyant Russian counts and grand dukes, who escaped severe winters of St. Petersburg to build their own cathedral in Nice and drink caseloads of sweet champagne' (Löfgren 1999: 165).

Löfgren sees aristocracy as a dashing clientele invading the coastal towns in November and disbanding in April, thus implying that the Riviera was invented by someone else (the middle class?) rather than aristocracy. Only after it had been brought into existence as an attractive winter resort, could Nice have become a setting for the congregation of aristocrats who thus could not possibly have contributed anything to the making of the place (except, obviously, building the Russian Orthodox cathedral there).

Yet aristocracy had played a central role in discovering and promoting the Riviera. For the centennial of his birth, the municipality of Cannes erected a statue of Lord Brougham, the lord chancellor of the United Kingdom, who is credited with inventing the place. He built himself a villa there in the 1830s. He died soon after but nevertheless managed to persuade many of his British friends to build houses in Cannes and spend their winters there. In a few decades, Cannes was transformed from a small fishing village with less

[1] 'Fitzgerald was right. In many ways the Murphys did invent the new summer life on the Riviera, with an ample help from their French and American friends, artists like Fernand Léger and Pablo Picasso, writers like Dorothy Parker and John Dos Passos' (Löfgren 1999: 166). Löfgren is referring here to F. Scott Fitzgerald's novel Tender is the Night.

than one thousand inhabitants to the one of the most attractive resorts of the Riviera with abundance of hotels, casinos, promenades and sanatoria (Deprest 1997: 130; Woloshyn 2009). Lord Brougham is also credited with promoting Nice, although he was preceded there for more than half a century by another British, not a blue-blooded this one, viz. the writer Tobias Smollett.[2] The Russian empress and her court, who began to migrate to their winter headquarters in Nice from 1856-7, gave a tremendous boost to the city (Cuturello 2002), which was now capable of attracting other crowned heads. Toward the end of the century, Queen Victoria and her royal family became another regular *hivernante* in Nice.

Komm mit nach Abbazia...

When, at the turn of the eighteenth century, Dalmatia came under Habsburg rule, the era of mass tourism had not yet dawned in the eastern Adriatic.[3] The first Austrian emperor Franz I came to visit the newly acquired possession on the southern border of the empire in 1818. He was primarily preoccupied with fortifications, barracks and other military considerations; not surprisingly, as the new Kingdom of Dalmatia was a long and narrow strip of land along the coast threatened by the vast Ottoman hinterland. During the 1840s, however, things started slowly to change as Austrian Lloyd, the state shipping company, introduced its cruising tours along the coast. By the 1850s, travelling on Lloyd steamers along the east Adriatic coast was an established practice, especially since the construction of the *Südbahn* (the Southern Railway), connecting Vienna with Trieste, had been completed. Moving along the coast, the cruisers would make longer stops at bays, thus allowing the travellers to pay visit to towns or just to contemplate them from the board. No trips in the interior were considered because of the poor state of the roads. Francesco Carrara (1846), the local specialist for Dalmatia, was highly critical of this practice which he dubbed *shipboard travel writing*. Carrara was not exaggerating, since much of the travel reporting from the Lloyd cruising of the period discloses the centrality of the deck perspective. The Lloyd *literary-artistic department*, a prototype of the marketing division, regularly offered complimentary journeys to writers and painters. Writers were expected to produce travelogues or travel guides while painters portrayed the coastal towns or painting seascapes. They would naturally install their easel on the deck while polite conversation and other cosmopolitan interaction taking place on the deck was a topical ingredient of travel writing.

Archduke Ferdinand Max, the future Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, made his first Mediterranean cruise in 1850, from which he returned with a passion for Turkey and the Orient in general. The following year, he sailed through the Western Mediterranean

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[2] As it happened in so many similar cases, Smollett was naturally not the first one to discover either Nice or its climatic, therapeutic and other qualities. In his Travels through France and Italy (1766), he reveals that Nice with its extraordinary climate was strongly recommended to him by a professor returning from Italy whom he met in one auberge. Smollett was advised to visit Nice after telling him that, because of his pulmonary problems, he was planning to spend the winter in Provence (Deprest 1997: 132).

[3] In this essay, the name Dalmatia is used along the same line as it was used by the Austrian writers of the period. Besides Dalmatia stricto sensu, it may therefore include (depending on the context) Istria, the so called Croatian Littoral (the Quarnero Gulf area) and the Mouths of Cattaro, today part of Montenego.

and along the West African coast. A. Trogher, his medical doctor who accompanied him on both journeys, described the second journey in a book, published in Trieste in 1855 and entitled *Letters from the journey through Istria, Dalmatia, Albania, Southern Italy, Spain, Portugal, Madeira and the part of West African coast*. Trogher's patriotic sentiments are often given voice in the book in which he paid a great deal of attention to the climate of Dalmatia. He actually claimed in it that the climate was better than that of Nice. He also repeatedly admonished the Austrian readership not to travel to Nice or Italy, because they possessed all that, and more, at home in Dalmatia (Pederin 1991: 175–176). Labels such as *Austrian Nice* and *our South* started to circulate at roughly the same time. There were two candidate towns competing for the prestigious *niçoise* appellation: Gorizia and Opatija (more known under its Italian name Abbazia). While the first one, not a coastal town at all, would not have any chances in the competition, Opatija, positioned on the southern Istrian coast, developed into a most prestigious Austrian bathing resort.

From the mid-century onwards, Opatija's climate was studied and celebrated for its healing properties by several climatologists and climatotherapists, in particular by Leopold Schrötter von Kristelli, the founder (it is claimed), of the first chair of laryngology in the world. Medicine and medical climatology in particular, were certainly one of strengths of Austrian science and spa medicine, which developed into an important sector of Austria's medical marketplace (Steward 2002: 26). By the 1860s, climatotherapy was established as a new and modern science (Woloshyn 2009: 389). Von Kristelli argued that the air of Opatija, thanks to the proximity of coniferous woods, was characterized by the high concentration of aerosols beneficial to the respiratory system. Also hydrotherapy, which had its chair inaugurated at the Viennese Medical School in 1860 (Steward 2002: 28), made important steps forward and was increasingly related to the development of the bathing tourism. Opatija's spas were soon offering grape cures, cold water cures, therapeutic gymnastics, seawater baths, pneumatic cures, electric, Roman, Irish, medicamental and other baths (Plöckinger 2002: 19). Yet Opatija's chief competitors within the empire were not other seaside resorts along the eastern Adriatic, but the thermal spas in the interior. Confronted with a rich variety of fashionable spas such as Bad Ischl, Karlsbad, Marienbad and Baden, Opatija managed to become the second biggest bathing town only by the last decade of the Monarchy. Then Opatija also managed to attract its most famed visitors like Gustav Mahler, Franz Lehár, James Joyce, Anton Chekhov, Isadora Duncan, Giacomo Puccini, Bertha von Suttner and Lenin. Immediately before the Great War, groups of British tourists started to visit Opatija (Pederin 1991: 219). Opatija could also boast a few royal visitors such as the German, Romanian and Norwegian imperial or royal couples. Habsburg aristocrats, of course, were a constant presence in the town.

Insofar as Austria was primarily a continental power and its geographical imagination was in good part influenced by its Alpine culture, Austrian continental, often Alpine, spas epitomized the aristocratic Austrian resort and thus attracted the bulk of the Habsburg patronage. Even the most thalassophile persons among the Habsburgs could sometimes feel 'out of place' in the Adriatic. The Austrian ethnologist Reinhard Johler, who has described this 'continental bias' with a great deal of sensitivity, gives account

of a conversation between the crown prince Rudolf (well-known to ethnologists as the initiator of the ethnographic description of the Empire) and the popular Styrian *Heimatroman* writer Peter Rosegger. The latter had been invited by the crown prince to a private reading in his villa in Opatija: 'On that occasion Rosegger presented his stories from the Alpine region. Although the subsequent conversation with crown prince Rudolf started by discussing the navy, it then continued with the Alpine folk songs and dialects as main topics' (Johler 1999: 90).

The popular Austrian writer Hermann Bahr likened the view of the Trieste Bay he enjoyed above the town to an Alpine pasture on the sea (Bahr 1996 [1909]: 23). One might even speculate whether the Austrian predilection for Opatija had something to do with the impressive Učka Mountain, which rises high above this sea resort and casts its shadow on the summer beaches in the afternoon. Compared to the medical, touristic and artistic representations of the French Riviera, which put emphasis on hot and dry air, on dry soil, good for growing citruses and olives (as well as healing tuberculosis), and on the lumière aveuglante (Woloshyn 2009), the Austrian picture of the Dalmatian Mediterranean was significantly softened. Opatija was advertised, thanks to von Kristelli, for its relatively humid air. Blinding sunlight there certainly was in Dalmatia, but the colours could also be softer, like watercolours.

Sea Voyagers

Despite the dominant Danubian strategic and economic orientation of the empire, the Habsburg dynasty produced a range of personalities, some provided with enormous political influence, other rather marginal, who developed a strikingly different attitude toward the sea and the Adriatic in particular. The victory over the Italian fleet in the battle off the island of Vis in 1866 gave a boost to empire's ambitions of becoming a naval power. The growth of the empire's naval strength was in good part to be attributed to the endeavours of two sea-loving archdukes: Ferdinand Max, who was the admiral of the fleet before venturing to Mexico, and Franz Ferdinand, who closely followed the developments of the navy and played a critical role in persuading the emperor of the necessity of enhancing its forces.

Despite the empire's continental bias and before its naval awakening, however, several imperial ships took part in exploration voyages and scientific expeditions. One early expedition to the Caribbean and Venezuela took place in 1755. The Austrian Habsburgs naturally shared much with the Spanish Habsburg line and its imperial expertise in the Americas. Overseas missions and expeditions intensified with the beginning of the 19th century. The first fully-fledged scientific expedition was carried out by the imperial frigate S.M.S. Novara in 1857-59 on the initiative of Ferdinand Max. Its purpose was to circumnavigate the globe and collect as much data and materials as possible. Before planning the itinerary, the archduke sought advice of Alexander von Humboldt who responded enthusiastically. For the occasion, the vessel was adapted in order to be able to accommodate the scientific commission, consisting of geologists, botanists, zoologists and ethnographers, with the reading room and library, the ballroom (the expedition, unsurprisingly, carried aboard a musical band), the cabins turned into small laboratories (Organ 2007).

Another voyage, which had a far more resounding effect on the popular imagination of the sea, was Franz Ferdinand's well-publicized voyage around the world on the board of the S.M.S. Kaiserin Elisabeth. His stay in Yokohama, where he changed the ship, made Yokohama enter the imaginary world of the Austrian operetta. Toward the end of the century, the Habsburg Monarchy, still largely seen as a land empire, felt enough self-confident on the high seas to participate in several international interventions or relief actions around the globe. As part of the *Eight-Nation Alliance* during the Boxer Rebellion, Austria intervened on the Chinese coast with six cruisers. While the ships of the *K.und K.* navy were increasingly involved in diplomatic missions, military interventions and exploration (the expedition to the Far East in 1874 was also related to Borneo whose northern shore was under consideration as a possible Austrian colony), the mercantile marine, the Austrian Lloyd in particular, eventually joined by the Austro-Americana (also based in Trieste), were intensifying and diversifying their merchant and passenger routes. The Lloyd was traditionally focused on the Levant routes which, by the opening of the Suez Canal, extended toward India, Singapore, Hong Kong, Japan and the Chinese coast. Its early focus on the Levantine routes was actually a Venetian legacy, and Trieste began self-consciously to represent itself as the heir to Venice. The affection for the eastern Adriatic, which had also been their traditional provider of excellent crews, was part of that legacy. The appreciation of *Kameradenschaft* and respect for his largely Dalmatian crew that heir to the throne Franz Ferdinand learned on his long voyage toward Japan, were seen by some as a likely source of his penchant for the Southern Slavs which was expected to translate itself in the triad reorganization of the monarchy. In his conception of the triple monarchy, the Croatians were envisaged as a leading nationality (Sondhaus 1994: 125).

An Archduke Anticipating Mediterranean Destinations and Identities

Archduke Franz Ferdinand was a stiff, arrogant, authoritarian, militarist, and distrustful person. At least that is the standard image of him which has never been really questioned until recently. His ill-repute was partly a consequence of his unrestrained passion for shooting animals: among European aristocrats, he was famous for his *battues* (Wasson 2006: 91). Even the emperor, who is credited with having shot over 50,000 animals during his hunting career, considered Ferdinand's way of shooting savage and unworthy of a true hunter. His deep love for his not-sufficiently-aristocratic wife, which encouraged him to stubbornly oppose the Emperor's will, seemingly did not help him earning sympathies among ordinary folks. In today Dalmatia, hardly anyone is aware that he was well-disposed toward the Croatians and that he admired the seafaring excellence of the Dalmatians.

This archduke was a good friend of another archduke who at first glance seems a perfect structuralist inversion of the failed emperor: Ludwig Salvator, an eccentric scientist who used to go around dressed in bizarre poor man's attire (he was often mistaken for a beggar), sired plenty of illegitimate children to young peasant servants, spent a good deal of his time cruising on a yacht turned into a scientific laboratory (some would add: and into a zoo, since he had monkeys on the board), and wrote many exotic books on numerous

Mediterranean islands which are extremely difficult to find in libraries. What on earth could possibly unite these two aristocrats? The Austrian Slavicist Brigitta Mader (1998; 2000b), a specialist on Salvator, has argued that, besides their love for the sea and sailing, they shared passion for botany and for the preservation of cultural and natural heritage.

Salvator's contribution to the development of tourism on the Austrian Riviera was largely an indirect one. His research on numerous localities in the eastern Adriatic was part of his wider preoccupation with discovering and describing less known Mediterranean places, in particular islands and tracts of the coast. In his case, a special patriotic focus on the Austrian coastland is virtually nonexistent: for his late-Enlightenment (Mader 2006) cosmopolitan curiosity, even the Mediterranean was a bit too limited (he partly expanded his research to some overseas places and wrote monographs on Los Angeles and Tasmania). Salvator produced a wide range of monographs and articles on chosen places of the Mediterranean. He has been widely known for his popularization of Majorca which he described in a six-volume monograph on the Balearic Islands. (He also chose the Majorcan village of Deia as his first residence. The place is now the propriety of the Hollywood star Michael Douglas, allegedly a fan of the archduke). Among his monographs, those on Ibiza, the Ionian Islands of Paxos, Levkas and Zakynthos, the Lipari Islands and Ustica in the Tyrrhenian, Cyprus are most significant. His monograph on Zakynthos, the Venetian Zante, eventually became a founding text of the local identity-building process (Johler 1999: 98). By the same token, he influenced the identity-building process in Majorca; the island also hosts a museum devoted to him. Although particularly enthusiastic for plants, his interest in ethnography was far from marginal. His field research with the Mediterranean peoples was based on a questionnaire produced by himself and eventually baptized *Tabulae Ludovicianae*. Following the *Wörter und Sachen* principle, he produced tens of hundreds of illustrations of objects and techniques of material culture accompanied by descriptions. This method, which had been introduced by two linguists (Hugo Schuchard and Rudolf Meringer), was also used in folkloristics and in Romance languages linguistics: another two fields well-mastered by the Archduke.

Salvator's publications on the places of the Austrian Riviera deal, among others, with the Gulf of Boka Kotorska, the Gulf of Bakar and Opatija. He wrote on the saltpans of Ston and of Pag Island, on traditional costumes of the Dalmatian islanders and highlanders, on the physical types of local populations (in the article *The Serbs in the Adriatic*), on oral traditions, and so forth. His articles, published in the Viennese journal *Adria,* which was diligently read by the court, come close to the literature promoting places of the Austrian Riviera. These deal with the prospects of Makarska as a sea-bathing resort (Salvator 1909), sea-bathing resorts of southern Dalmatia, the channel of Koločep (Calamota) near Dubrovnik, the project of the natural park on the island of Mljet (Meleda), and some others. He was an eager visitor of universal as well as regional expositions. Both he and Franz Ferdinand took a keen interest in the First Istrian Exposition which took place in Koper (Capodistria) in 1910. Two central pavilions were dedicated to seafaring and to the sea bathing establishments. (Franz Ferdinand was particularly involved in the exhibition as the person in command of the imperial commission for the ancient monuments preservation.)

Inventing Dalmatian Lace

Other aristocrats from the court could have been involved more directly in the promotion of tourism. Archduchesses Maria Josefa and Maria Theresa, both of them habituées of Dalmatian and Istrian sea baths (the first one had the predilection for the Brioni islands), were involved in discovering and promoting folk arts and crafts, embroidery in particular. As a patroness of the Dalmatian folk arts and crafts – adorned with the honorary title of *Her Highness the Patroness of the Austrian Riviera* (Pederin 1991: 182) – Maria Josefa provided for the establishment of the *Society for the Promotion of Lace and other Folk Arts and Crafts in Dalmatia* (1905). Under her patronage, the society organized several expositions of Dalmatian lace in different European cities: two in Vienna, one in Graz, one in London and one in Berlin (Vojnović Traživuk 2006: 284). The first exposition of Dalmatian lace in Vienna took place in the *Österreichiches Museum für Kunst und Industrie*, while the second one was attracting attention at the large Adriatic Exposition of 1913, when the vogue of Dalmatia peaked in the metropolis.

Maria Theresa, in contrast, founded in Vienna a technical school of embroidery and also set up a sales studio there (Johler 1999: 96). Dalmatian lace was thus constructed as one of central artifacts in the tourist promotion of Dalmatia. Embroidery workshops were also mushrooming in Dalmatia, beginning in Split (1905), while the most distinguished one was that of Pag. Other baronesses and countesses also participated in the endeavours for the promotion and the development of embroidery and other crafts, among them Baroness Stephanie Rubido-Zichy, who was actively involved in the everyday life of the local community. Natalie Bruck-Auffenberg, an influential writer and a specialist for 'the women's question', belonging to the ranks of the upper bourgeoisie, was on good terms with the court, which allowed her to assume several important assignments. As a leading specialist for the Dalmatian embroidery, she was charged with the supervision of the first exposition in Vienna. In her book titled *Dalmatia and its Folk Art*, she argued in favour of the protection and revitalization of embroidery (Bruck-Auffenberg 1910). All those endeavours implied collecting, which was largely limited to private collections (Vojnović Traživuk 2006: 291). Virtually all illustrations appearing in her book were taken from impressive private collections of aristocratic amateurs and promoters such as Maria Josefa or baronesses Rubido-Zichy and Hedwige von Haas-Teichen. Rubido-Zichy used to organize happenings for the prominent guests of Opatijan baths, aimed at presenting pieces of her collection to them. The guests were simultaneously taught the rudiments of folk arts and crafts evaluation. Gaining rich customers, such as the Austrian heir to the throne or the Queen Elizabeth of Romania, was essential for stimulating for 'revitalizing' local industry.

Residing in 'Our South'

Although the Habsburg aristocrats were too cosmopolitan to harbour Austrian patriotism in a manner reminiscent of a Doctor Trogher, they certainly did not shy from buying possessions in the Austrian Adriatic, building palaces and spending part of their time there. An early Habsburg acquisition had been the elegant Miramar castle near Trieste, built by Ferdinand Max in the 1850s when he became commander-in-chief of the Navy. Miramar

castle was clearly meant to become his main residence. He received the Mexican delegation there and he departed for Mexico from the castle's pier. The castle eventually became the summer residence of the Habsburg family. Some of the visitors returned several times. Empress Sissi liked the place and its original proprietor from the very beginning (Triestine local historians even claim that Sissi first saw the sea in Trieste, which is unlikely).

By contrast, the Adriatic seems to have been less central to Archduke Ludwig Salvator. His first residence (if one does not count his yacht) was bought in 1872 in Deia on Majorca. (Its name was also Miramar.) A few years later he bought another one in Muggia near Trieste. Eventually he bought the third one, in Ramleh at the outskirts of Alexandria, which became his favourite winter residence (Mader 1998). Although considered secondary compared to the Majorcan residence, the Muggian villa however saw Salvator spending most of his summers in it during the remaining three decades of his life. Archduke Karl Stefan had a palace in Pula, where he served as admiral of the fleet. He had another winter residence built south of Pola, on the island of Veli Lošinj (Lussingrande). Its location had been carefully studied with a view to protect as much as possible his wife (Maria Theresa) and six children from the risk of tuberculosis. (Ironically, his youngest child Wilhelm, better known as the Red Prince, eventually died of tuberculosis in a Soviet prison in Kiev; see Snyder 2009). Crown Prince Rudolf had a villa in Opatija while his only daughter received, as part of her dowry, the fascinating islet of Lokrum (Lacroma) opposite the old town of Dubrovnik. Lokrum had been originally bought by Ferdinand Max's wife. The future Mexican emperor built there a mansion and – typically – a botanical garden with hundreds of exotic plant species.

In her memoirs (Ryan 1916), Nellie Ryan, an English governess hired by Archduke Karl Stefan, had described several sailing trips of his family which she had joined. Long weeks were spent in Venice, during spring as well as summer; once the family was bathing in Lido for a whole month. A summer sailing with the family along the Adriatic and toward Greece started with a zigzagging between the two Adriatic coasts. Some towns (e.g., Šibenik and Split) were skipped, others not: in Bari, a couple of hours visit was planned but the departure was postponed to the next day due to complications caused by Italian customs officers as the archduke urgently needed to buy 'a little black goat, which very much took his fancy'. *Plava špilja* (Blue Grotto) of the Biševo Island, celebrated by Austrian writers as 'our Grotta Azzura' on 'our Capri', was also visited, but seemingly without patriotic effusions.

Places visited by crowned heads were eager to advertise these visits with a view to attracting more visitors. Not all visits were pure leisure, however. During one of his working visits in 1909, Franz Ferdinand showed a due interest in the condition of the Riviera. Accompanied by his wife, he participated in Trieste to the launching of the ship Radetzki. After that, the couple boarded the imperial yacht Miramar. On the way to Split, they made a stop on the Brijuni (Brioni) islands to visit their owner, the industrialist Paul Kuppelwieser. In Split, the unavoidable Frane Bulić, the director of the Archaeological Museum and the leading Dalmatian archaeologist, showed them the Diocletian's Palace. During their visit to the mayor of Split, the archduke inquired about the statistics of the port's traffic. When back to Trieste, he visited the Lloyd's president and inquired about the company's business performance (Pederin 1991: 217).

Whose 'Our South'?

At the height of the Dalmatia craze, Hermann Bahr, the famed Austrian writer and literary critic, made a swift trip to the eastern Adriatic in order to write a travel account. It was published in 1909 and titled *Dalmatinische Reise.* In this book, Bahr strongly criticized Austrian government for its myopic attitude towards Dalmatia and especially its lethargic attitude towards developing tourism there (Bahr 1996 [1909]). His main findings were that 1) the government did not sufficiently invest in building hotels (there was a serious lack of accommodation facilities); 2) the government was distrustful of both natives (seen as potential nationalists) and tourists (potential spies); 3) there were no German upper- and middle-class tourists coming to Dalmatia.

The picture of the Austrian inertia painted by Bahr was certainly exaggerated. Economic historians now concur that the last years of the Monarchy were characterized by vigorous economic development which was also evident in tourism. Because of the relative scarcity of tourist infrastructure, the extent of the Austro-Hungarian Adriatic cosmopolitanism was limited, yet Bahr's suggestion that the Austrian Adriatic tourism was essentially flawed because of the absence of well-off German visitors was revealing of hidden assumptions of a different kind. (These assumptions might have been an additional cause of Franz Ferdinand's resentment for the book.)

While highly critical of the government, Bahr's book was also a patriotic celebration of *our South*. Besides using familiar phrases like 'our Nice' or 'our Grotta Azzura', he referred to the islet of Lokrum as 'milder and more fascinating than Corfu'; Salona was dubbed 'our Pompei'; Frane Bulić became 'Schliemann of Salona' (1996 [1909]: 97, 71). Dalmatia was referred to as 'Switzerland in the Adriatic' – but also as 'Austrian Cinderella' (ibid.: 106). This patriotism is highly ambiguous however for it seems to carry both imperialist and nationalist overtones.[4] Bahr's attitude toward Dalmatian ethnic and cultural hybridity was equally ambivalent: it was both celebrated and resented as something inducing pain.

In the age when tourism in Austria-Hungary was increasingly entangled in ethnonationalist competition and hence nationalistically profiled, the Habsburg imperial vision, embedded in aristocratic practices of leisure, was naturally of limited appeal. Nationalist organizations exhorted tourists to do their part to support their nation within Austria by spending money according to the nationality of the hotelier, restaurant owner, or innkeeper, and wherever possible, by convincing other tourists to do the same (Judson 2002: 147). Exclusive German tourist destinations and facilities for German tourists, Italian for Italian tourists, Czech for the Czechs and Slovene for the Slovenes only were mushrooming. Many nationalist tours and excursions to ethnically contested destinations ended with fist-fights, even bloodshed. Nationalist tourism was based on the assumption that visiting national places was the patriotic duty and the redemption of the national landscape. On the Austrian Riviera, German nationalists hoped to create a 'German outlet to the Mediterranean' (Judson 2002: 155) and for this reason clashed with Italian irredentists.

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[4] During his mature years lived in imperial Vienna, Bahr acted as an Austrian cosmopolitan. But he had been a committed German nationalist student in his youth, and eventually became the supporter of the Nazi regime.

Concluding Remarks: The Massive Role of Aristocratic Promoters

The nature of the sources on which this essay is based does not allow us to address certain issues characteristic of the anthropological interest in the coastlands, such as modes of appropriation of coastal spaces, conflicts arising from them, forms of real property on the coast, management of the environment, politics of coastal development, migration trends, and so forth, in this earliest period of the development of mass tourism in the eastern Adriatic.[5] What can be discerned from these sources, however, is a certain pattern of aristocratic initiative in discovering and developing of tourist places that was tightly bound up with aristocratic life-styles. Aristocratic patronage implied specific effort (the 'work part' of the matter), but it was also integral part of leisure itself (visits of places, appearances at certain places etc.). The aristocratic presence in seaside spas and resorts represented an initial mode of building the reputation of the place and enhancing its potentials to attract further visitors. The hierarchy of aristocratic titles mirrored itself in the hierarchy of the resorts. Only places regularly visited by crowned heads could develop into first class resorts such as Nice, Biarritz (the favourite resort of the Empress Eugénie, Napoleon III's wife) or San Sebastián on the Biscay coast (patronized by the Spanish queen María Cristina who had her Miramar Palace built there) (Deprest 1997; Blackbourn 2002; Walton 2002; Wasson 2006). The Russian Romanovs, besides enjoying the pleasures of the Côte d'Azur, were instrumental in turning the Crimean coast into the fashionable Russian Riviera with Yalta as its most prestigious resort (McReynolds 2006). Even in Sweden, although a more egalitarian kind of kingdom, the discovery and promotion of its seaside resorts of the west coast heavily depended on domestic aristocracy (Facos 2002: 108).[6]

Compared to these, Opatija was a seaside resort of a somewhat lesser prestige. Although the development of the east Adriatic tourism seems to have been even more dependent on court patronage than was usual for the leading bathing resorts of Western Europe, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, for various reasons, did not manage to develop its own highest level seaside destination. The internal nationalist discord and even more the dualist structure of the empire (Opatija was part of the so-called Croatian Littoral, which belonged, in contrast to Dalmatia, to the Hungarian half of the Monarchy) were likely the most important reasons of this failure. Franz Ferdinand had allegedly resented the place because of the strong presence of the Jewish bourgeoisie there. The Empress Elizabeth (Sissi), the court person with the highest potential of adding auratic value to spas and seaside resorts, on the contrary, never went to Opatija (despite being strongly pro-Hungarian). Her lack of support for the main Habsburg seaside resort may perhaps be explained by her dislike of the Slavs (especially the Czechs and the Croatians) (Hamann

[5] For such approach in studying current developments throughout the Mediterranean, see Selwyn and Boissevain 2004.
[6] In the USA, this role played in Europe by aristocracy, was partly assumed by the New England 'bluebloods'. For a case of patronizing Pueblo pottery production in the Southwest, see Clemmer 2008.

1998: 232). Her travel itineraries and favourite destinations seem to confirm the avoidance of Slavic lands.

The Austro-Hungarian aristocracy were not unlike other European aristocracies in that that their leisurely interest and activities focusing on the Austrian Riviera were embedded within a wider, supranational (rather than transnational), grid of more or less fashionable places where aristocracies used to congregate. In contrast to the nationalist tourists, they would equally gladly appear abroad, in rival empires or kingdoms, even republics: thus Sissi attracted attention in Bretagne or in the English spas, while Opatija had to boast its royal visitors from abroad.

Aristocratic efforts regarding the development of seaside resorts typically included the encouragement of local folk arts and crafts. The discovery of folk arts and crafts was part of the wider phenomenon of the discovery of 'the people' which took place throughout the 19th century. Aristocratic sponsorship of folk arts may be seen also as an extension of the traditional aristocratic sponsorship of arts. Many tourist souvenirs, Dalmatian lace among them, had been initially developed within this pattern.

Last but not least, cultural and natural heritage preservation was another characteristic preoccupation of aristocrats as developers. Preserving certain types of natural environments was part of ancient aristocratic traditions of establishing hunting parks and 'forests'. Archduke Ludwig Salvator was an advocate of establishing the natural park on the Mljet (Meleda) Island, which was the first and the only natural park of the Austrian Dalmatia. Salvator is currently much more known for his Majorcan possession between Deia and Valdemossa (ca. 150 square kilometres) where he established a kind of natural reserve in which the trees were forbidden to be harvested and the houses were not allowed to be constructed. The animals, exempted those bred for the sake of food, should have lived peacefully until their natural death. Salvator was not a vegetarian or radical ecologist (as suggested by the entry in the English Wikipedia), but his worldview was clearly a pacifist one, and it seems likely that he did not indulge in hunting at all. The Deian possession was not fenced and was open for the local populace; therefore it definitely was not a hunting park. It seems rather to have been a peculiar hybrid between the natural reserve and a private possession with a highly limited economic exploitation.

Regarding the cultural heritage preservation, we have referred to the case of Franz Ferdinand. Although one critic caustically remarked that he collected art objects in the same way as he was shooting animals (Mader 2000b) and despite his reactionary ideas about art, he not only produced important collections of folk arts objects but managed to establish an energetic body which took care of the cultural heritage in Austria. Considering the absence of the state legislation regarding heritage preservation, the Adriatic section of his commission worked rather efficiently and managed, besides encouraging many restoration works, to save many objects from destruction. It was equally efficient in preventing the illegal trade with the objects across the state border. One consequence of Franz Ferdinand's visit to the Brijuni Islands was that the industrialist Kuppelwieser had to return several stone carved coat of arms to the town of Omiš in Dalmatia where they had been collected (Mader 200b: 27).

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Povzetek

Ko antropologi obravnavajo začetke množičnega turizma v Evropi, se jim rado dogaja, da prezrejo ključno vlogo, ki so jo v zgodnjem razvoju množičnega turizma odigrale evropske aristokracije. Članek je prispevek k historičnoantropološkemu preučevanju vloge aristokracije pri odkrivanju in spodbujanju razvoja obalnih kopaliških mest ob primeru habsburškega pokroviteljstva turizma na vzhodnojadranski obali. Habsburžani so od druge polovice 19. stoletja naprej imeli na dvoru nepretrgan niz zanimivih osebnosti (tipično nadvojvod in nadvojvodinj), ki jih je povezovalo zanimanje za 'Avstrijsko riviero' in so si prizadevali razviti avstrijsko inačico drugih prestižnih mediteranskih rivier in morskih kopališč. Njihova prizadevanja so tipično vključevala: 1) odkrivanje obmorskih destinacij in njihovo integriranje v nadnacionalne mreže kozmopolitskih lokacij, 2) spodbujanje razvoja turistične infrastrukture, 3) lansiranje ter promocijo lokalne obrtne in umetniške proizvodnje, 4) pobude in ukrepe v zvezi z varovanjem kulturne in naravne dediščine.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: aristokracija, Habsburžani, turizem, aristokratsko pokroviteljstvo nad turizmom, Vzhodnojadranska obala, Dalmacija, Mediteran

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Can Tourists Purchase 'the Past'? The Past as a Commodity in Tourist Sites

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Abstract
The following paper gives an account of my ethnography, which questions the idea of a 'traditional past' that can be presented to and, on occasion, sold to tourists. This process has in part done away with the tourist practices of socialism, which had themselves created an idea of 'traditionality' not dissimilar from the one proposed by today's tourism industry. Fieldwork was carried out in Botiza, a rural town in northern Romania, where various practices have been implemented to promote and satisfy the tourist market. In this context, I analyses host-guest encounters, in particular their practises and narratives when dealing with concepts such as 'past', 'tradition' and 'authenticity' which are represented, managed and sold as tourist commodities.

Key words: rural tourism, arts and crafts, tradition

Introduction
This paper is the outcome of research carried out in Botiza,[1] a Romanian village that in 1994, thanks to the economic liberalization that began with the fall of the Ceauşescu regime, began to offer what is locally known as 'rural tourism'.[2] Botiza is in the mountainous region of Maramureş in north-western Romania. The town is home to some 3,000 people in nearly 900 families; 60 of which provide accommodation and meals for tourists, others provide ancillary services and a very few more host families only occasionally. The type of tourism proposed is on a small scale – there is no large tourism infrastructure and the tourism flow is concentrated in three periods of the year (summer, Christmas and Easter). The limited accommodation capacity and very limited system of public transportation and information centres necessarily leads to a smaller and easily manageable tourist presence and to a customised interaction of tourists with the environment and the local community (Cipollari 2008).

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[1] Fieldwork was carried out from 1999 to 2001 in several phases and in 2007 for a few months.
[2] In 1989, the EU's PHARE Programme initiated investments in order to foster local development. Initially the projects were not directly aimed at tourism development but, at times, initiatives have been dedicated to the organisation and promotion of local tourism. From 1994 ANTREC (National Association of Rural Tourism) and O.V.R. (Operation Villages Roumaines - a Belgian association started in Romania against the territorial planning promoted by Ceausescu), begun a network of tourism offers by choosing three towns in Maramures (Ieud, Vadu Izei and Botiza).

In the context of this rural micro-economy,[3] the tourist experience is only partly shaped by the specific locality and context, given that the trip is often organised and influenced by others, both locally and internationally (guides, tour operators, interpreters, travel agencies, development agencies etc), all of whose gazes contribute to influencing the environment in which the encounter takes place (Cipollari 2007). The idea of tradition – how tradition is constructed and represented at different stages – is commonly used by all social actors (though in different ways and at different times) as the main attraction drawing tourists to Botiza and to Maramureş in general.

At the outset, scholars of tourism theory fell into the camps of those who considered it a 'passport to development'[4] and those who sounded a note of warning regarding its destructive effects. Some anthropological literature is permeated by paradigms that refer to the economic advantages that tourism brings to local communities, others to tourism as the destroyer[5] of fragile cultures, knowledge and traditional practices, and some others to tourism as a form of modernization for rural societies.[6] Scholars for and against tourism tend to oppose tradition vs. modernization without considering other elements, such as urbanization. Despite the fact that anthropology has gone beyond this Manichean vision and views tourism as one of the factors of change of a society, tourism remains a phenomenon that gives rise to misunderstandings, sophisms, paradoxes and ironies, in that it projects onto a particular locality the yearnings of subjects – both internal and external – who act in it, live it and interpret it with different means and aims, and for different reasons.

This paper shows both how the tourist location was created and how the tourist experience is represented and narrated. I intend to highlight some of the specific aspects of the tourist experience through the analysis of the narratives underlying the 'rural' and 'traditional' aspects of the town.

My ethnography shows how concepts such as 'authenticity' and 'tradition' run through the narratives of both tourists and locals, and how in practice, through their interaction, a 'past' is created, a past which is born and survives in part due to proactive promotion of tourism, and to initiatives to enhance the local heritage. Tourists and locals both adopt shared narratives that locate Botiza in ideal surroundings, preserving a past that has no specific bearings in time and which often hinges on a mythical past. Therefore, tourists and locals together create a landscape through a self-referential game in which they each provide the other with the contrivance they expect to see.

Going to Maramureş: travelling into the past?

Maramureş is presented as a region where time appears to stand still, and where tourists can experience a world that modernity has now expunged: a sort of trip back through time to seize a nostalgic, lost past that in Botiza still exists and is experienced daily. The Ro-

[3] The local economy is mainly based on farming, agriculture and a low level of mining.
[4] See De Kadt (1978).
[5] For example, Crick (1989: 335) refers to tourism as 'conspicuous scapegoat'.
[6] For an overview on this debate see among others: Boissevain (1996); Burns (1999); Cipollari (2008); Michaud (2001); Simonicca (2007).

manian Ministry of Tourism started promoting Maramureş back in the 1970s as a region with heightened tourist potential due to the beauty of the landscape and to local traditions of great interest to researchers of folklore. Thus, the idea of folklore as an inherent part of local heritage and as a major draw for the development of tourism was already established during the socialist period. The Romanian intellectual world too, including the anthropology and folklore milieus, contributed to creating the myth of 'rurality' as juxtaposed with the contemporary world. Rural life was seen as both the quintessence of the Romanian soul and as the main reason for Romania's backwardness.

Cuisenier (1995: 335) underlines how, in historical analysis, the 'rural farm world' has been seen as both the preferential guardian of Romanian people's values, and as the main barrier to the policies of modernization of society of the communist regime. One belonging to this school of thought is Eliade (1953), who writes of Romanian identity as an essentially rural agricultural identity, claiming that the Romanian people (read farmers and shepherds) remained divorced for various historical reasons from certain modern European cultural movements, and focused instead on their own traditions. Mihailescu, Popescu and Panzaru, however, emphasise that the 'popular' nature of this culture did not prevent it from enjoying a certain Western-style dynamism. What is special about the Romanian experience is that 'the transition to modernity occurred with and by means of a "traditional mentality" whose main component is the oral tradition typical of rural agricultural societies'[7] (Mihailescu, Popescu and Panzaru 1992: 9).

Studying the travel literature and other media used by travel advertising, it is easy to see how stereotypes and clichés are used to convey the idea of an unchanging past that continues to exist ad infinitum (Cipollari 2005). Travel advertising suggests that Maramureş is iconic of rural Europe, a 'living museum in Central Europe' (Cristea and Dancuş 2000: XV), a haven of age-old and charming life in comparison with globalised modernity.

In order to understand what many people seem to seek in travelling to Maramureş, and what the tourist guides and the advertising promise, we must refer to the anthropological debate on tradition which has clearly explained how different subjects' claims of authenticity, identity and of unchanged traditions and customs occur within multifaceted contexts, with different purposes in mind, and using different rhetorical expressions. The debate started by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1987) has resulted in many scholars proving how tradition is an invention of the present, a process whereby 'the past is socially constructed by those who interpret it on the basis of their political, economic or other interests which are rooted in the present', and it is not the 'permanence of the past in the present' (Papa 1999: 106).

The tourist narrative constantly refers to an immutable concept of the past, as if it were possible in Maramureş to live in a way that is nostalgically termed traditional: for some tourists, their experience in Maramureş is an opportunity to relive moments of their own past life, often belonging to their childhood; for others, it is a quest for certain aspects of tradition which they have not experienced directly but only imagined; others experience

[7] This quotation, like all others, has been translated by the author of the paper.

their trip to Maramureş as a sort of introspective, soul-searching journey in order better to get to know themselves. According to some tourists, visiting Maramureş is like stepping into a time machine in order to travel back to a past which is experienced with nostalgia and is now juxtaposed with the modern world within the typical paradigm of pure versus impure and healthy versus unhealthy, where the countryside embodies all positive values and the city all the negatives ones connected to modernity. In the words of an informant:

> I came here with my wife to see how our European ancestors used to live. We lived with a rural farming family, hoping to understand where we ourselves have come from… While the world keeps racing towards the future, these rural farmers invited us into their house and into the past (American tourist, 6/8/2000).[8]

This American couple chosen to live a year in Maramureş not only in order to collect material for the publication of a photographic book, but also in order to have experiences of the way 'their ancestors lived'. However in the house where they lived they organised a room like a small office, with a notebook computer and a mobile phone they could use to connect to Internet and update their web site with information about their stay in Maramureş. On their web site it is still possible to see some pictures with descriptive captions of Maramureş, of people and events. The two Americans wished that through their images people might see '...what remains of an old European way of harvesting. Here you can see agriculture capacity from beasts of burden on hills carved from centuries of ploughing' (www.leafpile.com).

The memory of the past, the wish to experience cultures and landscapes that are out of the ordinary, the desire to observe and to be in close contact with cultural traditions and items from a past age are common themes, and are often found in the tales of tourists who visit Maramureş in search of elements that survive in the region but are extinct elsewhere. These sentiments are clearly expressed by one of my informants:

> I really wanted to smell the scent of the villages again. Because villages in France used to have the same smell that they have here. One could smell the wheat, the hay, the horses... When I was a boy we used to harvest hay by hand and see sheaves like these ones here, but now all agriculture is mechanised (French tourist, 10/8/2007).

The testimonials often present an interpreted superimposition of memories of experiences in these places and of farming life and country practices, which are indeed part of some tourists' past. European tourists are particularly prone to this experience, and there are many French and Belgian tourists who say that in Maramureş they can re-experience events, smells and images connected to their childhood.

The locals attempt to play on the backwardness – compared to Western Europe – of their living conditions: a backwardness that is deemed to be an asset and is therefore

[8] This quotation, like all others, includes the informant's nationality and date of interview.

constantly emphasised.[9] The milieus in which tourists and locals meet, and where the wares are sold are clear evidence of this representation and performance of the past. Tourists are often interested in the markets, because they say much about the local environment and about the locality through the products on sale and the display of typical objects. The markets and the crafts workshops – as in this case – are places where in addition to goods, what is on offer are interpretations, tales and life stories of the craftsmen who are not just telling their personal stories but also that of their whole community.

Tourists seek rural life in Maramureş, with the pace, gestures, flavours and colours that they imagine and require it to have, a landscape which is undeniably shaped by man but is also rich in natural elements; conversely, local inhabitants and institutions construe and present their location as a favoured place which is able 'naturally' to meet the requirements and expectations of tourists. The workshop spaces are one of those stages where tourists and locals meet and where each presents a particular representation of the self that is what the other would like to see.

Rethinking art crafts

The ethnographic example I have chosen to consider is the visits made to crafts workshops or showrooms. These visits represent the moment when the past – an abstract concept recounted in all tales narrated by locals, tourists and advertising – becomes an actual, practical experience and even becomes tangible through the acquisition of specific items. Visits to crafts workshops are the main local attraction promoted by tourist guides, and do in fact represent the major draw for tourists. Of course, there are many other similar examples elsewhere; in Europe for instance, there are tourist visits to Harris tweed weaving centres in Britain, where a new lease on life for a tradition is closely linked with new technology in weaving[10] (Coffre-Baneux 1999), while in France there are the food markets in the tourist centres of the Auvergne, which are specifically designed to meet tourists' rural expectations[11] (Abram 1996).

Resorting to tradition is a way to underline the local nature of the commodity and/or the experience and, therefore, the tourism industry plays on the important social role, one in which the rhetoric of 'authenticity' has in the representation and staging of reality.

In Botiza, the workshops or showrooms are generally in the home, and at times in wooden sheds in the garden. All are very clearly marked with signs saying artizanat; the tourists do not just visit the one in the house they are lodging in, but search for others, and the showrooms are also visited by tourists who are not staying in Botiza at all but are

[9] Tourists claiming to appreciate Botiza for its 'landscape', containing both natural and cultural elements, perceive it as the result of a 'pure' life-style, untouched by the aggressions of modernity. Some tourists do not realise, some others do not care that the landscape they appreciate is manipulated and changed by people living in that very place. Today, as well as in the past, there have been people who have worked the land in order to make profit from the harvest. What tourists think to be 'out of a fairytale' is actually the result of everyday's people work. In Cipollari (2008), I examine the various practices that local people have implemented to modernise dwellings and landscape while keeping traditional marks.

[10] Tweed weaving centres offer guided tours to show tourists spinning and other weaving techniques (Coffre-Baneux 1999).

[11] According to Abram (1996) there is a close association between past, image, locality and identity. Tourism market tends to play on the sense of 'Auvergnat-ness' that local food and markets evoke to tourists.

brought there by tour guides who point the town out as a traditional rug-making centre. It is common to see tourists walking around Botiza looking for artizanat signs, shyly pushing open gates to enter courtyards, waiting for someone to appear on the doorstep so they can ask: 'artizanat?' These showrooms are different sizes, depending on how many goods are on offer, and everyone tries to display more as time goes on. They generally have different-sized rugs hanging on the walls, and there are wooden rails displaying local artefacts, for example opinci (leather shoes) or cojoc (very heavy woollen or leather waistcoats), woollen socks and traditional costumes that are now no longer used. As well as clothes, there are displays of hand-woven cloths, cushions, and fabrics such as those used in churches to adorn ceiling lamps; there are wall-hangings and occasionally also wooden objects. Sometimes the homes themselves are furnished to recreate an old-style ambiance, and the fittings are arranged as in pictures of rural houses of old, such as those found in the museums of Sighet or Cluj.

As I was able to observe, normally such visits follow a rather standard, conventional pattern: tourists enter the workshop, begin to look around, are made welcome and are often also offered food or a glass of tuica (a home-brewed liqueur) the craftswoman then presents her handiwork, the tourists ask questions on how it is made, the woman explains and may even sit at her loom to give a practical demonstration, the price of the items is negotiated and the purchase is made, all of this in an atmosphere which is generally friendly and cordial despite frequent problems with communication (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Tourists observing a wooden loom, while the craftswoman shows her weaving techniques

Tourists take photographs or videos posing next to the hand loom or the rugs, standing next to the weaver and often putting on the traditional clothes themselves. The tourists are most often interested in taking pictures of the loom, and they take turns sitting on the little bench in front of it, pretending to weave. There are almost always skeins of coloured and raw wool on the floor next to the loom, and sometimes also a wooden spindle. All workshops display the stones and dried flowers and bark, which are the raw materials used for the natural dyes for the wool (Cipollari 2005). It is explained that all rugs on display were woven by the woman of the house, who knows all about which plants must be dried to obtain the dyes and who weaves the rugs during the long winter months so that they can be sold during the tourist season. The rug sellers present their rugs as 'their work', as the work done by a woman who has learned the art of weaving from her own mother, who in turn learned it from the previous generation; thus the dyeing and weaving are presented as crafts dating back centuries. This has a dual effect: on the one hand the object in question acquires the label of 'traditional', and on the other the collective work done by a group of women is attributed to a single weaver in order to provide an easier identification experience for the tourist who is buying it. The value of the authenticity of the experience lived by the tourist can thus be added to the aesthetic value of the object purchased (Aime 2005).

> One tourist expressed her interest in the local crafts in the following way: Maria [her host] likes weaving very much, she learned by watching her mother at the loom. All this positive knowledge has been transmitted from generation to generation, and it has become Maria's trade. It's fantastic to pass on something so positive. The young women do what they have watched their own mothers do. I would have bought everything, I would even have bought socks to take back to France, because none of it is expensive and in any case it is heritage, it has a real value (French tourist, 20/7/2000).

Within the tourist experience, the aesthetic value of the goods is often subordinate to their 'native symbolic universe', and drawing a strong link between an artefact and its craftsman allows the tourist to refer it strongly to a local identity, and to give it its own history (Aime 2005: 113).

For example, during the workshop demonstrations, hosts often wear opinci, leather shoes with cross-over laces along the calf, over a thick woollen cloth for warmth – nowadays often a sock (see Figure 2). They are generally worn by elderly people and by shepherds, or during traditional folklore events and special ceremonies. Tourists have seen pictures of this practice in brochures before their arrival, and when they see elderly people wearing them they take their photographs in order to immortalise the exotic as embodied by an individual who loses his or her 'uniqueness' and becomes a 'symbol' or 'type', thereby satisfying the tourists' gaze and ensuring that both the preparation and the actual experience of the trip take on substance and meaning (Urry 1997).

Figure 2: Inside a craft workshop, tourists can see the carpet display and observe the seller wearing traditional clothes and shoes (opinci)

Objects become symbols, they represent a past that is still alive and which is preserved within families and by the town and the community, but which can also be purchased by tourists and transported elsewhere. There is, for example, a stall at Botiza's weekly market selling these shoes in all sizes, including a miniature version to be used as a key ring or a simple souvenir.

Local items are also bought and then used quite differently to how they are intended. For example, cloth used at home as a decoration for plates or table lamps, and in churches around icons, can be worn as eclectic scarves or shawls (see Figure 3). Just as new elements permeate the narratives of locals, so do outside views reinterpret local items and give them a new meaning in different and distant contexts.

Sometimes the visits to the workshops become essentially a stage where the ritual of traditional dress is played out (see Figure 4). Tourists don the clothes on display, struggling into rough cotton shirts with bouffant sleeves, the women trying on little pleated skirts with unflattering flowery patterns, the braver men wearing waistcoats and jackets with thick wool linings, even though the rooms are generally small and often hot. Thus adorned, the tourists become the protagonists of their own photographs, they 'take on' the local colours, get under the skin of the host community and experience a situation where they themselves become 'the representation of authenticity' (MacCannell 1976).

Figure 3: A French tourist wears as a scarf a hand-made cloth locally used as a decoration for plates or religious icons, both at home and in churches

Figure 4: A young Belgian tourist wearing traditional clothes on display in crafts workshops

Some tourist situations make something available which is not offered by museums: life as lived by the locals, be they Romanian farmers, Sardinian shepherds or Masai warriors, who thus become representatives of the place visited by the tourists, a place that is thus experienced by means of a magnificent 'leap into the past' (Satta 2001), and construed in order to create a tourist attraction.

Simonicca (2006) emphasises precisely this aspect of tourist practice, the transition from merely observing the environmental and cultural context, and the actual desire to live and experience the surroundings. Tourists are no longer satisfied with getting to know, admiring, discovering and visiting a location, they want to embody it, live it, take it on, and if possible, take at least some part of it home with them.

In Botiza, it is no longer a case of simply meeting the other, but rather of meeting the other in their environment; it is no longer merely the search for human contact, but rather the search for 'real' human contact, 'real' because occurring in an authentic world where the 'other' is met while busy with daily work; on occasion, these tasks, and thus emotions, are shared.

Tourist encounters produce a conflict between both the tourists' wish to penetrate the local environment – to go beyond the 'front stage' (Goffman 1969) in order to reach and discover the exotic element hidden in the backstage – and the locals' need to keep a private life. From what I observed, the tourist experience offers some possibilities to experiment with the new while remaining within a given familiarity that guarantees the tourists' well-being and prevents disorientation.[12]

For instance, when tourists choose Maramureş for all it has to offer and they want to keep the distance from mass tourists, they knowingly accept playing a role that is far and different from their daily life, but only temporarily and in ways that are compatible with their own experience; therefore, they become farmers, but 'only for a day' (Gottlieb 1982). Quite often tourists ask their hosts to share housework or other daily practices. Some female tourists are fascinated by local women doing the washing in the river and want to do it themselves, or young backpackers join their hosts in the field to help with the harvest or to milk the cows. Regardless of the fact that what they do is just a performative practice, they want their holiday to be an experience more than a vacation.

Ethnography shows that there is a shift in the motivation for and practice of tourism, from observing to doing, and from watching to sharing. Tourists are involved in domestic chores – such as market shopping, cleaning the house, or working in the fields – and are appreciative of these relationships that go beyond a simple host-guest rapport. Spending the day in a field, for example, building a hayrack with one's hosts is for many tourists an opportunity to do something out of the ordinary and at the same time to gain intimacy with the other.

At local level, tourists' interest in everyday objects and items leads to an enhancement of local heritage. The community's and location's potential is 'revealed' as a result of its contact with the outside world; over time, it is shaped and reinterpreted in order to tailor it to the requirements of the 'other', in this case, of the tourist. In this way, contemporary items have become part of the clothing which is made available to tourists for their photo sessions in the workshops, and similarly, items which are supposed to only be worn by some, depending on age or marital status, are also

[12] Regarding 'environmental bubbles', see Cohen (1972) and Lanfant (1995).

freely worn by others. Men's vests, for example, are also worn by women, or the host wears two garments together which are normally always worn separately (see Figure 5). This promiscuity blurs the subtle differences that traditional dress used to emphasise, such as those based on age, gender or marital status: for example, women tourists are encouraged to wear men's waistcoats, or girls are given waistcoats with trimmings normally reserved for married women. Hosts also wear a melange of dress styles: the woollen striped skirt (which should be worn over a black or white cotton underskirt) is worn over a much more recent pleated skirt.

Figure 5: Tourists wearing traditional jackets (cojoc) over T-shirts, under the gaze of local host while other tourists take pictures

Concluding reflections.

Tourists' desire to be involved, to become a part of local life, means that they are part of Hannerz's (1992: 327) category of cosmopolitans, but given that for Hannerz this term denotes 'the offspring of the organization of diversity in world culture', in this case, those local inhabitants of Botiza who have never left the town can also be considered cosmopolitans; through the gaze and the behaviour of tourists on the one hand, and the policies and choices of the decision-makers of the tourist industry on the other, they enact a form of authenticity that makes the rural tourism offered by Botiza profitable as well as effective. In practical terms, it would appear that it is only the tourist who actually travels elsewhere, however, in the context of tourist experiences, very often all social actors use their imagination to become part of a broader vision, in which far-flung scenarios become familiar and in which the home environment includes elements from different cultures.

Much anthropology of tourism research highlights the conflict between tourists wishing to become a part of local experiences in order to discover the exotic elements hidden behind the scenes, and the local inhabitants' need to preserve their private sphere

where tourist practices are often derided or criticised (Boissevain 1996). This conflict is also manifest and clearly present in certain situations in Botiza, but my research shows that the meetings that occur in the showrooms reveal that tourist demand and supply do connect in a context of tradition and authenticity that is jointly created.

In practice, it is my view that the meeting the tourists wish for and which is promoted by tour operators and advertised in brochures, takes place in a context where meanings can be created and interpreted jointly, despite the fact that it is the result of a chain of organizational events that extends further than the local community as it also reaches local networks, and despite the fact that it is mired in misunderstandings and ambiguity. This very duality, giving rise to paradoxes, irony and ambiguity, ensures that the situation can be described using Bourdieu's categories of the economy of symbolic trading exchanges. The properties which Bourdieu identifies as being part of symbolic exchanges – the 'dualism' inherent in practices which 'present dual realities which are difficult to reconcile' and the 'making something explicit' (1995: 160–161) – are also applicable to tourism. Furthermore, just as in the economics of symbolic exchanges, 'declaring the truth of the exchange… is tantamount to annulling the exchange' (Bourdieu 1995: 161), so in tourism – which is at once a social and economic activity – do the majority of relations conceal their true commercial nature behind the fig leaf of gratuity (Bruner 1996), and hospitality is often understood to be a gift (Satta 2002). For Bourdieu, symbolic capital cannot be understood separately from the subjects who recognise it and give it value, and so tourist practices take on a meaning as they take place within meaningful networks built and understood by all subjects.

Seen from the standpoint of symbolic capital, tourism, just like a product typical of a region, (Papa 1999), is an oxymoron because at the very least it embodies a dual reality: an economic reality, governed by market mechanisms of supply and demand, and a complex reality founded on experiences which transcend the utilitarian dimension. Both offer and demand are adaptable to different interpretations and manipulations and in due time are managed by different social actors. Given the complexity of the phenomenon, it is necessary to leave an antinomic logic where tourism is either development or destruction, and it is imperative to carry out research able to illustrate and analyse tourism diversity and many-sidedness.

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POVZETEK

Pričujoči članek opisuje mojo etnografijo, ki pod vprašaj postavlja idejo 'tradicionalne preteklosti', kot je predstavljena in občasno prodana turistom. Ta proces je delno odpadel s turističnimi praksami socializma, ki so same ustvarile idejo 'tradicionalnosti', zelo podobno tisti, ki jo promovira današnja turistična industrija. Terensko delo je bilo izvedeno v Botizi, podeželskem kraju v severni Romuniji, kjer so izvajali različne prakse za spodbujanje in zadovoljevanje turističnega trga. V tem kontekstu sem analizirala srečanja gostiteljev in gostov in še posebej njihovih praks in naracij v trenutkih, ko so se soočali s koncepti, kakršni so 'preteklost', 'tradicija' in 'avtentičnost', ki jih turistična industrija predstavlja, upravlja in prodaja kot turistične proizvode.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: podeželski turizem, umetnost in obrt, tradicija

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Performing Maritime Imperial Legacies: Tourism and Cosmopolitanism in Odessa and Trieste

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the relation between new forms of post-mass tourism and the exploitations of maritime imageries related to the multicultural imperial narratives in contemporary Odessa and Trieste. The main hypothesis of this work is that the relationship between hosts and guests in post-communist seascapes and coastlines is often fraught with ambivalences and frictions, with special reference to the sea as a source of narratives, symbols and customs staged for tourist consumption. In particular, a growing sector of highly mobile and curious tourists who seek unusual, authentic experiences and who embrace a cosmopolitan ethos, are usually perplexed when the cosmopolitan pasts are reframed into national narratives. Accordingly, this paper aims to discuss the above-mentioned issue by focusing on two cases of maritime cities with a cosmopolitan history: Trieste and Odessa. In spite of the different geopolitical locations and economic standards, both cities are implementing their tourism policies by exploiting the material and symbolic importance of the maritime legacies of the cities and by playing upon narratives developed at a time when the cities were cosmopolitan maritime outposts of the Austrian and Russian empires. However, in the age of the empires, the multi-ethnic population of Odessa and Trieste, with special regards to the diaspora as an agent of civic progress, impersonated the gist of the multicultural imperial idea through their cosmopolitan flavor, economic prosperity and religious tolerance. In contrast, contemporary local decision makers try to turn these cosmopolitan imageries into factors of tourism development but often do not frame their actions within the changed economic and geopolitical contexts. Eventually, 'exploring' tourists are often puzzled by the experience of Trieste and Odessa because they are misled by a somewhat mythical interpretation of the social relationships at the time of the empires, and tend to misunderstand the present reality of ethnic and national relations in the cities.

KEYWORDS: Trieste, Odessa, tourism, cosmopolitanism, maritime imperial legacies

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Tourism beyond the coastline: from the Adriatic to the Black Sea.

Both politicians and entrepreneurs of the newly independent post-communist states are usually aware that the selection of symbols and images of their countries as tourist destinations can be a difficult task. This task might be even more challenging when the maritime dimension of the national identities become a part of these discussions, if we consider that from the 19th century onward the entrance of the sea into the national imaginations brought about contradictory forms of material and symbolic appropriations (for the Italian case, see Frascani 2008: 101–115).

In our time, the great part of the Adriatic seashores, both the Western and the Eastern parts, has reached the mature and post-mature stage of the tourist cycle (Agarwal 1997: 66–67; Savelli 1998: 114–116). Nevertheless, the typical standardisation of a summer seasonal product that defines seaside mass tourism has been obsolete from the 1990s onwards. Accordingly, since then maritime resorts have been experiencing original attempts to revive the uniqueness of the place through the resuscitation of forgotten traditions or the activations of new links, paths and connections that should deconstruct the famous image of the 3S (sun, sea and sand).

Particularly, as recently stated by Sedmak and Mihalic, the role of authenticity has been crucial as a differentiating and empowering factor in the context of Adriatic seaside resorts (Sedmak, Mihalic 2008: 1012). Therefore, the process of 'staging authenticity' (MacCannell 1999) acquires a growing importance for Adriatic resorts, especially for those that aim to attract new types of tourists who reject standardised and globalised products and are genuinely attracted by the local aspects of indigenous and autochthonous traditions (Crouch 1999; Gale, Botterill 2005; Coleman, Crang 2002). In the Adriatic region, like in other mature tourist destinations, those indigenous traditions are so closely connected with the countries' national narratives that symbols and practices – specifically the ones with maritime features – become abstractions used to sell seaside tourist destinations as a part of the national heritage (Graml 2004: 141–144).

In this framework, I have been carrying out fieldwork on the eastern Adriatic seashores[1] to explore the ways relationships between hosts and guests would structure the cultural contents and the identity patterns staged for tourist consumption. Particularly, while the sea provides a source of narratives, symbols and customs that tourists are looking for, I argue that the way the sea is staged for tourism consumption in post-communist countries is not sufficiently explored. Sometimes, the romantic and naïve references to the rich heritage of maritime traditions seems to be enough to inspire some successful tourist policies, which aim to overcome the patterns of mass tourism in post-communist regions.

The survey carried out in the Adriatic basin aimed at decoding the expectations of a growing sector of highly mobile and curious tourists, who are usually exploring ways of overcoming the alienation of mass tourism. These tourists seek authentic experiences

[1] My fieldwork was carried out in the frame work of a two-year national research project financed by the Italian Ministry of the Education and University. See http://www.ricercaitaliana.it/prin/dettaglio_prin-2007PAB8EH.htm

outside everyday life, both looking for adventure and cultural enrichment; they may fall into the categories of 'explorers' or 'drifters' according to Cohen's tourist roles typology (Cohen 1979).

In other words, their gaze, in the sense of John Urry (2000: 2–3), is mostly reaching out 'beyond the coastline', towards the islands and the cities of the other side of the Adriatic (Cocco 2008: 256–259). I termed them terra-nauta[2] for their nomadic habits and the intense attraction of the sea they usually experience. They like to move by sea (yachts, ferries, small boats) and consequently they seem to approach land destinations such as towns, countryside and mountains as if they were acting as sailors or maritime explorers. Moreover, in doing so, they also show a propensity towards a cosmopolitan mentality and international mind frames. One of the tourists I interviewed (who spent the summer travelling through the Dalmatian islands) sketches out quite clearly the attitude of the Terra-nauta: 'To live the sea means to get in touch with the world and experience and encounter other cultures and nations. Especially the ones that are close by and share our common sea. To sail means to live a history we are a part of.'However, during my fieldwork I also discovered that the point of view of the local hosts is a more ambivalent one. Both the local entrepreneurs and politicians in the Adriatic region are generally eager to celebrate the multicultural and cosmopolitan past of the maritime world, which is repeatedly recalled in tourist guides and informative brochures. However, the celebration is somehow ambiguous and it usually mingles contradictorily with national concerns and local fixations, which fold the stage with provincial and peripheral features.

As a result, the tourists who seek cosmopolitan and international experiences on the sea are quite often perplexed when maritime traditions, food, habits and cultural heritage are staged as 'purely' national products. In this context, my hypothesis is that the breakdown of the communist regimes transformed the maritime imageries of the Adriatic into a virtual battlefield where post-communist states seek new legitimacy of their national identities. This is true for the Adriatic, but I believe it could be extended to other maritime regions that have undergone post-communist transition, such as the Baltic Sea Region and the Black Sea.

The strategies of institutional appropriations of the sea and the coasts are not easy to implement. In fact, the maritime heritage of routes and international connections tends to work unexpectedly as a marker of cultural division. In other words, the maritime imageries and the memories of the Mediterranean cosmopolitanism may empower territorial identities that do not always comply with the ethno-national political requirements of the nation-states. This becomes significant when one considers the role of maritime cities, especially the port-cities of the Mediterranean that used to thrive as cosmopolitan emporia in the age of empires (Leontidou 1990). Those cities played a special role in the construction of the Mediterranean and consequently worldwide projections of the continental empires that maintained coastal possessions.

[2] I borrowed the expression terra nauta from Prof. Josko Bozanic, University of Split. Prof. Bozanic explained me that terra nauta used to be a poetic name for Dalmatia at the time of the Republic of Venice.

Accordingly, I decided to enlarge the scope of my research introducing a more specific comparative topic. Being increasingly convinced that in order to disentangle the frictions and the ambivalences of the host-guest relation that takes place 'beyond the coastline' and in post-communist maritime spaces, I had to make two steps. The first one was to investigate the tourist gaze beyond the Adriatic basin, and the second one was to focus more specifically on maritime port-cities. The reason is that in these cities the mythologies of cosmopolitanism and maritime imperial legacies play a strategic role and are constantly nurtured by local public opinion. In this article, I reflect comparatively on two cities that are probably among the best examples of imperial creation of cosmopolitan emporia: Odessa on the Black Sea and Trieste on the Adriatic Sea.

To many tourists, Odessa and Trieste are ideas, or dreams, before than being real cities, because they are mainly known for literary and artistic heritage. Additionally, they were conceived by the imperial political authorities to be commercial and civilisational outposts. Thus, they were a part of a political and military projection towards newly incorporated maritime territories, which represented the new imperial frontiers. Maritime city-ports have traditionally represented a specific social and cultural environment (Luhmann, De Giorgi 1994: 275–281; Taylor 2004, Badie 1997), especially when they served large imperial communities. In a context of social stratification and ethnic plurality, which was typical of imperial powers such as the Austrian and Russian ones, these city-ports assumed both vital economic functions and highly symbolic values. In fact, by the 18th century onward, the continental empires invested materially and symbolically in the creation of littoral outposts towards the progressively global oceanic world of trade and commerce. Those cities were 'special cases' for the variety of people and the freedom and liberality of their customs, yet also aimed at portraying the civilizing message of the empires embodied in the urban multi-national and multi-religious local cosmopolitanism.Few cities more than Odessa and Trieste, in this perspective, impersonated the gist of the multicultural imperial idea thorough their cosmopolitan flavour, the economic prosperity and the practices of state-sponsored religious tolerance. Odessa and Trieste hosted large immigrant and diaspora communities, first of all the Jewish one, which extensively shaped the cultural and social landscape of the cities (Bianchini 2009; Dubin 1999). Moreover, the histories of Trieste and Odessa are exceedingly similar, from the imperial acts of foundation to the social engineering of their immigration policies. Eventually, the two cities also shared a post-imperial fate with the failure of the Russian and the Austrian empires, experiencing, though in different ways and times, tentative ethno-political redemptions and eventually the post-socialist implosion that introduced challenges.

It must be said, nonetheless, that the cases of Trieste and Odessa are also quite different under many aspects. The former was at the border of a socialist multi-national state (now post-socialist region) while the latter was included in a socialist and now post-socialist space. Also, in the case of Odessa, the integration into the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics meant somehow a replacement of the imperial experience of the Czarist Russian with another empire: the Soviet one (at least as far as the cosmopolitanism and internationalism are concerned). This is not the case of Trieste, were the end of the Hapsburg

Empire was followed by the incorporation into the Italian nation state. Nevertheless, one may also consider that the Italian Fascist regime manipulated and played upon the imperial narratives (especially referring to the myths of the Roman Empire and the Mediterranean civilization), in order to promote expulsions, internal migration and forced integration of the locals according to some social engineering principles. Moreover, even after World War II, the local scenario in Trieste was characterized by the huge immigration of the exiled populations from Istria (that reinforced the symbolic bond between the city and the peninsula across the border) and was deeply influenced by the destiny of Yugoslavia for the years to come.

Therefore, I believe that the performances based on the revival of maritime imperial legacies, regardless of Trieste's lack of incorporation into a socialist state, produce comparable discrepancies between cosmopolitan desires and provincial stances. They also deserve to be analysed comparatively.

In this paper, I suggest that both the tourist demands for some 'off-shore' sphere of multi-cultural experience 'beyond the coastline', and the attempts of the local hosts to stage it, reflect contemporary political concerns. In a way, tourist relations in post-communist maritime regions and, specifically, in the cities of Trieste and Odessa, resonate with preoccupations about identity and cultural clashes, i.e. tourist relations entail multiple frictions between the local, national and international patterns of identification. Moreover, the local urban elite experience difficulties in dealing with the contemporary marginalisation of their cities, and perform maritime imperial legacies as a tool for tourism development. In putting forward this thesis, I refer to and attempt to develop some notable investigations carried out by Pamela Ballinger (2003), who discusses the Hapsburg nostalgia in the city of Trieste; by Evridiki Sifneos (2005), who recasts cosmopolitanism as a feature of those pre-national entrepreneurs that were the members of merchant diasporas; and by Tanya Richardson (2008) who analyses the way the people of Odessa feel unique for the imperial legacies of the city.

The troubled re-discoveries of the Sea.

The institutionalisation processes of national identities in post-communist states have overlapped and sometimes clashed with contemporary rediscoveries of local and regional identities in the same territories. These processes have included strategies of material and symbolic appropriations of the coasts and maritime spaces, nationally oriented re-interpretations of the sea, symbolic reconstructions of the maritime spaces and the revival of ancient affiliations to the Mediterranean koinè.

In the wake of renewed interest in Mediterranean studies, a specialised section of Italian scholarly literature suggests that the Adriatic Sea set the stage for the development of a maritime culture that bound most of the cities and the islands of the region until the end of the 19th century. In our time, such a culture would still be performing a supporting function to powerful representations of local cosmopolitanism of the Adriatic cities (Apollonio 1998; Matvejević 1987; Mucci & Chiarini 1999; Ivetic 2000). Therefore, some scholars

imply that in spite of the consolidation of the national ideologies and the progressive construction of modern nation-states, the Adriatic communities would retain the multicultural maritime features of a civil society in which ethnic, religious and language differences are fading away. Moreover, antagonist nationalisms have sometimes exploited such images in the process of fragmentation of former Yugoslavia, recovering a hierarchy of civilisations that dated back to the time of the Venetian rule over the Eastern Adriatic (Wolff 2001). Particularly, Western and self-perceived Mediterranean communities of former Yugoslavia have tried to oppose their seemingly higher civilisation against the backwardness and primitive mentality of the dwellers of the inland (Cocco 2007; Ballinger 2002; Bakic-Hayden 1992; Ashbrook 2006). As a result, the maritime local cosmopolitanism functioned as a factor of exclusion and differentiation from the projects of ethnic-national homogeneity, which were born far from the sea. In the case of the Black Sea, the conception of a specific sub-section within Mediterranean studies seems to be more problematic; because of its geo-political features the Black Sea remains at the intersection between two different academic traditions of social analysis, which usually split the littoral into completely separate fields (King 2002: 4–5). Nonetheless, the changes brought about by the post-communist transformation set the Black Sea back in the stage as a specific object of study and a target of political initiatives. According to Charles King, the present social construction of the Black Sea revolves around an ambiguous imaginary location of the sea both at the frontier of diverse civilisations (Greeks/Barbarians, Christian/Muslim etc.) and at the peripheries of some wider cultural spheres (Mediterranean, Balkan, Asiatic, etc.). Therefore, those who approach the topic of Black Sea would eventually face the ambivalence of a region that has been periodically both isolated and integrated within the continental power systems that periodically ran over the littoral (King 2002: 11).In fact, similar suggestions also fit the Adriatic basin as the territories of the Adriatic coast, especially the Eastern Adriatic, maintained an ambivalent position in the imaginaries of the central European powers, with special regards to the Habsburg Empire of the 19th century (Baskar 2002). On one hand, the exotic attraction of the seaside seduced many citizens of the continental regions of the Empire, who visited the coast as tourists or went to work there as civil servants. On the other, during the 19th century the Austrian monarchy reasserted its continental core by the Danube (Donaumaronarchie), thus keeping a safe distance from the sea (Johler 1999).

The role and the fate of the cities of Odessa and Trieste reflected such ambivalent relationships between the coast and the inland. Until the end of the Russian Empire, Odessa played the role of the major imperial maritime hub, thus remaining the virtual administrative, political and cultural centre of the entire Russian Black Sea seaside. However, that central position also maintained some degree of ambivalence. In fact, Odessa was quite often considered to be the 'least Russian of all the Russian cities' by Russian visitors; they were often surprised by its diverse ethnic composition and the exotic habits of its citizens. Moreover, the cosmopolitanism of Odessa was also expressed geographically, since the city was located in a symbolic north-south and east-west crossroad: at the crossing point between the Middle East, Western Europe, the Balkans, Russia and Northern Europe. It was at the same time the Russian material and immaterial door to 'elsewhere', but it was elsewhere

itself. Even in this case, the parallel with Trieste is important, as the northern Adriatic city-port was also portrayed as a bridge and a connecting point between geographically and symbolically opposite realms (Balkans-Western Europe, Germanic-Mediterranean-Slavic worlds etc.). Therefore, the cosmopolitan and multi-ethnic characters of Trieste and Odessa were not only due to their resident populations that were directly involved in the activities of trading and exchanging goods in the city-markets. In a different way, cosmopolitanism expressed an urban outward projection for the international trading links that made of Trieste and Odessa transfer points and more extensively places of material and immaterial conversion between the land and the sea (Driessen 2005; Leontidou 1990). Considering that the railway did not reach Odessa before the 1860s and the 'Southern Railway' connected Trieste with Vienna only in 1857, such port cities where obviously oriented towards the sea and found in the sea their natural connections with the larger society of the world. For instance, to travel in the hinterland of Odessa was difficult and dangerous; for long time, the only mean of transportation consisted of carriages pulled by bulls or horses. Nevertheless, to the pioneers of international adventure tourism, both foreigners and Russian travellers who would have probably reached Odessa via sea, the famous Baedeker guide (published in 1914) warned that they should be prepared to an unexpectedly 'civil' city. More specifically, Odessa was described as a modern city with only minor attractions for tourists that were probably searching for the exotic and seducing atmospheres of the East. Accordingly, a famous visitor of Odessa in the 20th century, the writer Mark Twain, reports in 1867 that he was struck by the large streets and the new houses of Odessa: 'For a long time, I have been not feeling home like when I was in Odessa … there was nothing reminding us we were in Russia …' (King 2002: 221–222).

After 1990, the topic of the sea becomes more persistently a part of the wider political debate on the post-communist development strategies. For instance, the sea and the seaside started to receive intense symbolic investment in Croatia for the supposedly crucial role of the Adriatic regions for the independence and the development of the entire country. However, during the years of the 'homeland war', the centralising politics of the newly established Croatian state mostly marginalised the Adriatic territories (sometimes unpleasantly referred to as the 'South' of country), with special regards to Istria and Rijeka that hosted local movements of political opposition to the ruling party of HDZ (Cocco 2007: 9–13). Even in Slovenia, after the country gained independence in 1991, the reduction of sovereignty over the Adriatic coast forced Slovenians to reinvent their seaside and coastal towns as properly 'Slovenian'. Considering that tourist flows of the Slovenian travellers to the Adriatic have been traditionally directed towards Dalmatia (now abroad, in Croatia) the promotion of the Slovenian littoral was not a simple assignment, for that piece of coast was never considered particularly fashionable or attractive by Slovenians. Moreover, any tourist promotion of the coastline shall inevitably face the issues raised by the quite problematic ethnic relations between the former Italian speaking dwellers, the immigrant Yugoslav families and the new Slovenian tourists (Weber 2007: 197–201). On the northern shore of the Black Sea, Ukrainian independence triggered similar disputes, especially around the coastal region of the Crimean peninsula (mostly Russian-speaking and home of the Russian

military fleet). In spite of the new Ukrainian state's attempts to diffuse and consolidate some common notions of national identity, the borderland history of the country and the vastly different understanding of major events made the implementation of state projects a quite difficult endeavour. The antagonism between Eastern or Western orientation, the debate on primary affiliation with Russia or Europe, the contested sense of territoriality and the controversial perception of a shared history are all elements that shape the Ukrainian identity as something difficult to keep together (Bechtel 2006: 62–71)

In this context, Richardson's analysis of Odessa is quite inspiring because it shows how the cultivation of a cosmopolitan sense of place in the city may generate tensions and contradictions in the formation of a commonsense understanding of Ukraine as a nation and a state (Richardson 2008: 15–21). For instance, the people of Odessa tend to stress the fact that the city is older than 1794 – its official date of foundation – for it would have been a gateway and a place of trade and connection well before Ukraine. To many citizens of Odessa, the city represents a unique place, an almost distinct nationality made of international and multiethnic components bound together by the affiliation to the urban identity of the maritime emporium. Although the existence of the Ukrainian state is not radically contested and many non-Odessa-born Ukrainians are living peacefully in the city, the autochthonous people would never accept the definition of Odessa as a Ukrainian city. To support these beliefs, people of Odessa quite often restage the historical-mythical narrations of the imperial past vis-à-vis the nationalizing efforts of the new Ukrainian state

Trieste and Odessa: images of cosmopolitanism and the role of diasporas as local agents of civic transformation.

With the end of the Communist regimes, in places like Odessa and Trieste people experienced the revival of a local celebration of hybridity and multi-cultural coexistence, which was usually justified by the reference to the maritime imperial legacies of the Russian and Austrian empires. Although Trieste was not a part of a communist state, the events connected with the exiled Istrian population in the aftermath of the Second World War and the strong (though uneasy) social and economic ties with Yugoslavia just a few kilometres away, produced intense relations between the development of the city and the post-Yugoslav transition processes. The revival of Trieste, apparently contradicts a well-established scholarship that has generally tended to assess the Empire-States of Central and Eastern Europe as agents of political and economic decline. In other words, the local imperial legacies in Trieste and Odessa stand out against the conventional belief that imperial Russia or imperial Austria were undergoing stagnation and regressive social trends. In fact, especially if considered from the point of view of international free port cities like Odessa or Trieste, the role of the imperial state was not completely in contradiction with the modernising trends that were taking place in 19th and 20th centuries (Bianchini 2009; Baskar 2008; Ballinger 2003; Frascani 2008; Zipperstein 1991). Conversely, focusing on the development of cosmopolitan city-ports, one may see how empires were not just concerned with internal problems of order and stability; they have also been able to perform the role of modernising institutions.

In Odessa, the central state authority, especially the empress Catherine the Great, sponsored the immigration of Jewish, Greeks, Armenian commercial diasporas, to acquire the benefits of traders' and bankers' expertise. The more than 100 nationalities populating Odessa in the 19th century were attracted with the promise of economic freedom, social emancipation and urban tolerance; those promises of cosmopolitanism responded to a political project, that is to say to develop and 'civilise' the newly acquired territories around the Black Sea by forging new links between Russia and the rest of the world (Herlihy 1986; King 2002; Karidis 1981). A similar state sponsorship – by another famous empress, Maria Theresa – allowed the transformation of the Habsburg Trieste into a multi-ethnic and multi-religious commercial city. Trieste represented the spirit of the progressive Habsburg mercantilism of Austria as a maritime power and portrayed the newly established political-economic ambitions towards the Adriatic and the Middle East (Good 1984; Dassovich 2003). Therefore, the political investment of absolutist states on places of trade and exchange aimed at turning them into the new centres of a new imperial order that was opening to the global oceanic society (Wallernstein 1979; Schmitt 1954; Braudel 1972). Eventually, the seemingly contradictory practice of creating a hub in a doorway, that is to say to establish a centercentre in a border area, embodied a pre-nation-state enlightened imperial strategy to manage the upcoming ambivalences of modernity. Also, frontier cities such Trieste and Odessa stood out as cosmopolitan trading centres in a world society that was progressively globalising through the establishment of extensive social networks. Thus, while the seductions of the Westphalian order took the upper hand in Central and Eastern Europe, the imperial authorities were searching a balance between the ambivalent and contrasting orientations towards the local, national and international scales (Kofman 2005; Donald, Kofman & Kevin 2009). Fascinatingly, that pursue of balance was focused on the gateways of the Empires: a projection that somehow reproduced a model of technological, economic and political development, which already made of the city of Venice the 'hinge' of Europe in the late medieval and early modern period (McNeill 1974).

The city of Trieste, until the end of the 18th century was a small northern Adriatic coastal town, with a tradition of loyalty to the Austrian Crown dating back to 1392. With a population ranging between 3,000 and 5,000 Italian-speaking inhabitants, Trieste gained the status of a free port in 1719 and after that its population grew enormously. During the 19th century it became a privileged place for the development of a maritime imperial imaginary for its unique role of a principal emporium and main port of the Habsburg Empire (Cattaruzza 1995; Del Bianco 1979, Coons 1982). The Austrian Lloyd, a state-ruled navigation company founded in 1830, regularly connected Trieste with European, Asian, Australian and African ports, although the great majority of its routes were towards the eastern Mediterranean and the Suez Canal. During the reign of Emperor Franz Joseph, a significant part of the Austrian nobility developed an interest and a passion for the Mediterranean Sea and regularly travelled down to the Adriatic coast.

According to a local legend of Trieste, the Empress Elizabeth (the famous 'Sissi') saw the sea for the first time in Trieste and used to spend time near it in the Castle of Miramare. The imperial family and its friends were fond of cruising and sailing, thus Trieste

became the privileged departure place for all Hapsburg adventures in the Mediterranean Sea and beyond (Giubek 2003; Sirovich 1996).

Although Austria possessed several important maritime outposts, rich in tradition and appointed by new administrative functions (such as the military harbour of Pola/Pula, in Istria), in the city of Trieste the maritime projections often expressed the quite modern cosmopolitan glamour of scientific expeditions, adventures, sporting challenges and colonial seduction (Scotti 1998, 2010). Accordingly, in line with the Habsburg ideology of the super-national mission of the empire, Trieste was officially celebrated as a place of ethnic and cultural hybridity; the city status of free port was associated with images such as the one of the 'bridge', the 'crossroad' and 'the melting pot' (Baskar 2008: 99).

In the case of Odessa, the story is remarkably similar to the one of Trieste. After the wars waged and won against the Ottoman Empire, the newly established Russian control of the northern coast of the Black Sea led to the creation of a new southern province of the Russian empire: New Russia (Novorossija). Such a new frontier region had its centre of gravity in the city of Odessa, the largest modern port-city of the entire Black Sea basin. By the end of the 18th century, Odessa was a portrait of the ideal Russian imperial city: an agent of civilization fuelled by political, cultural and social optimism (King 2002: 179). Like Trieste, which was turned by the Empress Maria Theresa into the free port of the Empire, the city of Odessa was founded on the Black Sea in 1794 by Catherine the Great. At that time, Odessa was just a dusty Tatar settlement named Hadji-Bey, with no more than 2, 000 inhabitants and an uncomfortable small harbour constantly exposed to strong eastern winds. Nevertheless, it was the most relevant fortified town of the north-western coast of the Black Sea and its small Ottoman fortress was gained in 1789 by the Russian forces led by the Spanish born commander José de Ribas, one of the heroes of the Odessa pantheon. Also, Odessa had been chosen for its strategic position, close to the rivers Dnepr, Dniester and Danube, and the proximity to the Russian fleet headquarter in Sebastopol. The name Odessa (in Russian Odesa) refers to the old ancient Greek colony of Odessos and expresses a neoclassic taste, quite popular at end of the 18th century; interestingly, it seems that the substitution of the name Odessus with the female Odessa was the choice of Catherine the Great.

In the period between 1823 and 1845, when the governor general Michail Voroncov ruled, the city was embellished with monuments and cultural institutions. It also obtained the status of 'free-port', with exemption from the payments of custom fees. This last acquisition definitely signed the fate of Odessa, turning an old Ottoman fortified town into a flourishing international cross road, with a heterogeneous and growing population of 78, 000 persons (Herlihy 1986: 120–121). The city was the third largest of the Russian Empire and played the role of a virtual gateway to Russia from the entire Mediterranean world. Somehow, a hundred years after the foundation of Saint Petersburg, the Russian empire again performed its social and political engineering with the creation of a new multi-ethnic and multi-religious free port. A quite rapid population growth for the high number of immigrants coming from Central Europe and the Middle East made Odessa the quintessentially exotic city of Russia: certainly more exotic than Moscow and even more than the 'European' Saint Petersburg.

In spite of the great number of temporary residents, who only came in town for business and then left, the city population was growing constantly throughout the 19th century from the immigration of German, Greek Armenian and especially Jewish diasporas. In 1823, an English captain harboured in the port of the city commented that: 'apart of the dust of the streets and the impressive numbers of Jews (sic), the impression of the city was a good one' (King 2002: 184).

Diasporas were attracted by the favourable economic conditions but also, and perhaps more importantly, by the prospect of life in an enlightened Christian kingdom that was promoting social tolerance and freedom of commerce. The Jewish community, usually oppressed and limited in its sphere of action, found in Odessa (as in Trieste) the appropriate social and cultural conditions to perform its interlocking role of mediation between the city and the rest of the world. In fact, the city and its immigrant population lived in a state of isolation from the countryside and its Slavic and Kazakh peasants. Diasporas, in this regards, represented intense social networks that circulated ideas and practices; thus, their economic and social performance had the effect of 'binding' together social strata and geographical site that were quite separated and were not necessarily part of the same diasporas. (Bianchini 2009: 6–11). The involvement of diasporas in some specific sectors of trade, administration, finance, and craft eventually strengthened the connections between nobility, traders, peasants and bureaucrats. In other words, their role of mediation enhanced the creation of a functionally connected regional space and at the same time introduced some degree of etherarchy. Certainly, all diasporas developed autonomous cultural subjectivity as they were simultaneously experiencing the interdependence of wide trans-European connections.

Accordingly, Odessa soon acquired names that described its cosmopolitan character and multinational milieu, such as 'the melting pot of Russia'. Until the end of the Russian empire in 1917, the city was deemed one of the few places in Russia – together with Saint Petersburg – where trade, culture and liberal customs could grow (Iljine 2004). The wide range of civil-oriented activities that diasporas promoted both in Odessa and Trieste, like in other multi-ethnic port-cities of the Mediterranean (such as Alexandria or Thessaloniki), made those trans-national communities agents of change and local development. Therefore, the cosmopolitan features of the urban milieu of Odessa and Trieste were a specific cultural phenomenon that characterised commercial diasporas and were strictly connected with the idea of civil progress. In Odessa, resident Greek merchants were often involved in the financial and architectural development of the city and not surprisingly were often asked to do so by the governing bodies (Vasilis 2001). As a result, Jewish and Greek elites were directly investing in real estate of the city, contributing to its urban development and owing many the most beautiful western-style buildings of Odessa. The close relationship between urban growth and the cosmopolitan culture of the commercial diasporas reverberated in the architectural shape of Odessa. Apart from the private buildings, the picturesque character of the city was given by its boulevards, luxury restaurants, bookshops, theatres, opera houses, clubs, banks, hospitals and many other sites and buildings, which aimed at celebrating civil progress. A similar urban growth took place in Trieste, where the financial, banking and

trading companies' sumptuous headquarters flourished side-by-side with literary societies and famous mitteleuropean cafés (the port of Trieste became a central gateway for coffee traders). From this standpoint, according to Evridiki Sifneos, cosmopolitanism was both a distinctive cultural worldview and a set of publicly oriented practices that drew inspiration from the Western European Enlightenment (Sifneos, 2005: 97). However, the golden age of cosmopolitanism was the final era of the Empire (end of 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries). Later, the international culture expressed by the commercial elites before the shaping of modern national identities gradually faded away.

Maritime imperial legacies, mythologies of cosmopolitanism and present day tourism challenges.

By the second half of the 19th century, the expansion of travel and tourism went together with important technological acquisitions in the field of transportation systems. The steamers, railways and better roads allowed not only foreigners but also many citizens of the empire to discover their maritime frontiers for the first time. In Russia, the coastal region of the Black Sea (the Novorossija frontier land) was still a half-domesticated frontier in spite of being administratively integrated into the Empire. However, it was now more accessible to the rest of Russians who could now approach and discover it by travelling, writing and painting. To the artists, writers, poets and educated travellers from the continental cities, the trip to Odessa represented a sort of step into an enlightened hub within a primitive domestic foreign land. There, it was possible to interact with the exotic Turkish, Greek, Jewish and Tatar elements of the mingling maritime culture.

Even in Trieste, the exotic attributes of the city grew stronger with the development of modern means of transportation, which enabled also new forms of labour migration besides travelling. One of the famous examples is the case of the alessandrine (in Slovenian aleksandrinke, 'women of Alexandria'), the Slovenian women who immigrated to Alexandria of Egypt to work as au pair ladies or baby-sitters for the rich merchant families of the African city. The female migration towards Egypt was part of a larger migration trend towards many port-cities of the eastern Mediterranean such as Smyrna, Thessaloniki, Beirut, Tunis, Alger and Cairo. However, Alexandria held a particular attraction for immigrants that moved from all the European Mediterranean countries, including the Austrian and Ottoman empires. The migration movement started after 1869, when the Suez Canal was opened and continued until the end of the Second World War. Immigrant women served both in immigrant European families and in local Arab or Copt families and integrated into a cosmopolitan merchant society that was benefiting from an intense economic development (Baskar 2008: 107–109; Makuc 1993; Tomsic 2002).

However, the case of the alessandrine suggests that the changes in transportation systems, like the developments in shipping and communications played a crucial role in the process of erosion both of the Mediterranean cosmopolitanism and the local autonomy of the cities – a role that may be as important as the rising national antagonism and the sovereign assertiveness of newly established nation states (Purvis 2009).

In fact, the watery connections that linked the port-cities of the Mediterranean

were progressively eroded right from the second half of the 19th century, both for the development of long-distance shipping overseas and because of land-oriented technological developments that allowed the constructions of streets, railways and bridges to increase the connections between the coast and the inland. In the meantime, new classifications of people based on race, ethnicity and nation entered in competition with the old maritime-based affiliations. In other words, the identity patterns produced by the traditional maritime connections began to fall outside the evolving juridical and administrative structure of the state. The ethnic-national ones proved to be more compatible with the emerging nation state codes, although they were created within an imperial bureaucratic system. Accordingly, in the Eastern Adriatic these transformations started at the time of the Hapsburg rule, when the old categories of the Venetian administration such as 'Dalmatians' or 'Morlachs' where unable to represent politically, culturally, linguistically and ethnographically the identities evoked by terms like Slavs, Croats or Italians. In this perspective, Pamela Ballinger claims that the Austrian administration started a 'terrestrial conversion' of the cultural identities of the Adriatic people, who consequently began to experience an ethnic differentiation from their neighbours (Ballinger 2008: 30). As a result, the sense of ethnic difference grew together with a sense of spatial perception of isolation and diffidence, which was sometimes expressed by the image of the island surrounded by a hostile sea. Specifically, the 'Slavic ocean' was surrounding the 'language islands' of the Italians of Istria and Dalmatia or the Germans of Bohemia (Judson 1983). Interestingly, the image of the islands, which had a major role in the age of exploration and expansion of the European countries worldwide, was progressively associated to the sense of isolation and segregation (Gillis 2004). However, if the Hapsburg state conversion of old maritime identities went together with the development of stronger ties between the city-ports and the metropolitan centres of the inland, the sense of strong local identity in the port-cities did not fade away. On the contrary, it somehow grew stronger.

Similarly in Russia, the stronger integration of the city of Odessa both within the continental networks of transportations and the central political system did not hinder Odessa residents from maintaining enduring memories of former regimes and imperial pasts. Therefore, those imperial legacies represented a strong tool of social imagination and local resistance to the homogenizing attempts throughout the 20th century. From this standpoint, Tanya Richardson states that 'sense of place'-based identities ('I am from here'), like the one experienced by the citizens of Odessa, are not the product of failing modernisation, rather the effect of modernity (Richardson 2008: 10). The people of Odessa look with proud at their city, its quality of life and specific urban culture that are embedded in the charming architecture of the old imperial free port. It seems they genuinely believe that the imperial legacies allow them to subvert the official nation-state-based imagination, thus making a different Russian-cosmopolitan identity possible. I would add to Richardson's argument that the 'sense of place' not only structures some alternative cosmopolitan identity and a city-based self-perception different from the official national narratives. In fact, that 'sense' does not frame just an 'experience' but may inspire and support forms of 'agency', i.e. entrepreneurial and political strategies.

In this regard, in the course of my fieldwork I realised that those 'sense of place' identities and their ambivalent references to maritime imperial legacies play a crucial role in the way local elites frame tourism development strategies. Purposely, in spite of their different geopolitical locations and economic standards, both Trieste and Odessa are re-shaping their urban identities through tourism policies that are based on the material and symbolic importance of the maritime legacies for the future of the city[3]. My assumptions are based on background research conducted between autumn 2008 and summer 2009, which focused on the analysis of tourism promotional products elaborated at the town, provincial and regional levels, such as leaflets, guides, maps and all other information supports distributed at tourist offices. Also, I carried out an overview of the most popular websites in English, Russian and Italian languages dedicated to tourism in the two cities. Eventually, I made almost 29 half-structured interviews with tourist entrepreneurs and civil servants working on the tourism sector at the town administration and the regional government; interviews included talks with civil servants, consultants, entrepreneurs and members of ethnic and religious minorities in the cities of Odessa and Trieste Moreover, I had similar interviews with tourists moving 'off-shore' (cruisers, sailors, yacht-owners, etc.) in the Adriatic and the Black sea, specifically 42 both in Trieste and Odessa[4].

Although my fieldwork is still ongoing and the research is in progress, I believe the arguments I have already exposed provide some elements for a stimulating discussion and they should contribute to further investigations along the same path, if only because the data I collected in my background research can be crossed with 'motivation patterns' of the tourists 'beyond the coastline' found at the wider national level (see footnote 1) and help to structure the host-guest relationship. That is to say, the tourists' motivation patterns have been drafted after collecting more than 700 structured surveys (multiple choice) in the Adriatic region. The surveys have been processed by a multivariatent analysis of the data and then elaborated further with a cluster analysis, i.e. with the key-clustering method[5]. Finally, I crossed the major contents extracted by the hosts tourist discourses in Trieste and Odessa with some integrated, multivariatent patterns of behaviours of the 'guests'[6], that describe the expectations of the terra-nauta type of tourist. Certainly, a similar survey on the tourist motivations should be done in the Black Sea to provide a sounder methodological ground, but I think that some valuable reflections can be already put forward. As a result, the first evidence is that both in Trieste and Odessa post-communism has meant the dismantlement of structured economic activities, changes in the symbolic geographies and transformation of mobility patterns. In this context, tourism has been playing an essential role to support the conversion of pre-1990 urban identities into something new. From this

[3] Additional fieldwork in the city of Odessa has been carried out by two graduate students (Simona Pisarri and Raffaella di Febo) of the University of Teramo, Faculty of Political Science, Cultural Tourism Degree, who spent a semester in Odessa with the support of a scholarship of the Department of International Relations, University of Teramo

[4] Originally the idea was to carry out 50 interviews in Odessa and 50 in Trieste, but that number was not reached. However, significant relations among the answers of the informants have been detected

[5] Statistical Programme for Social Science (SPSS), version 16

[6] For details on the behavioral patterns of the type of tourists I refer to as 'terra-nauta', follow the link at footnote no. 1

standpoint, the present-day city tourism strategies are largely playing upon the narratives developed at the time when the cities were the maritime outposts of the Austrian and the Russian empires.

The most popular tourist name for Odessa is the 'Pearl of the Black Sea', which can be found in almost all of the tourist promotional information. Besides, short descriptions of the city for tourist consumption refer to Odessa as an exotic 'Southern' or 'Mediterranean Russia', a 'kaleidoscope of colours and people' and a 'Western European City'. The merchant and trading soul of Odessa is often usually evoked, for instance quoting the 'thriving enterprises that have left the city with some splendid architecture from the 18th and 19th centuries, and a multifaceted, irrepressible spirit'[7]. Tourist guides likes to repeat how Odessa is rich in Western European culture and known throughout the world for its art and culture. According to the section 'About Odessa' of the Odessa internet portal 'Travel-to-Odessa'[8]: 'Odessa has always had a spirit of freedom, probably endowed by its ability to accept many different peoples. The city is constantly hosting exhibits, symposia, and conferences. It is the site of consulates and trade missions of many countries and many cultural exchange societies are active in the city'.

Such descriptions recall the famous Pushkin poem Eugene Onegin, when referring to Odessa the poet says: 'There everything reminds of Europe:the colors gay, the air's like syrup;Italian heard throughout the streets,where a proud Slav can a Spaniard meet; Moldovian, French, Albanians, Greeks, forget not sons of the land of Egypt' (Pushkin 2003). Similarly, in an airport magazine ('Welcome to Ukraine', distributed for free in Ukrainian airports), the charms of Odessa are celebrated by quoting a letter sent by the Duke of Richelieu, the famous governor of Odessa to the Emperor Alexander the First: 'Never have I seen in any country so many nationalities almost opposite of manners, languages, clothes, religions and customs on such a little territory.' All of which is to say that the peculiar combination of a rich diversity of cultures and the small size of the territory is what would give to Odessa its vibrant spirit and material wealth.

In the case of Trieste, the official booklet (brochure 'Le terre di Trieste'), printed by the regional tourist office and distributed in the tourist offices of the city, bears an interesting title: 'Trieste. A view over the world'. Such title contains all the most important features of the city, being a truly multi-national micro-cosmos, which would be mostly attractive to tourists. Browsing through the text of the booklet, the reader notices that Trieste is also called 'a borderland' and 'a city with thousands facets'. Interestingly, the multicultural tradition is strongly associated with the maritime character of the city for the sea is both 'central' to the city life and made of 'border waters'. Similarly to Odessa, promoters try to endorse Trieste's nickname 'The pearl of the Gulf' (perhaps 'The pearl of the Adriatic' would have been a little bit too much, considering the competition of Venice and Dubrovnik, among the others). So, within the Triestine tourist imagery, the sea plays a two-fold interlocking function.

[7] See www.odessaguide.com, accessed 14 November 2009
[8] See www.travel-to-odessa.com, accessed 12 December 2009; see also 'Odessa Ukraine, My City'

The sea has been a permeable border that enabled a mix of religion, architecture, culture and gastronomy. Especially from the point of view of religious identities, both the printed data I went through and the interviews I had confirmed that the city tourist promotional strategy aims to celebrate the historical presence of the merchant maritime communities as a crucially strong point. The religion of Trieste is officially described as 'the cult of the cults' as the city 'gave hospitality' through the centuries to the Orthodox, the Jews, the Lutherans and the Elvetics (see the section religion at www.turismofvg.it).

Although the city is a truly crossroad of people, nations, languages and traditions, Trieste would provide a truly central standpoint for the 'literary atmosphere and mercantile spirit' that would permeate a specific cosmopolitan urban outlook: a 'blue Mitteleuropa'[9], blue like the colour of the sea. In other words, thanks to its maritime history, Trieste could nowadays host museums, archives, theatres, cafés and charming palazzi that make the streets of the city brulicanti di vita (see also Bergamini 1999)

However, quite often the local strategies of tourism development seem to explicitly forget that the material conditions and the cultural frames have completely changed since then. In doing so, post-fordist tourism does not really take off and the process of staged authenticity is trapped in the ambivalences of unsolved ethnic, social and economic problems. In Odessa, despite the local authorities' efforts to promote the cosmopolitan image of the exotic though 'European' maritime city, the public sector appears almost powerless[10]. Virtually all tourism activities are in private hands, while public authorities do not even run tourist information desks. Contemporary private entrepreneurship is not necessarily interested in acting for civic progress in the way the commercial diasporas of the 19th century were. Therefore, according to most of the local experts and public functionaries, the state had to sell most of the historical tourist resorts and prestigious buildings for financial reasons. However, the new private owners in most cases are not particularly eager to preserve or gentrify the places they buy. Nor do they seem concerned by the need to develop an international tourist attractiveness that would revive the cosmopolitan heritage of the city[11].Conversely, since 1995–1996 clubs and pubs for young, and mostly Ukrainian, people are multiplying along the urban beach of Arcadia. From 2009, entry into one of the almost 30 beaches of Odessa is now free, by decree of the mayor of the city. However, international tourists do not head to the beaches very much, since they

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[9] In the website www.triestecultura.it (accessed 12 January 2010) the city is presented as a place where Mitteleuropa is painted with blue: 'Here you can breathe a special air. Here, at the most Eastern edge of the upper Adriatic. Here, in the blue Central European town, where great writers like James Joyce, Italo Svevo and Umberto Saba found inspiration. Trieste, the city that embrice the sea or, to put it better, that hosts the sea as a permanent guest. To begin with Piazza Unità, among the largest and charming squares on the seaside'. Interestingly, in spite of the cosmopolitan and international ambitions, both the geography of the city (most Eastern edge of the upper Adriatic) and the mentioned literary pantheon (Joyce, Svevo, Saba) are designed from an Italian perspective. How eastern is Trieste compared to other Upper Adriatic destinations in Slovenia and Croatia? And what about others writers like the Triestine Slovene writers like Srečko Kosovel or Boris Pahor?

[10] Serghei Geor, Reginal Government of Odessa, Department of Culture and Tourism. Interviewed by Raffaella Di Febo, 27 May 2009

[11] Nadia Ieksarova, State Academy for Architecture and Construction of Odessa. Interviewed by Simona Pisarri. 21 April 2009

stop in Odessa when they are cruising in the Black Sea. About 133, 000 tourists disembarked at the port of Odessa in 2008, especially from luxury cruising ship, even though the great part of these tourists usually spend only one to two days for an excursion in town. Moreover, in spite of the cosmopolitan ambition of the city, walking around the city, a tourist gaze would catch predominantly a wide offer of ethnic Ukrainian souvenirs, food and market products[12].In Trieste, the situation is somehow different, first of all because the city did not undergo the strain of post-communist transition and benefits from a healthier economy. However, considering that the collapse of the communist systems and the enlargement of the European Union should have pushed Trieste at the 'centre of the New Europe', as local newspapers and literature like to repeat, the results are still far below the expectations. The famous Trieste-born "Generali" insurance company has recently migrated to Venice and the harbour passenger terminal of the city is suffering the competition of nearby Koper and Rijeka. Also, a few years ago the city administration applied to candidate Trieste as site of the 2008 Expo (World Exposition) proposing the quintessentially cosmopolitan slogan: 'Mobility of Knowledge'. The Expo should have attracted capitals and financing to enable a thoughtful restoration of the abandoned old Austrian port infrastructures (Porto Vecchio). However, the application was rejected by the international evaluation committee, and the general opinion I gathered after speaking both with entrepreneurs and local functionaries of the public sector is that the main reason for failing was the enduring inability of the local ruling class to cooperate. In this somehow sad context of self-commiseration, tourism is usually hailed as the way to change the future of the city by calling back the rich imperial tradition of the cosmopolitan Hapsburg free-port. However, despite the intense reminiscences none of the major city projects with some impact on tourism, such as the 'Sea Park', the restoration of the city beach of Barcola and the development of the waterfront have been concretely realised. What most of the tourists experience when they are disembarked at the city port from one of the mega-cruisers of the Costa or MSC companies is barely comparable with the busy atmosphere of the old free port. Most of the tourists I had the opportunity to interview, although charmed by the city's evocative architecture, are puzzled by what to them seem to be an 'empty city', a 'melancholy resort for elders' or 'a site cut-off from the rest of Italy'. In addition, cruisers moving along the shores of the Mediterranean usually stop in Trieste on Monday, when basically all shops are closed and tourists find it difficult even to drink a coffee in a bar. I personally believe that this last fact tells a lot about the inability of the local ruling class to perform anything like an efficient tourist strategy. As said at the beginning, the cosmopolitanism expressed by places like Trieste and Odessa is awakened in the post-communist period. However, it is for an 'imperial nostalgia' for a better cosmopolitan world that is inexorably lost, and that was initially elaborated at the end of the 19th century, when the empires where still alive (Ara, Magris 1982). Nevertheless, the imperial nostalgia of Trieste and Odessa intensively revived in the transition period that was opened up by the end of a 'former world' of the communist period. I think the persistence of such nostalgia depends on the fact that any definitive inclusion of Central-Eastern Europe into the new Western-European realm is constantly postponed. Accordingly, to Pamela Ballinger, the imperial nostalgia in the city

[12] Tatyana Stamikova, Tourist Agency "Primexpress", interviewed by Raffaella Di Febo, 12 May 2009

of Trieste evokes the romantic reminiscence of a political experiment of religious and ethnic diversity, which was nonetheless sponsored by an absolutist state (Ballinger 2003: 84–85, 90, 94). Therefore, the memories of the cosmopolitan Trieste, of its bourgeois and hybrid customs, and the subsequent decline into a melancholic provincial town, would probably resonate with contemporary concerns. In Ballinger's opinion, the celebration of cultural hybridity and civic progress would exorcise the political and cultural preoccupations of the Western public opinions with the issues of identity, tolerance and the challenges to the nation state.

In principle, I quite agree with Ballinger's thesis, but I would add that those concerns are not just part of some local literary self-portrait but they can support some relevant performances of public and private actors, which have an impact on the ongoing urban identity-making process. Specifically, I suppose that the extensive and passionate discussion around tourism and the role of tourism for urban development is a part of those contemporary concerns. In particular, the citizens of Trieste and Odessa may possibly live the illusion of a progressive, civic oriented and dazzling multiethnic city by staging their maritime imperial legacies for tourism purposes.

Nonetheless, it should not be forgotten that the cosmopolitan and hybrid nature of the free port of Trieste was designed by an imperial administration and found its raison d'être in the commercial and political ambition of an absolutist state (Dubin 1999: 4). Similarly, in Odessa the municipal authorities were given exceptional power and freedom to realise an autonomous urban development (Richardson 2008: 21). The free port status allowed Odessa to have financial and commercial ties so strong with foreign markets that the city was virtually cut off from the remainder of Russia and even Novorossija. Odessa territory was basically a 'state within a state' and the municipality had its main relationships with the European and Asiatic ports of the Mediterranean. Therefore, although the city saw a radical drop of the European population and the growth of the Russian one after the construction of the railway, the people of Odessa developed an even stronger Western and European identity.

In conclusion, I think that the revived cosmopolitan identities of Trieste and Odessa rely upon a somewhat mythical interpretation of social relationships at the time of their respective empires, which is experienced in an age when both empires and the powerful state-sponsored municipal autonomies have disappeared from the European map. Nonetheless, the cosmopolitan maritime legacies represent an important differentiating factor that could be exploited in the tourism market. However, in many ways, both Trieste and Odessa have been progressively marginalised in the regional and global economies. Thus, longing for a more international and cosmopolitan past does not necessarily produce good tourism strategies. In fact, imperial nostalgia may lead to mistaking the nature of state sponsored imperial cosmopolitanism and misunderstanding the present reality of ethnic and national relations in the cities. In other words, although maritime imperial legacies may act as factors of attraction for new types of tourists, tourism strategies should take into account the technological, political and cultural changes undergone by the cities since the time of the empires. In particular, entrepreneurs and politicians dealing with tourism development will face the peripheral and marginal conditions of Trieste and Odessa within the contemporary geography of the political and economic power.

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POVZETEK

Prospevek raziskuje odnos med novimi oblikami post-masovnega turizma in izkoriščanja pomorskih metafor v sodobni Odesi in Trstu. Onovna hipoteza je, da je odnos med gostitelji in gosti v post-komunističnih pomorskih okoljih in obalah pogosto preobremenjen z dvoumji in trenji, še posebej, kadar je morje vir pripovedi, simbolov in kostumov, ki služijo turistični potrošnji. Še posebej so v trenutkih, ko je kozmopolitanska pretekost uokvirjena v nacionalne naracije, zbegan rastoči sektor visoko mobilnih in radovednih turistov, ki sprejemajo kozmopolitanski etos. V skladu s tem se prispevek osredotoča na dva primera pristaniških mest s kozmopolitansko zgodovino: Trst in Odesa. Kljub različnim geografskim lokacijam in ekonomskem standardu, obe mesti uveljavljata turistično politiko prek izkoriščanja materialne on simbolne pomembnosti pomorskih tradicij obeh mest in prek preigravanja naracij iz časa, ko sta bili obe mesti kozmopolitanski pristaniški oporišči avstrijskega oziroma ruskega imperija. Vseeno pa sta v času imperijev multietnični populaciji Odese in Trsta ter njuni diaspori kot gonilo civilnega napredka, poosebljali jedro multikulturne imperialistične ideje skozi svoj kozmopolitanski okus, ekonomski razcvet in versko tolerantnost. Ravno nasprotno pa današnji lokalni veljaki želijo te kozmopolitanske metafore spremeniti v dejavnike turističnega razvoja, pri čemer pa svojih delovanj ne postavijo v spremenjeni ekonomski in geopolitični kontekst. Zaradi tega so 'raziščujoči' turisti v Trstu in Odesi pogosto zmedeni, saj jih zavede precej mitska interpretacija družbenih odnosov v času imperijev, zaradi česar tudi napačno razumejo trenutno realnost etničnih in nacionalnih odnosov v obeh mestih.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Trst, Odesa, turizem, kozmopolitanizem, pomorske imperialne tradicije

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Post-Communist Transformation of Tourism in Czech Rural Areas: New Dilemmas[1]

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Abstract

The past two decades have been marked by rapid transformations of tourism in post-communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Yet, there has been little systematic research on tourism development in this region from the social science perspective, that is to say the anthropology of tourism. This paper attempts to outline key ideologies and practices of tourism in socialist Czechoslovakia and to contrast them with a new phenomenon of post-communist incoming tourism into Czech rural countryside, the emergence of recreational complexes called 'Dutch villages' and second homes owned by the Dutch. The main aim is to analyse the changing role of tourism in the process of post-communist transformation.

This paper is divided into three parts. First, it aims to review the overall nature of tourism in communist Czechoslovakia, highlighting the most typical features of both domestic and international tourism. The second part is dedicated to a short evaluation of post-communist tourism development in the country. Finally, the heart of the text focuses on Dutch 'residential tourism' in two Czech rural areas that have experienced both socialist and post-socialist tourism practices. In general, the attention is focused on the transformation of Czech rural communities due to the diverse impacts of tourism, and on the factors that either facilitate or hinder 'host' and 'guest' interaction in particular.

Key words: anthropology of tourism, post-communist development, modern rurality, rural international tourism

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Introduction

Tourism has a profound importance in the contemporary world and represents perhaps the largest movement of human populations outside wartime (Crick 1989: 310). Tourism is also a modern form of acculturation: today almost every community and nation, be it large or small, developed or developing, is influenced to varying degrees by tourism (Jafari 2001).

In recent decades, a number of social scientists have engaged in debates on both local social complexity and global social connections (Coles et al. 2005: 463). Among them, anthropologists turned their attention to explore diverse topics relating to contemporary human travel, such as displacement, mobility, immigration, diaspora, and tourism.

Tourism offers exciting prospects for anthropology. In general, this discipline appears to be a science par excellence in the analysis and evaluation of dynamics of tourism, and, in particular, in the study of the social and cultural impacts of tourism on dynamically evolving socio-cultural, economic and political settings. The holistic approach of anthropological theories provides a unique framework for such a study.

A neglected world: tourism studies in post-communist Czechoslovakia

Though tourism has become an established field of academic enquiry, there remain a whole host of issues that have been rather ignored by social scientists. By and large, this neglect refers to the region of post-communist Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic. Thus far, there has been little systematic detailed research on post-communist tourism development from the perspectives of the social sciences.[2]

On the whole, academic literature on tourism development processes in post-communist societies is written in English (e.g. Harrison 2001; Hughes and Allen 2005; Johnson 1995; Stevens 2000; Wallace 2001; Williams and Balaz 2000, etc.). Recently, a developing interest in tourism among scholars on tourism outside the main Anglophone stream has emerged.[3] Among the scarce works oriented towards Czech tourism from the social science perspectives, there is Johnson's article 'Czech and Slovak tourism, patterns, problems and prospects' in Tourism Management (1995).

[2] It is not surprising given the fact that, according to De Kadt (1979), there were an equally limited number of studies on tourism development under socialism in the whole region of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Among the recent attempts to study tourism developments in post-communist Europe from the social science perspective, one can mention the *volume edited by Gorsuch and Koenker (2006) titled Turizm: the Russian and East European tourist under capitalism and socialism,* which includes many valuable essays, for instance *The proletarian tourist in the 1930s: between mass excursion and mass escape* by *Aldis Pur, or Shawn Salmon's Time travelers: Soviet tourists to Eastern Europe. Further examples include* Derek R. Hall's volume Europe Goes East: EU Enlargement, Diversity and Uncertainty (2000), his chapter 'Tourism and Development in Communist and Post-communist Societies' in Harrison's book Tourism and the Less Developed World: Issues and Case Studies (2001), Wallace's text in Smith's Hosts and Guests Revisited (2001), focussing on tourism development at Lake Balaton, Hungary, etc.

[3] See articles in the Polish journal Problemy Turystyki - Problems of Tourism, the Indian Tourism Recreation Research, Croatian Acta Turistica and some others.

What are the reasons for such a dearth of tourism studies from the social science perspective in this country?

Firstly, it is the primary orientation of recreational and tourist institutions towards tourism as an industry, as a system of business transactions. Czech local tradition in the tourism literature is primarily concerned with aspects such as the description of travel flows, economic analyses of travel, travel and tourism management, and the like. Czech higher education in tourism studies primarily deals with auditing, categorising, listing and grouping the outputs or consequences of tourism. Moreover, as anthropology (viewed by the Czechoslovak communists as a 'bourgeois science') faces severe obstacles even today to become a fully institutionalized discipline within the Czech academia, there appears a similar predicament in transforming traditional tourism studies into the discipline firmly embedded in the social sciences.

Secondly, there is little interest resulting from a relatively small number of enthusiastic academics who would be willing to develop their careers in tourism, which is still viewed as something frivolous, something that does not deserve serious academic inquiry. Thirdly, there is still a significant language barrier as many of the academics simply lack the necessary language mastery to be able to read texts in English, and thus to become familiar with different theoretical approaches and empirical evidence within case studies. This is not to claim that local scholars should rely solely on the theoretical and methodological toolkit provided by the Anglo-Saxon anthropology of tourism, and *conduct a fieldwork and interpret it in accordance with those theories.* However, good knowledge of the relevant literature that exists in this subdiscipline is sine qua non for any scholarly endeavour that makes space for a critical assessment of the existing theoretical frameworks, and the possibility of presenting to scholarly discussions new interpretative strategies that fit the specific post-communist situations in Central and Eastern Europe.

Finally, many Czech scholars face severe logistical problems associated with empirical research, which is often combined with a lack of records and documentation from the socialist past making diachronic perspectives difficult.

Tourism under state socialism

An overall nature of any kind of tourism refers to a mixture of economic, political and socio-cultural dimensions, including socialist tourism. Though there was a vast range of differing experience among the individual socialist countries – due to the different stages of socio-economic development and cultural history,[4] one can still select certain common features, derived for instance from the nature of 'socialist non-market economy': centralized bureaucratic organization; inflexibility and antipathy towards individualism and entrepreneurialism; constraints on mobility (only a few citizens in communist countries were permitted to travel to capitalist countries); a low degree of development of service industries (economic growth was based upon heavy industrialisation, while service industries had a

[4] As Hall rightly points out, despite a common ideological framework, one can detect differences in levels of development, resource bases, cultural histories etc. (Hall 2001: 94).

minor role); currency inconvertibility and restricted access to hard currency; constraints on international tourism, and discouraging exit visa policies. These features were truly incompatible with the nature of international tourism development (Hall 2001: 93).

The development of Czechoslovak tourism under socialism

The development of tourism in Czechoslovakia can be broadly divided into two phases, each of them bearing distinct features. The first phase (until the advent of communism in 1948) does not exhibit any diametrically opposing trends from the tourism developments proliferating in the Western Europe at that time. Tourism developed mainly in the economically strong countries, of which Czechoslovakia was an integral part. However, after the communist takeover in 1948, the situation changed dramatically. There appeared a great schism, and the subsequent development brought about a relative incommensurability between Czechoslovak tourism and that of Western Europe (Průcha 2009; Heiman 2009; Tůma and Vilímek 2008).

By and large, the socialist era is regarded as the time of separation and reclassification of existing economic mechanisms, customs and traditions (Kárník and Měchýř 2001; Kalinová 2007). Unlike for instance in Hungary, where a vibrant individual, informal capitalist sector co-existed alongside with a state-dominated, socialist sector, Czechoslovakia established a purely state-dominated, socialist agricultural and industrial sector, which was equally reflected in the realm of tourism (cf. Wallace 2001). By privileging heavy industry and nationalising all private property, the totalitarian system devastated the Czechoslovak economy, caused a substantial decrease in the quality and quantity of services, made significant damage to the environment and lowered the tourism potential available for the following generations.

After 1948, all the tourist buildings such as large cottages, summer villas, private resorts and fine estates were expropriated, nationalized and redistributed to party officials and workers' unions. The subsequent construction of public resorts and holiday homes was aimed primarily at the working class and youth. These actions changed the nature of tourism.

According to Williams and Balaz, a deeply socially and territorially segmented tourism system was the main characteristic of the socialist tourism in Czechoslovakia (2000: x). Tourism there was a mosaic of contrasting tourism attractions – internationally-renowned destinations and objects of the tourist gaze on the one hand, protectionist domestic tourism on the other.

On the whole, tourism under Czechoslovak state socialism was typical of domestic, group-oriented recreation of collective nature[5] in upland areas, mountains and water-sports resorts, sponsored by industrial enterprises, trade unions and youth organizations which was subsidised with the aim of 'silencing' the locals. The reward to the docile working masses came in the form of cheap accommodation and transport sponsored by the trade unions (so-called Revolutionary Trade Unions, ROH), state-owned economic enterprises

[5] Derek Hall's term 'collective consumption' of tourism and recreation comes into mind in this respect (2001: 95)

and youth organisations. The major receivers were workers and peasants and their families. Special attention was also paid to school-children who spent their summer holidays in Pioneer Camps. Residential tourism also flourished within individual recreation buildings (private weekend houses, cottages and chalets), which represented a refuge from the political realities of the country (Kalinová 2007; Kárník and Měchýř 2001).

The intense development of domestic tourism went hand in hand with a rapid decline in international tourism.[6] Travel restrictions were applied on incoming tourists both from the East and the West. Restrictive tourism policies towards Western tourists led to a disruption of the Western tourist presence, with some exceptions in the form of Dutch incoming tourism.

In the course of time, the importance of state interventions into tourism grew. Tourism was seen as an important component of the production and reproduction cycle of the communist labour force – tourism and recreation was consumed collectively (Williams and Balaz 2000).[7] The analysis of tourism in any communist country is necessarily replete of politics and ideology as tourism in the language of communist rulers was predominantly a site for fostering socialist ideology and, conversely, imperialist imagery of the 'rotten' capitalist world.[8] The ideological nature of socialist tourism can be revealed in the emphasis put on the well-being of the working population, propagandist films and documentaries describing the happy local holiday-makers of socialist Czechoslovakia. Through tourism, the communist regime decided to buy off the locals, in return for their tacit consent with the regime.

General discourse on socialist tourism as well as my own analysis indicates that the socialist government regulated all types and forms of domestic and foreign tourism predominantly in favour of other socialist countries. Outbound tourism into 'capitalist' countries was inhibited by a number of administrative-political obstacles. By law, Czechs and Slovaks had the right to travel abroad, but this was limited both politically and financially. Those who seemed to oppose the regime were of course excluded from travelling to capitalist countries in Western Europe, let alone to the USA. From the financial point of view, people had the right to apply for hard currency once in three years, which also included Yugoslav currency. In theory, everyone could travel abroad once in every three years, but in practice this was not the case for 80 or 90 per cent of the population.

Post-communist tourism development

The countries of CEE that have emerged from experiences of communist government have had to re-adjust to consequent shifts in tourism flows. Tourism has been seen to have particular importance not only as a new growth market but also, for political reasons, as a means of producing favourable images of these countries.

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[6] Apart from so-called 'friendship groups' from the so-called socialist camp.

[7] The ideological elites of late socialism viewed tourism as an export industry, rather than as an instrument of reproduction of working class.

[8] It would a mistake to connect ideology exclusively to the socialist type of tourism. It goes without saying that tourism has always played an ideological role, to support, for instance, nationalist rhetoric (cf. *Pieter Judson's text „Every German visitor has a völkisch obligation he must fulfill": nationalist tourism in the Austrian Empire, 1880-1918 published in Rudy Koshar's volume in 2002).*

The end of communist hegemony after 1989 spelled a dramatic change for Czechoslovak tourism. Contrary to tourism in communist Czechoslovakia that had been characterized by rigid central planning, 'new' tourism became the vanguard of privatization and market liberalization. A strongly collectivist model of domestic and international tourism was replaced by a privatized tourism sector. It served as an illustrative example of successful growth, flexibility in services, as well as a reduction of centralism and bureaucratic control (Williams and Balaz 2000).

After the Velvet Revolution, the lifestyles of many Czechs and Slovaks changed due to a number of political, economic and socio-cultural changes that notably influenced the development in tourism. The era is characterized by an unprecedented growth of tourism. Outgoing tourism of residents grew over 442.2% between 1989 and 1991, and even 760% in 1996. There arrived 475% more foreign tourists in 1996 over 1988 (especially from Germany, Austria and Holland).[9] As for the outgoing tourism, all travel restrictions were removed and Czechs and Slovaks were easily able to go to Western European destinations for their holidays. There was a boom in travel agencies. In the mid-1990s, there were about 3,000 of them, compared to the sparse numbers in the past (one stated-owned and one cooperative travel agency).

Though places of interest largely centred to Prague[10], other objects of tourism interest have recently emerged, such as parts of south, west and east Bohemia, the south of Moravia, the Krkonoše mountains and similar.

The 'new' tourism embodied the symbol of post-communist 'freedom', a symbolic transition from the time of isolation, moral darkness to the hope that people might start to live their lives in dignity and light. Though many Western models of international tourism were adopted, the role of tourism in the process of transformation has to be seen in terms of the 'intersection of the new and the old'.

The development of tourism in the Czech Republic: current trends in rural incoming tourism

The fall of the so-called Iron Curtain marked an abrupt, profound change in all dimensions of the country's social reality. Socio-political, economic and cultural transformation gave rise to a growing significance of tourism. The newly recognized economic importance of tourism went hand in hand with an unprecedented growth in all types and forms of incoming tourism characterized by increased segmentation and differentiation of the tourism industry responsive, to special needs and interests. 'New' tourism typical of a new style of production and consumption, increasing mobility, flexibility, individuality and hybridity (Poon 1993) has also played a significant role in the process of transformation of Czech rural countryside.

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[9] These figures have been published by Czech Statistical Office in 2000.

[10] The transformation of urban tourism in Prague ranks among the most well-known and visible achievements. Of course, foreigners could always visit Prague, but during the Cold War curtain foreign visitors were not interested. After 1989, they were eager to see what they had been missing.

The essential connection between tourism and landscape has been recognized by many scholars. Lane (1994), for example, proposes three broad characteristics of rural areas that may also be related to their attraction to tourists. Firstly, low population density and small settlement size, secondly, traditional, agrarian land use and economies, and thirdly, traditional social structures, embracing 'older ways of life and thinking, combined with scenic values and recreational opportunities of the countryside' that attract tourists from urban areas (Lane 1994: 11).

In the past, Czech (and Moravian) rural areas were predominantly dominated by agriculture, animal husbandry, and minor industries (textile). Moreover, these areas have long played host to tourists, as elsewhere in Europe.[11] From the late nineteenth century onwards, Czech rural areas were integral part and target of domestic tourism, which comprised individual ownership of second homes (cottages, weekend houses and chalets) and/or corporate possessions in terms of holiday camps and recreational resorts during the socialist era. In Czechoslovakia, the phenomenon of second home ownership was exclusively associated with the most common way of domestic leisure in the communist era: cottaging (chataření and chalupaření, see, e.g. Bičík 2001), which was above all a form of escapism by the locals from the straightjacket of the communist regime into the private.

However, it is only since the 1990s that tourism assumed a more central role and rural space has emerged as a significant element of incoming tourism. New, alternative forms of tourism such as ecotourism, green tourism, or international nature-based tourism are above all the outcome of the shift from Fordist production to post-Fordist consumption, which reflects recent major changes in rural development in Western Europe instigated by the decline in farming as a determinant, followed by population loss, lack of public services, economic deprivation, and environmental degradation. The gradual shift from the agricultural to the rural known as the 'post-productivist transition' (Ilbery 1998) brought about new demands on rural space and the countryside settings. The traditional countryside characterized by a dominant agricultural sector and associated settlement patterns has been reshaped by the declining role of agrarian economy and local manufacture. As a result, it has become less a place of agricultural production and more an object of consumption, whether by tourists, conservationists, or incoming residents (Sharpley 2004).

Transformation of rural communities for tourism purposes in the Czech Republic

The following text is grounded in empirical evidence derived from the first phase of ethnographic fieldwork carried out in two Czech villages – Lipno nad Vltavou and Stárkov – between 2008 and 2009. These studies are based on interviewing residents and foreign tourists and on the participant observation of both the hosts and the guests. At present, they only yield some preliminary data as the research is still in progress. An underlying aim of the whole project will be a complex comparative analysis of the interaction between foreign tourists and local hosts from the anthropological perspective that will reveal the

[11] The natural environment has been an object of desire for Western tourists since the Industrial Revolution.

differences and similarities between foreign tourists and second home owners, and local residents, as well as their impact on the rural development.

Nature, rural space and tourism have been inextricably linked since the dawn of modern tourism in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century. Rural tourism played a major role in the nation-building processes in many different countries and regions, not excepting the Czech lands under the Austro-Hungarian Empire and subsequently after the rise of independent Czechoslovakia in 1918. It helped to foster Czech national identity. Over the course of time, tourism has become an integral element of diverse rural economies by 'using' the countryside and natural environment as its significant basis and resource. Nature has thus turned into a tourist product: tourism dominates the uses of the land and the appearance of the area. Different places and regions are being planned and transformed in order to attract more 'nature-oriented' international tourists.

The transformation of the rural landscape for tourism purposes has yielded new geographies of tourism. Different types of landscapes have emerged with the advent of new forms of tourism. Novel uses of the natural environment include, above all, the rapid growth of international nature-based tourism whose aim is to meet the needs of western urbanized and industrialized societies. A case in point is Dutch tourists seeking vacations in a Czech 'natural' environment. There is continuity in the Dutch incoming tourism with the past. As has already been indicated, Dutch tourists who were coming to communist Czechoslovakia to spend their holidays in the mountains and in the landscape near the natural lakes (mostly in their caravans, or tents) were largely perceived as cultured and wealthy.[12] They represented the only case of western tourists who visited the country relatively steadily, between the 1970s and 1980s. After 1989, the nature of their visits changed dramatically. Basically, there are two types of Dutch nature-based tourism. Firstly, individual ownership of second homes owned by the Dutch in Czech rural countryside, and secondly, international tourism in recreational parks initiated by Dutch investors, attracting a predominantly Dutch clientele.

As for the former, the recent foreign (predominantly Dutch) purchase of country vacation homes has become common throughout Czech rural areas.[13] What are the reasons for Dutch international temporary and residential migration? The use of leisure and second homes is particularly associated with the so-called Dutch special needs that have been confirmed during interviews with informants and participant observation in the studied areas. At the top is the need for space: around 18 percent of Dutch second homes are situated abroad. The countries in which Netherlanders have their second home include France, Spain and Belgium that are at the top of the list. The Czech Republic has 974 Dutch second homes, which accounts 2.7 per cent of the whole (according to the Dutch Housing

[12] Generally, foreigners were looked upon with a certain degree of distrust. East Germans were seen as 'déclassé proletarians and peasants without social grace' (Wallace 2001: 312)

[13] It has become very common for the tourists to buy a farmhouse, restore it and use it as a vacation home. There emerged many restored homes, newly painted with well-kept gardens – they are owned by foreign guests but remain unoccupied for the most of time.

Need Survey 2002/2003, quoted in Priemus 2005). [14] Another need expressed by some of the informants stems from environmental concern, i.e. the threat of floods. For most of the interviewees, however, the most important motive given for purchasing a Czech property is escape, such that it becomes a theme to which they repeatedly return in the context of talking about their working lives in the Netherlands as well as their general feelings about place and home. Escape from leads inevitably to what the escape is to: 'Escape is the main theme, from pressure of work, everyday routine, from commodification, to a space which is a bolt-hole, a retreat or a genuine break from paramount reality' (Chaplin 1999: 41). My hypothesis was that affluent Dutch migrants oscillate between their homes and other places (called 'the second home') in order to rediscover rural idyll in the places that have not allegedly lost 'authenticity'. I assumed their motivations as largely anti-urban and anti-modern. In other words, the urge of 'getting away from it all', and escaping from the 'nightmare of repetition' (Cohen and Taylor 1992) which typifies everyday life: the stress, the pressure, the drive to achieve, away from the constraints of rationalized production and commodified consumption. Research outcomes, however, did not validate my hypothesis. Self-conscious rustic minimalism is not as all-pervasive as it might appear. The concept of 'voluntary simplicity' defined by Elgin (1981) is in sharp contrast to the reality of the Dutch village in Lipno which is both ultra-modern and looks the same (standardized patterns of the houses). Ritzer's (1998) 'all-pervasive hell of the same' has not been proved. It equally fails to characterize the Stárkov case. The 'Dutch way of life' in both the villages is to a large extent commodified: an alteration of patterns of consumption towards more natural, simple foods has not occurred. On the contrary, shopping is largely supermarket-based, instead of being taken place in local groceries and small shops. The manner of living that many of the second home owners share largely perpetuates the urban pattern: though staying in smaller scale living environments, their contact with community is non-existent and is limited to the members of their own 'tribe', if any.

As for the second type of Dutch nature-based tourism in recreational parks, there is a growing interest in building new recreational complexes in rural areas. To secure a livelihood by diversifying their agricultural activities, rural populations offer their assets – public space and landscape – to international forms of tourism. Now, communities are selling their vacant farmlands, abandoned agricultural fields and meadows to foreigners seeking to build new recreational complexes that have been commonly named as 'Dutch villages'.

Case studies

My research activities focus on two Czech rural settlements – Lipno nad Vltavou and Stárkov – that have recently embarked upon the project of international tourism, which uses public space and rural landscape as one of its principal attractions. Both the

[14] In general, it is very difficult to assess the number of second homes. The new 'residents' who usually spend a long period of time in their second homes are not normally recorded in the Census of Population. There is a lack of information provided by official sources.

rural localities are heavily dependent on international tourism that was initiated by Dutch investors, attracting a predominantly Dutch clientele. The Dutch investment includes both the construction of recreational parks and individual ownership of second homes in the Czech rural countryside.

Lipno nad Vltavou is a village in Southern Bohemia lying near the lake of the same name on the left bank of the Moldau (Vltava) River, within the southern Sudeten Germany belt. According to the 2005 census, it has 537 inhabitants. The history of the village dates back to 1530. In the past, the village, largely populated by Germans, was a small lumberjack settlement and its population's major subsistence economy was timber floating along the Moldau River. After the Second World War, many Germans were displaced due to the Beneš decrees and the area was gradually repopulated by ethnic Czechs who decided to settle there. The fundamental change in the life of the village took place in the mid-twentieth century. In the 1950s, due to the construction of the dam,[15] the village was intentionally flooded. The historical development of the village predetermined its present shape to a certain degree. The construction of the Lipno dam, which seemed disastrous for the old settlement, created certain potential that allowed for the existence of a new settlement. This potential, however, was not be utilized because the village was situated in the close vicinity of the Iron Curtain. Thus, stagnation, rather than prosperity was the essential feature for almost the entire second part of the twentieth century. A new era was brought by the fall of Iron Curtain, opening up the borderland in the early 1990s.

It became obvious that the former economy focused on timber industry would be playing an ever diminishing role in the future. A gradual loss of competitiveness of the most of the former businesses resulted in the termination of many jobs, or in the restructuring of the rest that survived. The economic transformation was followed by a social and cultural change in the lifestyles of the local people. A gradual increase in unemployment brought about a decline in the service sector, and in general a worsening of the level of local facilities. The negative effects of the transformation of the Czech economy posed the question whether there was a solution to such a grave problem that would help secure working opportunities for the local people that would be compatible with the local conditions and thus could contribute to a sustainable development of the region. The answer came forward, the logic was simple: the historical development of the past forty years that had made the access to the borderland impossible has 'helped' to save the uniquely preserved countryside. Any type of industry in this region was doomed for ecological reasons. So, the only type of industry that was naturally taken into consideration was tourism.

The local authorities ostentatiously claim that the village made use of the above-mentioned potential in an exemplary way. The village did not possess any financial assets; therefore, it concentrated on preparing conditions for the influx of investors. Moreover, as they state, in the early 1990s the local authorities accepted a revolutionary principle of that period in that the village could create conditions for investment, which would be linked to private capital. In the same vein, they speak highly about the perseverance and

[15] Lipno became the largest hydroelectric dam (4,650 hectares, 306 mil. square metres) in Czechoslovakia.

conviction concerning the right attitude that has borne fruit over time: in 1997, the village authorities made a deal with a Dutch investor who built (between 1999 and 2005) a tourist resort which has become known as Landal Marina Lipno. Its owner, Landal Green Parks, is part of the American concern Wyndham Worldwide, which is an internationally-oriented company in the field of tourism, recreational management and accommodation, and tourist real estate. The firm has business activities in more than 100 countries. Landal occupies the top position in its offer of recreational parks. It has over 60 parks with approximately 10,000 recreational accommodation units. In the Netherlands, there are 43 recreational parks. Outside Holland, it has built parks in Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, and the Czech Republic.

Landal Marina Lipno stretches in the area of 13 hectares offering over 306 studios and apartments. The area resembles the 'South Bohemian landscape through Dutch eyes', according to Czech architect Jiří Střítecký (quoted in Vítková 2006): a Dutch distinctive interpretation of the local rustic baroque shields and arcades combined with Mediterranean architecture. The apartments differ in size, ranging from 66 square metres (plus 9 metres for the balcony) to 154 square metres (plus 34 metres for the terrace). They offer accommodation from two to twelve persons per apartment. The interior of both the studios and apartments is standardized; all of the living rooms are equipped with the same Dutch furniture – a beige collapsible three-piece living-room set, beds of the same shade, wardrobes in light brown, a kitchen table in black, supplemented with black upholstered chairs. All the kitchens look the same as well, including the kitchen appliances such as microwaves, dishwashers or coffee machines, and even the utensils. The luxurious, elegant interior highlighted by modern paintings is supplemented with a large TV located in the living room, and a smaller one in one of the bedrooms, as well as an internet connection, under-floor heating in the whole living space and corridors, gas fireplace and air conditioning. Each apartment or studio has its own cellar and parking place. Besides the apartments and studios, the recreational park offers their clientele a whole host of out-door and in-door facilities: a large in-door swimming pool (free of charge for all the guests), restaurants, bars, sports ground, marina for sailing boats (136 anchoring places), etc.

As the park rose right at the Lipno Lake in the vicinity of the Šumava national reserve, it was promoted as a 'place of rural and nature-based attractions'. The investment reached more than one billion Czech crowns,[16] which brought an unprecedented breakthrough in the life of the village; soon it has become the largest and best equipped tourist resort in Šumava and the whole region of Southern Bohemia. Similar to the nature of any industrial investment, this event has triggered off a chain reaction and further investment continued. The faith in the Dutch investor and the vision of a stable clientele in the form of foreign (especially Dutch) holidaymakers has launched further construction of a winter ski-resort Lipno Kramolín. The locality of Lipno has recently attracted a number of Dutch second home owners who have been buying cottages and houses from the local people, offering them unbeatable prices.

[16] Lipno is a village boasting about the highest figure of foreign investment per inhabitant in Southern Bohemia.

The small town of Stárkov is situated in the Eastern Bohemia region, not far from the Polish border (former Sudeten Germany). Its history dates back to the thirteenth century. In the past it was a place of farmers, coal miners (until 1890, when all the mines were closed), weavers and forestry workers. In the nineteenth century, the first textile factories began there. The first half of the twentieth century saw the development of timber industry and agriculture (flax). The population make-up of the settlement differed throughout history. The town was settled predominantly by Germans. For instance, in 1930 there were 892 inhabitants, of which only 102 were ethnic Czechs. After 1938, Stárkov was incorporated into German Reich – as part of the Sudetenland. After 1945, the majority of Germans were transferred to Germany and a new wave of immigrants arrived. During the communist era, all private companies were nationalized. The situation changed after 1989 when former land owners got their possessions back and could start doing business.

The tourist resort Green Valley Park (GVP) came into being in 1998 as the first 'Dutch village' [17] in the Czech Republic; thus far it comprises 22 villas.[18] The GVP was a Dutch initiative, as the present mayor recalls:

> The Dutch – Mr. Hoed – arrived on his own in 1995. When the borders opened after 1989, he firstly went to Poland and Hungary, but Czechoslovakia seemed to him the most appropriate – in terms of both people and prices. When he showed interest in our village we could not tell him "yes, we want it or we do not" as the village did not own the land – it was a private property. But the village had to issue a consent, which it did. At first the private owner – a local guy – had 51 per cent of shares, the village 10 and the rest was the Dutch investment. The Dutch investor had to establish some twenty limited companies in which he put in the land and then he offered the companies to the Dutch in Holland. It was quite confusing, even for the Dutch. They claimed "we bought a house in Stárkov", but I contradicted, saying "No, you did not buy a house; you bought a company that owns the house."

[17] The term 'Dutch village' is *a vernacular name for standardized recreational houses owned by the Dutch within Czech villages. It is used in public discourse, predominantly by the internet users, to assert strong criticism with this new form of international tourism. As I have noticed during my fieldwork, the term is largely refused by the local villagers. On the contrary, Dutch tourists seemed to be rather indifferent towards this term, showing no particular interest. Recently, the usage of the term (prefaced by 'so-called') has increased to appear in official reports and documents (e.g. Ministry of Regional Development). It is also increasingly being used in academia.*

At present there are other 'Dutch villages' in the Czech Republic, mainly in the mountainous borderland. They are either adjacent to local villages (e.g. Panské pole near Rokytnice in the Eagle Mountains), or built right into the villages (e.g. Čistá's project Happy Home – 42 bungalows serving as Dutch second homes, Stupná's project Arcadian, with an average influx of some 140–150 Dutch per year, outnumbers the local population of Stupná - 40). Moreover, the Dutch are increasingly interested in buying a property in the Czech Republic but no longer within the areas informally called as Dutch villages. As some of the Dutch informants said, it is discouraging; they want to buy houses outside the Dutch villages. This trend has also been confirmed by the mayor of Stárkov who said that some villages nearby (Vernařovice, Straškovice, Petrovice) are 'simply bought out by the Dutch.'

[18] Stárkov is planning to build another 30 villas in the near future.

After the change of legislation in 2004, GVP is a Czech company with Dutch capital. This change affected all the foreigners who were interested in purchasing property in the Czech Republic. Before *entering the EU, foreigners could not buy property* in this country. Now, foreigners who are permanent residents of the EU can buy property here.

Impacts of tourism on the local populations

The growing influx of international tourists to Czech rural areas, the ongoing purchase of vacation homes and the emergence of 'Dutch villages' in various rural areas all over the country have contributed to profound social changes in local settings. In particular, it brought 'greater and closer interaction between formerly restricted host populations and the outside world' (Hall 2001: 99).

Contemporary forms of mobility and international tourism affect local identities. Increasing mobility into the rural area has reduced the autonomy and homogeneity of rural communities. The increasing breakdown of old socio-spatial patterns, the creation of new forms and processes are the major aspects in the transformations of rural society resulting from the development of tourism.

Foreigners (usually urbanites) who are moving into rural areas either temporarily or with the intention of permanent residence often bring different perspectives and ideas on how local development should be achieved and maintained and what a 'better quality of life' means. As a result, the countryside has become an arena of tensions, competing demands and conflicting interests. For some it became synonymous for economic and social regeneration, for others, it threatened to destroy existing social and cultural identity.

Modern rurality is frequently considered to be a positive situation because it represents a new vitality for declining social organizations. A tourism development may appear to be socially and economically beneficial to a local community; in particular, nature-based tourism can play a significant role in regional development. However, it may also create problems. There may be a multitude of factors that tend to affect interaction in a negative way, and thus complicate a path to development. I will treat them separately as analytical categories, while bearing in mind that in reality they often overlap.

The first group of factors revolves around spatial patterns. Second-home tourism and international tourism patterns may affect regional geography and spatial distribution. As has already been stated, the 'Dutch villages' were directly built into the above-mentioned rural settlements. However, both physical and symbolic spatial patterns are clearly discernible in both cases. In Lipno, the existence of three neatly bounded parts is clearly visible: first, the so-called 'old Lipno', which consists of the original village centre, and the periphery, intended for elderly residents who were moved there into newly built row houses after they had sold their flats or houses on more lucrative lands either directly to the Dutch, or to developer companies; second, a buffer zone called 'New Lipno' for the n*ouveau riche* local residents, and Landal Marina Lipno as an enclave for foreign tourists and second home owners. Restrictive spatial patterns can be observed in the differential access to the local aqua-park. In the peak season, locals can visit it only between 4 and 9 pm.

Spatial boundaries are equally visible in Stárkov. The village is divided into two zones, between the 'old' settlement and the Green Valley Park. The physical closure is

accompanied by a low opportunity for, even absence of interaction. The Dutch do not go to see the locals, and the locals rarely go to see the Dutch. The situation loosely corresponds with the mayor's opinion he had expressed prior to the construction of the villas. 'I want the Dutch to be on the area of 13 hectares so that they do not bother the locals in the village, so that they stay in their own places.'

From time to time, mainly in the peak season, locals do briefly visit the area for a drink. They commonly call it as 'going for a beer to Holland'. Locals also use an old outdoor swimming pool and children playground built during the communist times that are situated within the 'Dutch' area.

In such atmosphere, a researcher can come across bizarre situations: I asked one of the locals, an elderly woman, about the GVP; at first she did not know what I was speaking about. After I explained, she vaguely recalled it but said it was too far away for her to walk there – she never visited the place nor even considered the GVP to be an integral part of the village. The overall visual outlook of the 'old' parts of both places – Lipno and Stárkov – does not prove the existence of a foreign clientele which would bring prosperity: most local houses are old, inadequately maintained, many of them still waiting for reconstruction and repair. Local roads are in a terrible condition. Public services are declining, a comparable situation to other cross-border villages without revenues from tourism. This external impression was acknowledged in interviews with many of the locals. For instance, business at the local grocery in Stárkov has not increased since the arrival of the Dutch. They do not go shopping there (apparently because of the limited assortment of goods, as the area keeper puts it, and higher prices, as a local seller deems), they prefer to go shopping to supermarkets in nearby bigger towns. The old rural settlement in both researched places is in sharp contrast to the newly built-up areas intended for foreign clientele. In Lipno, for instance, the former historical settlement that was mostly flooded by the dam looks quite different at present. As the local elite put it, there is a new square with 'plentiful cosy cafés, decorative greenery, and promenade pavements.' Their opinion verifying that tourism is the right road to success and a prosperous future is, however, often contradicted by many critics (both locals[19] and outsiders) who largely point to excessive concentration of the tourism industry in one place, which makes an entirely unnatural impression on the landscape.

The second group of factors deals with a socio-demographic impact on the local structure of population caused by second home developments and international tourism forms and practices. The relationship between the extent of seasonal home ownership and changes in the local structure of the population has been traced in a number of studies (see e.g. Casado-Diaz 1999). Differences between the socio-demographic characteristics of local people and temporary migrants/tourists appear to be significant in both the researched places. A phenomenon of depopulation of the Lipno village centre and the dispersal of the population to the peripheral rural sectors has already been mentioned. At the same time, a growth in the local population has been observed due to the increasing number of incoming

[19] Among those who find the place tasteless and ugly are the displaced elderly people.

foreign second home dwellers and also thanks to a steady influx of new residents – usually young Czech urbanites who are attracted by the village modernity.

Environmental issues rank among the other factors that may be instrumental in aggravating host and guest relationships. Stárkov GVP was built in a protected nature zone, regardless of the resistance of the regional environmental authorities. The project aroused sharp protests not only among the nature protectors, but also among some of the locals and other Czech cottage-owners. The recreational buildings in Lipno had negative environmental effects by stimulating the use of private cars and by increasing pressure on sensitive areas and traffic congestion.

The barriers sharpening the differences and enhancing social distance between the local population and second home owners and other foreign temporary migrants probably include the most discussed impacts: socio-economic and socio-cultural factors. Social relations are shaped in many respects by economic considerations. Differing social, economic and cultural backgrounds of the foreigners (their above average income, their 'otherness', the language difference, etc.), and the locals make way to a deepening social distance between local people and tourists. Economic gain, though an important factor in tourism development, may be accompanied by strikingly disproportionate distributions of the economic benefits associated with tourism.

In contrast, the growth of second homes and other forms of international tourism could be seen as a positive development from the economic point of view. Scholars have noted numerous benefits: second homes could have a stimulating influence on the local economy by the demand for services and the creation of job opportunities.

What are the costs and benefits of second homes for the two communities under study? The advocates of tourism as a strategy for development in Lipno put it in no uncertain terms: 'tourism is a positive means' (the economist of the local authorities, and the mayor's girlfriend). The intention of local authorities was to avert economic and population decline in this rural area; a rapid drop in young people threatened the continuity of social life. Tourism served to help reverse this trend. It stabilized the population of the village, even increased it. It infused new wealth into community that was on the verge of extinction. Tourism raised incomes, increased opportunities for wage employment, gave the possibility of additional small-scale entrepreneurial activities associated with tourism, helped to create a new middle-income population. It helped to sustain the rural environment, which had experienced economic and population decline. It enhanced chances to modernise rural housing, which is implicitly for local residents (New Lipno satellite-town-houses). From this point of view, Lipno may serve as an example of successful adaptation to changing conditions.

However, the ownership of second homes and the existence of the vast recreational resort also have potential to cause problems if left unrestricted. Negative consequences underlying rapid changes were predominantly perceived by those who either have not adapted to or do not benefit from the new situation: the rejection of the old system, workplaces, service and social networks, which have not yet been fully compensated by the creation of new networks in their place. Moreover, the costs in Lipno include a rise in the

prices of food, rents, local houses, and community services. The locals point to the inflated prices for land – the coefficient of real estate tax is five, which is the country's highest possible legal level. Such an exorbitant rate obviously creates problems for local people who live on low incomes. Benefits seem to be distributed disproportionally among the local population. Increased social and economic stratification is happening, particularly between those who have and those who have not: those who own and operate tourism facilities and those who provide services only; between pensioners who are being offered a place to live in the newly built row houses 'beyond the old Lipno' and 'reserved for the elderly' in order to vacate their houses for recreational tourism.

Conclusion

The main aim of this paper was to analyse the changing role of tourism in the process of post-communist transformation of the two Czech rural communities. A common framework for analysis was the conceptualization of development that happens through social processes comprising both continuity and social change.[20]

As has been argued, though the political and economic transition has brought about a whole host of new practices in the field of domestic and international tourism, it did not automatically imply a complete eradication of the 'old' approaches. The research analysis of diverse aspects of the 'hosts' and 'guests' relationships in the two Czech villages has indicated that each local community has experienced both socialist and post-socialist tourism practices. The continuities with the socialist past can be observed in the existence of three distinctive social categories in these areas: local residents, domestic weekend/holiday makers, and foreign (Dutch) tourists (of whom some have recently become local residents). Due to the complex, all-encompassing transition of the Czech Republic to a new social order, one can observe far more changes rather than continuities in rural tourism development. The emergence of international forms of rural tourism after 1989, connected with developments in western societies, post-Fordist consumption, and the new middle class, has brought about a new kind of 'modern rurality', characterized by the complete integration of rural areas within the contemporary economic and social organisation of the capitalistic world. As Árnason et al. (2009: 55) claim, 'modern rurality' emerges because rural resources have attracted urban ones. The novel significance of rural space has been recognized in that environment and landscape started to play a key role in rural

[20] One of the frequent biases in academic literature on tourism is the failure to distinguish the social consequences of tourism from other processes of change occurring independently in a society. A fundamental question is whether it is tourism that is responsible for the changes observed, or some other factors. It is both easy and naive (and also irresponsible) to blame tourism on destroying host cultures and environments. Any scholar working on tourism and its effects upon a host community should empirically prove that tourism is indeed the cause of changes in the host society. The problem is that the effects of tourism are rarely distinguished from those of other contemporary forces for social change. Given that social change is highly complex, he/she must work out a sufficient link between touristic input with various kinds of sociocultural change, ruling out other possible internal and external sources of change such as industrialization, migration, the influence of the mass media etc, that is extra-touristic factors as possible sources of change (see Smith's Hosts and Guests 2001). Any researcher must simply go beyond the 'informed hypothesis' (Nash 2001: 25). Tourists may be been chosen as conspicuous scapegoats.

development. Though there is diversity in rural development practices and outcomes, the determining feature of local developments is the consumption, rather than the production, of tourism-related activities that are becoming more and more significant in the use of rural space. As has been shown, the areas under study are heavily dependent on tourism and the landscape is one of its principal attractions.

The analysis examined how rural tourism and community development takes place on the ground; in other words, how it happens from the point of view of local actors, i.e. both local residents and tourists. Tourism development is seen as an ongoing process of negotiation (Wallace 2001: 313). There are considerable variations in the ways in which local people adapt to tourism challenges, or control tourism processes in the area, i.e. how much autonomy they gain in deciding how to handle tourism and tourists. It raises an issue of varying senses of belonging – the question on how people claim and attribute identities as 'local'.[21] Local collective identities are often heterogeneous; there is considerable variability among the 'hosts', as well as among the 'guests' – neither are homogeneous groups that would follow the same interests. There can be struggles both inside the host communities and between the 'hosts' and 'guest' over land use, resources and rural economies, due to the conflicting understandings what nature – i.e. the environment and cultural landscape – means to different actors. Community members are often pitted against each other in support of or in opposition to tourism initiatives.

Nature-based tourism can play a significant role in regional development, but it may also create problems. There is always a contradictory potential of international tourism, which can be either a source of social divisiveness and conflict, or a passport to development creating welfare and new opportunities for local communities (De Kadt 1976).

Thus far, tourism development in the two research sites appears to be relatively economically beneficial to a local community. In its initial stages, hosts have learned to accommodate tourism through local community resentment and indifference towards to-urists. However, they have not fully endeavoured to place limits and controls on the ways it affects their communities. The 'stony silence' (Chambers 2000) on the part of locals, however, can turn out to have nightmarish consequences in the long run. It remains to be seen which scenarios will take place in Lipno and Stárkov in the future.

[21] The categories of guests and hosts are socially constructed, and in reality quite mutable; therefore we should study the processes through which touring and hosting are defined (Chambers 2000: 57).

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POVZETEK

Zadnji dve desetletji so zaznamovala hitra preoblikovanja turizma v post-komunističnih državah osrednje in vzhodne Evrope, vendar pa je bilo sistematičnega raziskovanja turizma z družbene perspective, oziroma s perspective antropologije turizma, na teh območjih malo. Prispevek orisuje ključne ideologije in prakse turizma v socialistični Češkoslovaški in tega primerja z novim fenomenom post-komunističnega turizma na češkem podeželju, natančneje s pojavom rekreacijskih kompleksov, imenovanih 'Nizozemske vasi' ter drugih domov, katerih lastniki so Nizozemci. Glavni namen prispevka je analizirati spreminjajočo se vlogo turizma v procesih post-komunistične transformacije, sestavljen pa je iz treh delov. V prvem delu je narejen pregled narave turizma v komunistični Češkoslovaški in osvetljene najbolj tipične značilnosti domačega in mednarodnega turizma. Drugi del je namenjen kratkemu ovrednotenju post-komunističnega razvoja turizma, v tretjem delu pa se jedro besedila osredotoča na nizozemski 'bivalni turizem' v dveh čeških podeželskih območjih, ki sta izkusili tako socialistične kot tudi post-socialistične prakse turizma. Na splošno je pozornost prispevka usmerjena na preoblikovanje čeških podeželskih skupnosti glede na različne vplive turizma in na dejavnike, ki ali spodbujajo ali zavirajo interakcijo med 'gostitelji' in 'gosti'.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: antropologija turizma, post-komunistični razvoj, sodobno podeželje, podeželski mednarodni turizem

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TEMPUS in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Palestine: The case of two European Commission projects in tourism and 'cultural heritage'

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ABSTRACT

This paper looks at aspects of two institution building and development projects funded by the European Commission (EC) in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) and Palestine in the fields of pilgrimage, tourism, and the cultural industries. Both projects involved co-operation between universities and civil society organisations within the two partner countries together with academic and other institutions in member states (Italy and the UK in the case of BiH, Finland and the UK in the Palestinian case). They took place during the period between 2003 and 2008, both lasting for about three years. The aim of the projects was to educate and train a cadre of young specialists (25 in the BiH case, 10 in the Palestinian case) in the fields of tourism and the cultural industries, starting with the construction and delivery of a Masters degree in both cases, in order to contribute to the development of tourism and the cultural industries in their respective countries and regions. Both projects were founded on the hope and belief of the authorities both in the two countries and in the EC that these fields would provide a stimulus to post-conflict economic growth. Both projects were part of the EC's TEMPUS Programme. This is a Programme that supports and encourages the development of universities in countries on the borders of the European Union (EU) by encouraging them to link closely to other civil society organisations and institutions in the public and private sectors and then to use the enhanced power and effectiveness of such 'de-centralised co-operation', as the language of the EC has it, to make an decisive and beneficial impact on the field. If the key feature of the TEMPUS Programme in general is the embedding of the activities of higher education institutions within civil society institutions, the central feature of the two projects to be described here was, as has been said, that both of them concerned aspects of 'culture', 'cultural heritage', and the economic and development possibilities that both provide through tourism and allied activities. Thus the paper has three parts. The first briefly discusses the notions of civil society, culture and cultural heritage. The second explores some of the work of the projects as this was manifest in a selection of the Master degree dissertations produced by project participants. The third part looks back at the projects and assesses their relation to the present state of BiH and Palestine.

KEYWORDS: civil society, cultural heritage, European Commission, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Palestine

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Introduction

For the past two decades or so the European Commission (EC) has been engaged in a variety of institution building, curriculum development, and research programmes on and beyond the borders of the European Union (EU). The EUROMED Programme, which came into being shortly after the 1993 Barcelona Agreement on economic, political and cultural co-operation in the Mediterranean is one case in point. This is a Programme designed to link European and partner universities outside the EU with a view to demonstrating a cultural unity in the Mediterranean and showing how such unity may be used as a development tool in the region. The TEMPUS Programme – the subject of this chapter – is another. This Programme was initiated in 1990 as a response to the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the prospect of certain Eastern European countries (the first three eligible countries for TEMPUS funding were Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia) joining the EU. Since its inception the number of potentially eligible countries has expanded, contracted, and (in 2002) expanded again to encompass the Mediterranean region. The aim of the TEMPUS Programme has been, and remains, to contribute to the modernisation of universities in non EU partner countries by means of academic co-operation structured around projects that focus on academic subjects identified as being priorities by the partner countries concerned. The two projects at issue in the present paper were concerned with the subjects of pilgrimage, tourism, and cultural heritage – activities surrounding which were seen by both Bosnian and Palestinian authorities as significant elements of economies and societies emerging from or (looking ahead optimistically) about to emerge from conflict.

There are two particular, and closely linked, aspects of the TEMPUS Programme and its projects that are key to understanding their purposes and operations as seen by the EC. The first of these is that the projects, led as they are by university consortia, are required to encompass both academic and civil society institutions. The second is that the projects are (in theory) given a certain amount of decision-making power in order for them to operate and manage themselves on the basis of what the EC terms "de-centralised co-operation". In short, TEMPUS projects are supposed, within reason, to manage themselves rather than be run by the state institutions.

It is this de-centralised co-operation between universities and civil society institutions in the field of culture, cultural heritage, and tourism/pilgrimage that is the subject of this chapter.

The chapter starts with some conceptual and definitional ground clearing and considers the terms civil society, culture, and cultural heritage. Once that is done we will consider the cases of two recently completed TEMPUS projects - one in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the other in Palestine – in order to anchor these preliminary generalities to the more knowledgeable voices of those postgraduate students who participated in the two projects. Both projects involved the delivery of Master degree courses and the present chapter will focus in particular detail on a selection of the graduates' final dissertations for reasons that will become clear.

To start, though, with an opening consideration of the three key terms upon which the projects were founded: civil society, culture, and cultural heritage.

Civil Society

Ideas about 'civil society' have been around for over 2000 years.

In classical Greece writers including Plato and Aristotle associated civil society with that sphere of 'good society' in which order would be achieved and conflict resolved through negotiation, agreement and lack of violence. In Rome, Cicero's linked the idea of 'civilis societas' to participation by civilised citizens in a 'civil life' to be found beyond the boundaries of the political community. The notion was picked up with enthusiasm by thinkers of the Enlightenment. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1984[1762]), for example, found in civil society a social space in which individuals and collectivities could both find freedom from the constraining demands of state and exercise their innate senses of order and justice in their relations to each other. Coming closer to our own time the early twentieth century thinker, Antonio Gramsci (whilst acknowledging that they overlapped) distinguished between political society consisting of state bureaucracy, army, police, legal system, and so on, and civil society made up of institutions such as the family, workers unions, voluntary associations, and so on (Buttigieg,1986). Recently, the Centre for Civil Society at the London School of Economics (2004) built on all of the above writers, defining civil society in terms of a diversity of social and political spaces, actors and institutional forms populated by organizations such as those we have already listed and many more – libraries, religious associations, advocacy groups,trade unions, and so on. In one of the few specifically anthropological discussions of the subject, Chris Hann (1986) associates the sphere of civil society with "ideas and practices through which cooperation and trust are established in social life".

We may take from the above that civil society may be found outside and/or beyond the level of the state in a social sphere that is simultaneously voluntary, relatively free, flexible, and given to peaceful and negotiated alliances, including cross border and international ones.

Culture

'Culture' is a slippery and complex term with a potentially huge scope. Thus the anthropologist, Edward Tyler (1929 [1871]) defined culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". This broad definition retains some value because it suggests that we can find culture both on the widest imaginable canvas as well as in the smallest detail. Culture is everything and everywhere: as much in the way we perform the most intimate personal actions as to the ways we conduct our trade and foreign relations. Moreover, in the global society in which we are all members, culture flows from one end of the world to the other and round again, disdaining any inconvenience from national frontiers. Culture and passports, however authentic these latter may be, are not congenial bedfellows.

Acknowledging the value of Tyler's Olympian view, we might like to come down to earth with a slightly more prosaic definition: namely that culture consists of the ways and means we communicate about identity. On this subject there are few finer authorities than Amin Ma'alouf (2000). Eschewing any type of singular identity, Ma'alouf tells us that he thinks of himself as French, Lebanese, and Christian. He adds "the fact that my mother

tongue is Arabic, the holy language of Islam, creates bonds between me and all those who use it every day in their prayers". He also insists that identities routinely encompass a myriad of allegiances, associations, and solidarities associated with family, neighborhood, village, country, religion, political disposition, personal and collective history, and so on. It is an approach mirrored throughout the Mediterranean. Henri Lefebvre (1996) the celebrated French social geographer, observes that the fact that "in all large cities of the Mediterranean everyone from childhood hears several languages" commenting that this is just one of several features of Mediterranean urban culture that makes it fundamentally "polyrhythmical" - that is to say open to the distinctive rhythms of individuals, groups, families, languages, religions, and histories. In Lefebvre's view the Mediterranean city thus appears as a sort of musical polyphonic score.

Cultural Heritage

Associated as it is with inheritance, 'cultural heritage' is a term that sounds benign enough. It speaks of shared identity, belonging and inclusion within a group or category of persons with the right to 'inherit' this or that bit of culture. However, as we know very well, in the real world, it is also a notion that often becomes entangled with contention and outright violence as groups and individuals dispute who is the proper and legitimate 'owner' of a given piece of cultural heritage site, object, or representation. After all, as family members from the bible onwards have occasionally if routinely discovered, there are times in life and death when the price of our inclusion and/or my inheritance is their exclusion and/or my brother's disinheritance.

Some might argue that the cultural heritage of the Mediterranean, including the Balkans, has often appeared, both historically and more recently, to be marked by fracture and contention. Nevertheless if we build on the work of Ma'alouf and Lefebvre and think of the works of other writers such as Claudio Magris (1999)on cosmopolitan Trieste, Amitav Ghosh's (1992) re-reading of the Geniza (the collection of texts about Jewish life in the medieval Islamic world), the Bosnian writer Ammiel Alkalay (1992) *After Arabs and Jews* not to mention much earlier writers as such medieval Arab travelers as Ibn Batuta (Dunn, 1986) one comes face to face with a region as one whose cultural heritage lies fundamentally in the capacity of its cultural sites, spaces, objects, and representations to express the multiple, complex, layered, trans-frontier cultural identities of its inhabitants. These and other comparable texts speak with the same cultural intonations as the TEMPUS projects we will shortly come to.

Before turning to these projects, however, there is one final preliminary point. This is that, along with 'history', there is no such animal as 'cultural heritage' to be found 'out there' in some way independent of what we make of it. We could echo Marx's observation that "men make their own history albeit not in circumstances of their own choosing" by saying that we also make our cultural heritage albeit (also) not in the circumstances of our own choosing. This is one way of saying that when we come to a topic like cultural heritage we need to be aware that it comes into existence only within the political and economic contexts in which it is found. Even if cultural heritage is not quite politics in disguise,

no-one could sensibly take issue with the fact that cultural heritage runs to a considerable extent on fuel labeled politics and economics and/or that our discussions involve asking not only 'what is the cultural heritage of the Mediterranean' but also 'how do we understand the political economy of cultural heritage in the region?'

The EC TEMPUS Programme

TEMPUS is the acronym for Trans-European Mobility Programme (or Scheme) for University Studies. Its aim is to move universities within and outside Europe into the forefront of development and to embed their work within layers of civil society in the countries in which its projects operated. Our own task was to educate and train cadres of experts (about 35 in all) capable of carrying forward institution building and development in the field of civil society, culture, and cultural heritage in BiH and Palestine. We worked in several partner universities: Sarajevo, Banja-Luka, Bologna, and London in the Bosnian case, Bethlehem, Joensuu (Finland) and London in the Palestinian case and studied 6 central topics: cultural histories, pilgrimage and tourism, natural and cultural capital, cultural policy and planning, imagery, regional and cross border cultural heritage, and the sustainable development of cultural institutions.

As already noted we concentrate here on a small selection of the final dissertations. Recalling that we have framed the definition of culture in terms of expressions of identity, the account is structured in terms of four particular ways in which culture and cultural heritage is represented and organised, namely: through the construction and management of space; in the writing of cultural histories; in the uses of art/literature/music; and in the ways that culture and cultural heritage are shaped and managed politically and economically.

Cultural Identity, Cultural Heritage and the Spheres of their Symbolic Expression and Organisation

Space

A Bosnian thesis examined the role in the country of natural/national parks, emphasising four main points about their importance to the cultural heritage of the country. It explored the organisational, political, and cultural implications of building the parks as spaces that celebrated regional, including Yugoslavian, identities rather than ethno-nationalist Bosnian Muslim, Serb, or Croat ones. Thus, for example, memorials to the partisans and to Tito spoke of former Yugoslavia whilst the numerous stecci or medieval tombs in the parks were presented as symbols of the cultural unity of BiH, Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia – all of which countries have such tombs (which are now all due to join the UN World Heritage list).

A Palestinian thesis took up this rural motif and examined the possibilities, implications (including to the tourism offer) and practicalities of thinking of Batir, a village a few kilometres from Bethlehem, as a site in which visitors might encounter Palestinian rural heritage. Apart from being a very beautiful village, with natural springs and pools, and agricultural terraces originating from (at least) Roman times, and good vantage points for

bird watching, Batir has a lively and effective local council and civil society. The convincing argument was made that the village could support and derive benefit from a particular type of tourist (and the market is undoubtedly there to be tapped) interested in Palestinian culture and nature. It could also be the ideal location for a state of the art museum concerned with Palestinian rural culture. Fully aware of the challenges of such rural heritage tourism, she tells us rightly that 'there is a need for public and private partnerships to develop and manage tourism in rural areas. The local community has to feel it has "ownership" of the industry in order to accept and support tourism activities on its land'.

A third thesis in the group brought us back to our home territory of Bethlehem. The thesis concerned the recovery of one of Bethlehem's ancient streets, route of the Latin patriarch and his followers to the Nativity church on Christmas Eve, and formerly a working street of artisans and craftsmen. The author traced the work of Bethlehem's Centre for Cultural Heritage Preservation (CCHP) as it attempted to retrieve the fortunes of the street and its former residents in the run up to the Christian millennium celebrations in 2000 – partly by opening up the street to new types of cultural tourist. It examined the complex relationships between the private, public, and intermediate actors and institutions, including foreign donors, and demonstrated that such a scheme could only work within a framework of tightly drawn policy that ensured that the public good was assured in the face of unregulated private sector operations

Histories

One of the Palestinian theses examined the work of the Alternative Tourism Group (ATG) – particularly in relation to its organisation of tours for foreign university students, diplomats, and backpackers – and its production and use of the best overall historical tourist guidebook we have of the country, namely Palestine and the Palestinians (2005)Starting with a view of Palestine as the source of the three Abrahamic religions, the book covers the tragedies of the Palestinian Naqba, the uprooting of villages and the creation of refugees in 1948, the place of Palestine in the various cultural regions it straddles, including the Arab and Muslim worlds, Europe and Christian worlds, as well as the Jewish, Muslim, and Christian populations in Israel. As the ATG's guidebook tells us, in co-operation with appropriate Israeli partners, the group organizes tours in Palestine and Israel along with 'encounters with Palestinians and Israelis' and 'interfaith meetings with Muslim, Christian, and Jewish personalities'. The first time I personally visited one of the illegal Jewish settlements on the West Bank I did so with the ATG who at that time had a good working relationship with a rabbi in a settlement near Bethlehem.

A second largely historical thesis was by a graduate from Banja-Luka, the main city of the Republika Srpska, the Serbian 'entity' in BiH. Here the aim was to compose a national curriculum to train Bosnian tour guides and to start up a tour guiding school in two locations, Sarajevo in The Federation and Banja-Luka in The RS. The school was to be founded on the history of religious and cultural pluralism within which contemporary BiH was a part. Less than a decade after a bloody civil war in which eternal primacies of ethnic histories, identities, and boundaries were being trumpeted from all corners of the

country, the thesis contained a quiet but determined proposal to set up a practical cultural tourist related institution not only to address head on the ethnocratic ideologies that had underwritten the war but also to engage staff and students in co-ordinated co-operation across entity boundaries, thus making a seminal contribution to national and regional peace processes. Additionally, such a proposal as this precisely fulfilled the exhortations of the TEMPUS Programme to find ways of fitting private and public sector initiatives together and so enhance socio-economic development.

Art, Literature, Music

One Bosnian thesis focussed on the National and University Library of Bosnia-Herzegovina situated near the old Ottoman city centre of Sarajevo with the main aim of identifying and describing why this institution represented the heart of the cultural heritage of the city and BiH itself.

Before the Balkan wars this was one of the great libraries of the world – housing a unique collection of books and manuscripts in many languages including Arabic and Hebrew and being a potent symbol of Bosnia's Bosniak, Croatian, Serbian, Jewish, Latin, Western European, Persian, Turkish, and Austrian cosmopolitan identity. The author quoted the Bosnian writer Jasna Šamic (1996) on how in the Ottoman period some Bosniak literature was written in Turkish, Arabic and Farsi, whilst using many Bosniak words, and how a particular poetic genre (of Alhamijado) was written in Bosniak - by Bosnian Muslims using Arabic script and by Bosnian Jews using Hebrew script. And it was, precisely, the building that housed this library that was the first building to be incendiary bombed in the siege of Sarajevo, burning in the process the majority of priceless manuscripts, books, and archives. Thus was destroyed one of the greatest testaments not only to the cosmopolitan heritage of BiH and the region, but also to Europe, Mediterranean, Middle-East, and to the common histories and literatures of Christianity, Islam and Judaism. The thesis argued that the restoration of the library would enable the city once again to assume its former role as cultural crossroads between east and west.

A Palestinian thesis considered the role of the dance form dabke in Palestinian culture. The writer described the historical transformations of dabke as it moved from being associated primarily with rites of passage of Muslim families to becoming one of the cultural forms of mobilisation during the first intifada, spreading in that context to Christian neighbourhoods. Now it is increasingly becoming part of the repertoire of cultural events/offers on which contemporary Palestinian tourism is based as well as being taken to foreign dance and music festivals. The author was careful to point out that dabke was only one out of many Palestinian musical developments – including the emergence of the well known genre in the schools of Syrian refugee camps of 'refugee rap'.

Political Economy of Cultural Heritage

One Palestinian thesis in this group spoke of the need for the establishment of a Palestinian Tourism Board. The argument here was that this institution would have the capacity to bring coherence to Palestinian tourism strategy by introducing the dynamism of the private

sector into planning without losing the containing organisational structures of the public sector in the shape of the Ministry of Tourism. A Bosnian dissertation mirrored very similar concerns and was concerned with administrative arrangements tneeded to organise the cultural industries sector at the level of state rather than the existing fractured landscape of '2 "entities" and "three peoples"', two and a half governments in the same country. A Palestinian thesis took up these and other issues by constructing a publicly available web site [www.visitpalestine.ps] covering both necessary practical information needed by the traveller as well as comprehensive lists and reviews of Palestinian cultural life and cultural events, enabling in the process the independent traveller to navigate his/her way around a field that tends to be dominated by large tour operators.

Another Palestinian thesis examined the possibilities and modalities for the town of Beit Jala, close neighbour to Bethlehem, to take a leading role in introducing tourism to the municipality. Here the role of the Palestinian diaspora, especially in Chile and Latin America, was examined in the light of its importance to the future economy and society of the town. The writer, a practising architect, and advisor to the Municipality of Beit Jala, drew our attention to the importance to the residents of the municipal park, the music academy, the new library, and other such developments, stressing the links between domestic and foreign leisure and tourism.

Summary

What do these theses tell us? How do they link with the way we framed the topics of civil society, culture, and cultural heritage in the earlier part of this talk? Here are three suggestions:

Firstly, nearly all of them are concerned with expressions and representations of ethnically plural and cosmopolitan cultural identities. Most place the cultural heritage of BiH and/or Palestine within the wider cultural frameworks of the Balkans, Middle-East, Europe, and/or the Mediterranean itself. The approach lends itself happily to cross border co-operation involving Bosnians and civil society groups in all the states of former Yugoslavia, Palestinians with Israeli and Jordanian civil society groups.

Secondly, as already noted, many of them take care to stress in detail the links between the cultural heritage sector in fields such as cultural tourism, museums, dance, design, libraries, and so on, and specific and relevant civil society groups in the two countries concerned – such as the women's group in Batir village, the municipality of Beit Jala, families who host the independent tourists of the ATG, and so on.

Thirdly, all are concerned with very practical issue of how culture and cultural heritage may be used to contribute to economic self-sufficiency and the kind of policy arrangements needed to advance this. In each of the cases in this field there is a clear recognition that cultural heritage can thrive in a political economy in which the private and public work together.

BiH and Palestine post TEMPUS

Using the eyeglasses of our two TEMPUS projects, we may now look out across the contemporary landscapes of BiH and Palestine, reflecting on what they look like, and then return to institutional Europe.

Starting with Bosnia, the most recent report by the International Crisis Group (ICG) (2009) reports a 40% unemployment that is inevitably accompanied by heightened nationalist/ethnic rhetoric. The former High Representative, Lord Paddy Ashdown, has recently written gloomily about the country sliding backwards into conditions comparable to those of pre-war days. Our TEMPUS graduates spelt out clearly how a tightly organised cultural tourism sector operating at state and regional level could be the engine of an emerging post-war economy, but little action followed – and many of personnel and departments in the institutions of the EU, UN, World Bank, and other bodies have moved on. The result is that the door remains wide open for a type of frontier capitalism that pays scant attention to the demands of the Bosnian environment, society, or culture. Sarajevo hotels have been added to the portfolios of property investment houses, but the national library remains empty and unused. Mostar remains as divided as ever, despite the re-building of the bridge. Religious competition is rife between mushrooming Saudi funded mosques and ever-larger Catholic and Orthodox churches.

As for Palestine, its natural and cultural assets and heritage are being stripped and degraded by the day. The winner of the 2008 Orwell prize for Literature, Raja Shehadeh (2007) describes how "The hills (on which I started walking as a child) were like one large nature reserve with all the unspoiled beauty and freedom unique to such areas". Now, however, the region is promoted to would-be settlers in terms of the desirability of its biblical landscape. But, as the Israeli architects Rafi Segal and Eyal Weizman (2003) have observed: "that which renders the landscape 'biblical' - its traditional inhabitants, cultivation in terraces, olive orchards, stone building, and the presence of livestock - is produced by Palestinians whom the Jewish settlers came to replace. The very people who cultivate the 'green olive orchards' (of the brochures) and render the landscape biblical are themselves excluded from the panorama. The Palestinians are there to produce the scenery and then disappear". Indeed, the suffocation of Palestinian towns, cities, and villages, continues apace. In two days time, for example, settlers led by a group called Women in Green, protected by the Israeli army, will continue moving inexorably towards establishing a settlement on the very borders of Beit Sahour, neighbour to Bethlehem, thus closing the circle of settlements around the city.

Our TEMPUS graduates invite us to look towards a future in which the kind of Mediterranean cultural heritage described by Ma'alouf, Lefebvre, Ghosh, Magris, Ibn Batuta, Alkalay, Shehadeh, and many more - not to mention Fernand Braudel himself - could be recovered in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Palestine with the active participation of universities, cross-border associations, and other civil society groups operating in the region precisely in the moulds set out by writers from Cicero to Gramsci and more recent writers and scholars. The voices of our graduates speak of a Mediterranean culture of open borders and free flows across them of goods and people. For BiH and Palestine, not to mention the peoples and states the wider regions, the beneficial economic consequences of such openness would be immense.

But what we actually have in BiH and Palestine is quite different: in Bosnia rising unemployment, ethno-nationalism and religious particularism; in Palestine deepening

occupation, ghettoization, ethnic cleansing – and the Wall. So where, we might ask, as a way of ending the chapter, is institutional Europe? What is our response to those Mediterranean voices that we hear habitually in our projects – exemplified as they have been here in relation to two particular countries but nonetheless relevant to the region more generally? We may begin to address this question only after we acknowledge the painful fact that, in crucial respects (some of which have been alluded to here) both conventional states and the European Union itself have failed the Mediterranean. We may hope, however, that we can look forward to another and more open landscape in which Europe establishes, not before time, a truly reciprocal tryst with Mediterranean civil society and cultural heritage.

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POVZETEK

Prispevek proučuje vidike dveh projektov gradnje institucij in razvoja, ki ju financira Evropska komisija (EC) v Bosni in Hercegovini (BiH) ter Palestini, in ki vključujeta področja romarstva, turizma ter kulturne industrije. Oba projekta vključujeta sodelovanje med univerzami in civilnimi družbenimi organizacijami med dvema partnerskima državama z akademskimi in drugimi institucijami držav članic (Italija in Velika Britanija v primeru BiH ter Finska in Velika Britanija v primeru Palestine). Projekta sta se odvijala v obdobju med letoma 2003 in 2008 in sta trajala okrog tri leta. Cilj projektov je bil izobraziti in usposobiti mlade strokovnjake (25 v primeru BiH in 10 v primeru Palestine) na področju turizma in kulturne industrije, pri čemer sta se oba projekta začela z izgradnjo in izpeljavo magistrskih študijskih programov. Na ta način naj bi projekta prispevala k razvoju turizma in kulturne industrije v obeh državah in regijah. Oba projekta sta temeljila na upanju oblasti v obeh državah in v EC, da lahko omenjeni dve področji spodbudita post-konfliktno ekonomsko rast. Oba projekta sta bila del TEMPUS programa EC. To je program, ki podpira in spodbuja razvoj univerz v državah, ki mejijo na Evropsko unijo (EU), da bi se bolj povezale z ostalimi organizacijami civilne družbe ter institucijami v javnem in privatnem sektorju. Posledično bi uporaba večje moči in učinkovitosti takšnega ‘decentraliziranega

sodelovanja', če uporabimo jezik EC, imelo odločilen in ugoden vpliv na obe področji. Če je na splošno osnovna lastnost programa TEMPUS vkoreninjanje dejavnosti visokošolskih institucij v institucije civilne družbe, je bila osnovna lastnost obeh opisanih programov ta, da sta se oba ukvarjala z vidiki 'kulture', 'kulturne dediščine' ter ekonomskimi in razvojnimi možnostmi, ki ju kultura in kulturna dediščina ponujata skozi turistične in sorodne dejavnosti. Zaradi tega je prispevek sestavljen iz treh delov. V prvem delu so na kratko predstavljeni pojmi civilne družbe, kulture in kulturne dediščine, drugi del pa razkriva delovanje projektov, ki se odraža v izbranih magistrskih nalogah udeležencev projektov. V tretjem delu se pozornost obrne nazaj k projektoma in ovrednoti njihovo povezanost s trenutnim stanjem v BiH in Palestini.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: civilna družba, kulturna dediščina, Evropska komisija, Bosna in Hercegovina, Palestina

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BOOK REVIEWS

Wagner E., Sarah. 2008. *To Know Where He Lies: DNA Technology and the Search for Srebrenica's Missing*. Berkeley: University of California Press. xvi + 330 pp. Pb.: $21.95 / $21.95. ISBN: 9780520255753.

Sarah Wagner's *To Know Where He Lies* traces themes of absence (p. xi), recognition and the measurement of loss in a gripping analysis of the postwar production of knowledge concerning Bosnia's war missing and of the political, genetic, and symbolic technologies of repair and identification that support this knowledge. Wagner's case study is primarily Srebrenica – the site of one of the strategically conceived and systematically carried-out atrocities of wartime violence perpetrated against Bosniak Muslims. The book is also based on Wagner's field-work in Tuzla, a nearby Bosnian city, which serves as a regional bureaucratic hub and HQ for various associations involved in finding, identifying and documenting Srebenica's war missing. Exploring how practices of producing knowledge of the dead work through and rest on ideas of absence, Wagner adduces an ethnographic account of Bosnia's missing persons networks, describing her engagement with the family members and scientists dedicated to reassembling scattered, executed bodies through DNA identification methods. Centring on the Bosniak women's association, the Women of Srebrenica, and on local and international organisations dedicated to postwar reconstruction ten years on, the book describes how DNA-based technologies of extracting and analysing genetic profiles from the remains are understood in context both as the most secure means of identifying the dead and as a scientific conduit for the memories, fantasies and hopes about that continue to swirl about them.

Wagner opens her book with a detailed account of the fall of Srebrenica, at a time when the enclave had been designated a United Nations 'safe area'. She moves to an exploration of the (in)action of the UN military bureaucracy, detailing the feelings of contempt, humiliation, resignation and distress felt both by Srebrenica residents at the time and the Bosniak army deployed in the enclave's defence. Readers may find most vivid and nuanced observations of the transformation of the city—from a prosperous conurbation before the war to a postwar site of genocide; from an urban to a rural place; from a resort town to a place marked by the strains of politically and economically vulnerable returnee communities. Wagner analyses with great attention who belongs to and speaks for Srebrenica (p. 67), looking into both interpersonal and inter-organisational dynamics in the search to find the missing and displaced.

While never wavering from support of their main demands, Wagner wittily explains how the Women of Srebrenica—strong-willed, outspoken widows, mothers, sisters and daughters of the missing—strategically deploy gender in making claims (p. 67), thereby securing what is understood locally as morally respectable grounds. These women's experience of the war and subsequent peace is being shaped by the emergence of DNA technology and the expectations that people place onto it. The Women of Srebrenica, supported by the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP), therefore acts as a translator, educator and liaison for the ICMP (p. 80), as such offering a specific politico-scientific take on postwar Bosnia.

Wagner theorises the production of scientific knowledge through instruments of DNA extraction and analysis, examining alongside each other statistically sound process of eliciting DNA evidence and subjective experiences of remembering and reckoning. International and local organisations tout 'science' and technology as meta-narratives

promising interventions able to transcend regional and international politics. In response, Wagner invokes Arendt's observation that the language of science often attempts to anneal violence, but cautions that science represents only one of the possibly restorative means of addressing postwar Srebrenica. Following science, the memory and narratives, it embodies into an analysis of postwar ceremonial reburials, commemoration and collective recognition, Wagner shows that reconciliation coexists in these contexts with an unyielding nationalistic politics and residual ethno-nationalist feeling. The book is also clear-headed in discussing the political implications of the use of biotechnological science in the context of international intervention, both at a regional and international level.

Such are the bones of Wagner's account. The most evocative scenes from Almir Bašović's play *Priviđenje iz srebrenog vijeka* (Visions from the Silver Age), and references to Henri Bergson and Paul Ricoeur's work on memory, structure the book and illuminate a number of points. Wagner's ethnography richly evokes cities' and people's decayed, broken, and sometimes reanimated spirits. Her treatment of the sensitive themes of the ICMP's bureaucratic catalogues, Tuzla's abandoned salt mines storing body bags (p. 101), the pillow-cases women make for their dead, their recourse to fortune-tellers, and the esoteric language of deoxyribonucleic acid and its certainties is consistently wonderful. Most importantly, Wagner also indicates the value not only of disclosing but also of withholding knowledge in postwar contexts (p. 136).

The study is therefore an important and well-researched contribution to postwar studies in anthropology. However, although Wagner herself states (p. 58) how challenging it is to study a place that has become synonymous with genocide, she does little to further explore and analyse that assumption. The book rather takes the form of a very specific case study analysing two postwar sites, Srebrenica and Tuzla. However, the metonymical status that Srebrenica as a twentieth-century genocidal site has come to assume in the public imagination, works as an extension of the idea that the book's central concern is with the technological mechanisms of postgenocidal repair. This rather rhetorical or untheorised assumption of representative status is furthermore problematised by the striking absence of some other tales that Srebrenica's people may have to offer. The account is entirely based on her work with the Bosniak victims and does not feature Serbian voices at all.

This lacuna, unsettlingly, fits in with the representational assumptions of Wagner's book, in which Bosnia's three peoples, Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks, are studied as if they were separate, not historically interlinked groups. Wagner does not place the Association of the Women of Srebrenica in the context of other (women's, survivors 'or veterans') activist groups from the former Yugoslavia, nor does she deal with the processing of the war missing from Kosovo, Serbia, Croatia, or Macedonia. The result is to a degree to play into the hands of stark mass media images of Srebrenica's events, or else to fail to secure sufficient analytical detachment from victims' or scientists' stories, frustrating further thought. Work on postconflict sites is emotionally highly demanding and researchers are often put into thankless positions in which all sorts of expectations and demands are placed on them. However, precisely because of these reasons, postwork analyses ought to be based on a perspective informed by a number of different, indeed differing, voices.

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Burawoy, Michael. 2009. *The Extended Case Method: Four Countries, Four Decades, Four Great Transformations*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 338 pp. Pb.: $21.95 / £14.95. ISBN: 9780520259010.

This book's central argument is to demonstrate the symbiotic relationship between knowledge production and methodology in sociological research. It is articulated through Prof. Burawoy's reflections on his 40-year career as a social researcher and as a lecturer at University of California, Berkeley. Each chapter deals with a particular methodology that he has deployed during his career. The 'extended case method' is exemplified by his examination of changing race relations in Zambia after independence. The 'ethnographic revisit' is examined through various cases, but it is exemplified more clearly by the author's comparative findings of worker/management relations in a factory in the USA. The 'research program vs. induction' is assessed by comparing the explanatory theories of the Soviet revolution of Trotsky and Skocpol. Finally, the 'multicase ethnography' is examined by looking at the collapse of communism in the USSR and in Hungary.

Burawoy's intention is to promote the 'extended case method' as a methodology for understanding the connections between micro/ethnographic events and macro/historical processes. The basic tenements of the extended case method rest on the methodological principles of writing a reflexive ethnography, based on participant observation, in order to establish relational connections between quotidian events and global processes. In its ideal form, the researcher brings to the field a theoretical tradition that is self-consciously deployed and, through an inter-subjective contact with informants, the theory is elaborated and taken in new directions.

Early in the book, Burawoy references Max Weber's call for bringing methodology to the level of 'explicit consciousness', where the sociologist is self-consciously aware of the lenses that are being used to bring the world into focus. Burawoy also references Polanyi's suggestion that the capacity to assess the social world consistently and ethically is preconditioned by the need to be aware of one's 'tacit skills' and 'personal knowledge', which ultimately stems from 'dwelling in' a research tradition. This kind of language suggests the inevitable conflation between methodology, the researcher's subjectivity, and knowledge production. In this sense, methodology is not understood as a technical process, but more as a conceptual tool, i.e. a way of collecting and thinking through data.

Some recurrent themes in Burawoy's methodological reflections revolve around questions of participation vs. observation (degree of engagement in the context), local vs. global, the location and role of theory in the research process (i.e. deduction vs. induction), the uses and abuses of multi-sited ethnography, and the functional role of social science in society. Burawoy's writing further suggests two opposing methodological paradigms – qualitative/reflexive/ subjective vs. quantitative/positive/objective; social scientists must confront and recognise the gap they represent. In each chapter, Burawoy offers clear typologies – relying on tables to illustrate his point – of how he negotiated these paradoxes in his own research.

The author's proposal may seem familiar to readers who are knowledgeable of the general issues and concepts that have characterised methodology debates in anthropology

for the past 20 years. Nevertheless, Burawoy acknowledges the anthropological pedigree of the term that he bases his book on by referencing the Manchester School of Anthropology, where the term 'extended case method' was first coined and disseminated. Yet, at times this reviewer felt that the tidy tables and binaries used to illustrate the complexities of fieldwork, swept away the messier, disorienting, and the more anthropologically interesting side of the inter-subjective encounter.

If the methodological discussions may seem too tidy (they could also be characterised as elegant depending on the persuasion of the reader), this reviewer found the ethnographic examples and theoretical debates fascinating. Burawoy has a capacity to address complex social transformations and paradigm shifts with clarity and elegance, free of cant and technicalities. His arguments seem to be the product of caring about people and paying attention to what it is that they actually do, rather than have people's agency narrativised by broad sociological theories.

However, it can be argued that Burawoy's depth of analysis comes out of his sophistication as a scientist in tune with the major debates in history and sociology rather than of the virtues of the methodology he is advocating. His argument for theoretical self-awareness made this reviewer wonder to what degree sociologists can be genuinely aware of the subjectivities that carry their research. To be aware of one's theoretical baggage seems superficial when there are deeper subjectivities involved in participant observation. For example, Burawoy chose to be hired as a machinist in the factories where he did fieldwork. However, he does not delve into what kind of specific insights he expected to gain by working on the factory floors, other than gaining access to his informants. It seems that working in the factory is not the only way to participate or to gain access to informants. It would seem that the type of knowledge one would derive from learning how to work a factory machine would be more corporeal rather than political and historical. In general, this reviewer failed to see the connection between operating a machine and understanding the transformations of Hungarian socialism. If knowledge and method were genuinely folded into each other, then one would expect the ethnographic account to speak directly to the methodology.

This brings this reviewer to the central question regarding the argument of the book. This reviewer did not get a sense of the inextricable link between methodology and theory that he interpreted to be sign-posted in the first chapters. After finishing the book, he still had a sense that methodology stands as a conceptual tool for the generation of knowledge rather than being part of the knowledge itself. It seems that in Burawoy's narratives, there is more of a dialectical relationship between theory and method, which does not always neatly fit with claims regarding their seamless union.

This reviewer was also struck by possible inconsistencies concerning the use of specific binary typologies. Granted that Prof. Burawoy uses solid typologies for the sake of clarity and consistency, there are some lingering issues left unresolved. For example, this reviewer was particularly interested in the effects of the drawing of strict binaries such as subjective/objective, participate/observe, reflexive/positive, and induction/deduction as if they were mutually exclusive. In practice and in Burawoy's narrative, the relationship between these typologies seemed more complex and interactive. This reviewer's concern

may strike some as a post-modern, perhaps naïve, stance that embraces the open-ended complexities of fieldwork as positive. Nevertheless, in the spirit of academic argument, this reviewer suggests that during the actual research process, particularly when participant observation and ethnographic writing are involved, binaries such as these are moot. These are paradoxes that anthropologists anguish over as part of the enterprise of understanding the social world and are not necessarily sought to be resolved. The task, it seems, is to be aware of such paradoxes and confront them in the spirit of articulating an ethical, convincing, and believable narrative.

The final chapter suggests a further global transformation that is well under way – the third sector. The success of grassroots political movements coupled with the growth of the not-for-profit sector suggests novel ways of democratisation and production of value. Burawoy argues that sociology should not conform itself to merely understanding the complexities and reconfigurations of power relations that movements such as experimental cooperativism suggest. Burawoy emphasises that sociologists should take an active role in participating in these processes.

The book will be of interest for students and researchers looking for conceptual examples of fieldwork methods and desiring more than the average handbook of social science research methods. The examples are rich and provocative. This reviewer found the sociological explanations of global transformations particularly interesting, especially in these days when the economic crisis has provoked a reassessing of old divisions and expectations for capitalism, especially in Eastern Europe. Likewise, the complexities of post-independence Africa still resonate at the turn of the century, with forums such as the G8 and the UN addressing the West's responsibility towards Africa.

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Linke, Uli and Danielle Taana Smith (eds.). 2009. *Cultures of Fear: A Critical Reader*. London and Sterling Virginia: Pluto Press. 320 pp. Pb.: $34.95. ISBN: 9780745329659.

In *Cultures of Fear*, Linke and Smith have collected a series of essays that address the concept of fear and how governments and other organizations use fear to control persons in zones of real, perceived, or even probable violence; the use of fear as a weapon also plays a central role in several of the essays. The collection includes the work of experts such as Noam Chomsky, Slavoj Žižek, Henry Giroux, Cynthia Enloe, David L. Altheide, Cynthia Cockburn, and Carolyn Nordstrom.

This book is quite timely given the global war on terror and the numerous other conflicts (political, ethnic, or otherwise) that seem present on an almost daily basis. Fear is an interesting feeling: it is at times divisive and at other times unifying. The book's main sections of 'Cultures of Fear', 'States of Terror', 'Zones of Violence', 'Intimacies of Suffering', and 'Normalizing Terror', take the reader on a well-mapped journey of the human experience of

fear in many diverse settings, including the current war on terror, the use of rape as a weapon of war, child soldiers, the experiences of asylum seekers, and the Cold War. These sections expose the reader, harshly at times, to various interpretations and applications of fear and how it forms human perception of safety, security, and world events, and in turn how this shapes behavior.

Cultures of Fear was undertaken as an exposé of what governments and similar organizations do to people affected by war and terror, but does not adequately address the counter-argument, that governments and similar organizations can alleviate fear as well. The book is surely a discussion starter and will challenge readers to examine not only the world around them, but how they perceived events that have personally affected them. As with all good collections of essays, readers may agree with some works and disagree with others, which was this reviewer's experience. The process of digesting the material and forming opinions on these expertly written essays was a very insightful experience.

This reviewer found two of the essays particularly interesting. Joseph Masco's exploration of the United States' Civil Defense efforts during the Cold War was fascinating. Masco illustrates how the U.S. government had to create images of the possible ruin and disaster of nuclear war in order to instigate enough fear of annihilation in the minds of citizens to convince them to dutifully follow government procedures and programs. The whole concept of Civil Defense is put in an outstanding context. As a child of the 'duck and cover' generation, this reviewer found the social control exerted through Civil Defense to be very interesting. Consider that the U.S. government simultaneously painted a picture of the epic damage and destruction that would result from a nuclear detonation, all the while telling school children and others that seeking shelter under a piece of furniture would likely save them. When faced with any amount of uncertainty, either about everyday life or some possible future disaster, people seek ritualized activity for comfort; in the United States of the 1950s and 1960s, Civil Defense was that ritualized behavior.

Another great essay, written by Miriam Ticktin, examines how undocumented immigrants in France sought to either injure themselves or contract diseases such as HIV in order to get legal status. Ticktin does a great job in delineating the difference between human rights (a concept of law) and humanitarianism (the moral and ethical need to help or give relief). It seems outrageous that people would turn to diseases like HIV in order to obtain access to what many call basic rights, but as Ticktin's work shows that this does happen, often on an alarming scale.

The book is not without a few technical shortcomings. First, several of the essays are edited, and it is only through reading that one sees areas that were omitted. Prior warning of this would have been quite useful to the reader. Further, this would be a great textbook for courses in any number of fields. Seemingly, the book was developed with this in mind, but contains no discussion questions or other tools to help students initiate examinations of the material.

Cultures of Fear is a must read for anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, and political scientists. Any student of human behavior and world events would be at a loss if they do not read this work. As a course textbook, it would be challenging and immensely useful, especially for upper-level students and those pursuing advanced degrees.

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Csordas, Thomas J. (ed.). 2009. *Transnational Transcendence: Essays on Religion and Globalization*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 338 pp. Pb.: $24.95 / £16.95. ISBN: 9780520257429.

Thomas J. Csordas brings together an innovative collection of essays that examines the transnational movements and transformations of religion in the contemporary world. The volume revolves around the concept of 'transnational transcendence' that stresses 'the existence of modalities of religious intersubjectivity that are both experientially compelling and transcend cultural borders and boundaries' (p. 1). Through a range of ethnographic and comparative studies, the volume engages in a discussion of the interrelation between religion and globalisation, challenging the often-assumed idea that religious manifestations are secondary to the primarily economic phenomena of globalisation. Csordas argues that it is more productive to approach globalisation as a multidimensional process in which economics, politics, religion and popular culture are necessarily related (p. 3).

All twelve essays problematise four main modalities of religious intersubjectivities that serve as channels for religious practices in the contemporary global context. The first modality is conceptualised around the practice in which the local religious imagination becomes influenced by global technology. The second modality of religious intersubjectivity is related to a pan-indigenous movement in which different indigenous groups claim kindred spirituality. The third modality is that of a 'reverse' religious influence, going from the margin to the centre. Several of the essays challenge the idea that religious globalisation is a process that goes from the centre to the periphery (Matory, Cohen, Groisman).

Matory and Cohen show how the context of globalisation helps religious influence expand in 'opposite' directions through ethnographic studies of the global reach of Yoruba religious practices. Cohen demonstrates that these practices were not only brought about only by forced migration through the slave trade but also by mobile individuals who travel back and forth from a West African homeland. Matory stresses the significance of the historical depth of transnational religious practices, challenging the understanding of the nature of imagined communities.

Alberto Groisman's chapter contributes a fascinating example of the 'reverse' religious influence through the individual mobility between Brazil and the Netherlands that led to the formation of the Santo Daime church in Europe. Groisman's central argument is that daimistas utilitise this spiritual alternative to create an idea of 'planetary citizenship'.

The fourth modality of religious intersubjectivity introduced by Csordas is that of the globalisation of world religions, which he prefers to conceptualise as a 'globalisation *as* religion' (p. 9).

The volume is further conceptualised under two aspects that overreach practices of religion and transnationalism. The first one is of the ways in which religious practices travel and the second is of the means by which they navigate across cultural and geographical realms. Csordas divides religious travelling practices into *portable practices* and the *transposable message* (p. 4). Portable practices are those that can be easily acquired, do not require esoteric knowledge, are not necessarily linked to a specific cultural context and do not have to rely on institutionalised or ideological establishment. This is taken up

by Peter van der Veer in his chapter on globalizing Asian spiritual practices, specifically those of the Chinese Qigong and Indian Yoga. The portable practice is evident in Kathinka Froystad's example of the Kriya Yoga tradition and her account of a group of U.S. swami from the Ananda Sangha community who relocate from California to India. For Csordas, the *transposable message* indicates how religious principles find resonance in diverse cultural and linguistic settings. In this view, the transposability of a religious message is largely dependent on *plasticity* and *generalisability* (p. 5).

Joel Robins' contribution on Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity among the Urapmin of New Guinea (who converted to Pentecostal Christianity on their own) is an outstanding example of productive travel of a specific religious form.

Csordas identifies four main means by which religious practices cross cultural and geographical spaces. The first means is *missionisation*, exemplified in Velho's chapter dealing with missionisation in the postcolonial world with examples from Brazil, which become a rich source of globalizing spiritual practices.

The second means is that of *migration*, from the forced transatlantic movement of sub-Saharan Africans (Cohen, Matory) to the contemporary migration of Muslims to Europe (Ozyurek, Pandolfo). Ozyurek examines identity politics among the Alevi, a Turkish religious group. This group, which had been sporadically persecuted, succeeded in redefining itself by members who migrated to Germany under the guest workers scheme of the 1960s. The revival of the Alevi identity in the 1990s was to a large extent facilitated by their conditions in Germany which allowed for the development of new Alavi organisations. The revival was predominantly mediated through the internet, bringing followers from both Turkey and Germany into a productive dialogue over institutionalisation and standardisation of the movement. The main argument of Ozyurek's analysis is that European Muslim identities are indigenous to Europe.

The third means by which religious practices traverse cultural and geographical space is brought about by individual *mobility* (Groisman, Froystad, Kendall). Laurel Kendall's chapter on Korean shamans examines pilgrimage tourism to the sacred mountains of Mount Paektu. These pilgrimages initiate movements across Mongolia, China, Manchuria, Vietnam, the United States and North and South Korea, often bringing intricate interactions between Han Chinese, Korean Chinese and South Korean tourist-pilgrims.

The final, fourth means by which religious practices are exercised transnationally according to Csordas is that of *mediatisation*, which includes radio and television, print media, cassette tapes and video production and the Internet. Many ethnographic examples from the volume vividly illustrate the importance of *mediatisation* in contemporary religious practices.

This theoretically rich volume brings an important contribution to the understanding of the wide range of religious practices in the contemporary world, giving new insights into the understanding of why and how some religious practices succeed as they cross national, cultural and linguistic boundaries.

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Giuliana B. Prato (ed.) 2009. *Beyond Multiculturalism: Views from Anthropology.* Ashgate Publishing, Ltd. 224 pp. Hb.:£ 55.00. ISBN: 9780754671732.

This book brings together 12 revised and extended papers written mainly by anthropologists, sociologists, educationalist and historians, which were initially discussed at the XV International Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Florence in 2003. There have been several books by anthropologists on multiculturalism recently, but multiculturalism in anthropology has not been widely explored until recently. This book brings together comparative analysis of multiculturalism from different European, North and South American and Asian countries, ranging from traditionally multiethnic societies to the regions and cities where cultural pluralism is a relatively new phenomenon.

By far the best contribution is the introduction by Prato herself. She wrote an excellent chapter in which she underlines the need for revisiting and unpacking the meaning of multiculturalism. She convincingly demonstrates that multiculturalism is an increasingly complex and comparably ambiguous concept, underlining the distinction between 'difference multiculturalism' and 'critical multiculturalism'. This will be of great use to scholars and students from many disciplines as provide more deep insight into the discussions on cultural and ethnic diversity. She also contributes an outstanding chapter on minorities in Italy, where she draws on historical research conducted there and in Albania with Albanians. She persuasively shows the ideological nature of the project of multiculturalism and its limitations, with the implicit meaning of existence of culturally homogenous minority and majority groups: she demonstrates that the group of Albanians is heterogeneous and she proposed that the contemporary integration should be stimulated with a new approach, which goes beyond multiculturalism. She analytically confirmed that recent Albanian immigrants are excluded since the ideology of multiculturalism sometimes might foster a new rhetoric of exclusion. There is another paper focusing on Italy, in which Pardo studies the complex relationship between formal and informal economy, the role of legal and illegal immigrants and the dynamic of exclusion and integration and negotiation of citizenship, within this connection.

Some other papers are also historically conceptualised. Frog focuses on immigration and its impacts on Canadian cities in different historical periods and from different parts of the world. His findings addressed the need for effective immigrant settlement policies in Canada's major cities: the recent immigrants are largely visible minorities and as a result, those cities are becoming racially and ethnically diversified, and integration process for those immigrants with a low social capital is extremely difficult.

Krase's contributes a chapter on visual approach to multiculturalism, where he offers very good analysis of visual expression of the ethnic diversity and its appearance in ethnic vernacular landscape. After his views on visual anthropology and terminology of assimilationism, cultural pluralism and multiculturalism, he convincingly shows how ethnic diversity is visually expressed in ethnic vernacular landscapes in his cases, explored in the USA, Europe and China.

It may be noted that some authors, such as Rubel and Rosman, discuss the cultural change that migrants face with notions such as transnationalism, hybridisation and diaspora. In their comparison of 'transnational family' and 'urban diaspora populations' within historical and comparative contexts, one interesting question that has not yet been answered was whether

multiculturalism facilitates the maintenance of transnational families or not. Vázquez and Rodríguez also take a historical-critical perspective and they reflect also some terminological issues. Within a framework of 'dynamistic anthropology', they study the socio-ethnic interaction and a process of ethnic identity building of Qom-Toba in Rosario. They realistically show the problems of multicultural approach, which underlines difference and may lead to exclusion. After questioning the tolerance of difference, they propose pluri-cultural model of society, which recognises diversity, and takes it as a forceful power for greater defence of ethnic rights for minority groups and as an enrichment of society: this may facilitate new cultural hybridisation.

The analysis of Burnier is focused on the Brazilian ethnography, in which she performed research with technicians from different social and cultural background: rather than focusing on indigenous rights, she shed light upon migrants from working-class rural background. Her illuminating chapter shows to what extend technicians retain their belonging to their strongly hierarchical culture traditions of rural background, and how they enter the egalitarian and individualistic modernity. It is explained that technicians manage to operate in the globalised international world of capitalist production as cultural mediators, whose space is defined institutionally and where they reflectively construct their class identity in the collective context of the extended family.

Mayer discusses adolescent migrants in a multicultural city, and explores their position between the age culture of youths and the age culture of adults. She analyzes peer groups cultures and different social processes amongst several groups in the public spaces: processes of marginalisation, fusion and fission, conflicts and confrontation with other youngsters who find themselves in between their migrant background and Viennese urban life, where they try to gain their place in the society.

Jijiao's paper gives statistically supported insight in the movements and process triggered by the migration from the traditionally multiethnic rural areas to cities, which have become multi-ethnic in contemporary China. He gives convincing demonstration of relevance of ethnicity in Chinese population flow and he emphasises that fact the urban conflicts are stimulated by cultural inequality not by cultural diversity.

Chaudhuri has published a study on the migrant population in the Indian urban context, in which she emphasises that inter-ethnic relations are fluid because of the process of modernisation and because modernisation also nurtures growth of ethnic identification and ethnic cohesion. These processes often have destabilizing effects.

The last chapter is on the importance of experience in consumption: Surrenti explores how 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic' is consumed at the ethnic market as a particular experience. She studies two different places of consumption and she emphasises that ethnic consumption is an expression of cosmopolitan identity.

In recent debates, it has been emphasised that anthropologists, who were initially hesitant to contribute to the discussion on multiculturalism, have not taken an active part. The edited volume on multiculturalism substantially contributes to recent debates in social sciences and tries to make a step further. Importantly, this book stands a great chance of reaching people in other academic fields as well as to the wider public.

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Fassin, Didier and Richard Rechtman. 2009. *The Empire of Trauma: An Inquiry into the Condition of Victimhood*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 303pp. Hb: $65.00 / £44.95. ISBN: 9780691137537.

Published in France in 2007, *The Empire of Trauma: An Inquiry into the Condition of Victimhood*, has recently been released in English, published by Princeton University Press (translation by Rachel Gomme). The book includes the *Preface to the English Edition* and an index of subjects. In total, the work has four parts divided into ten chapters, and includes an introduction and conclusion. The book also contains footnotes and has an extensive bibliography, index of names and subjects.

The authors, Didier Fassin and Richard Rechtman, are anthropologists as well as medical doctors, a physician and psychiatrist respectively. Each has held an interest in trauma but in different areas; one researching the invention of trauma and the other holding an interest in the politics of suffering. Together, they have focused on what they refer to as the politics of trauma. The book is the result of research conducted together from 2000 to 2005 and proposes to shed light on how people use the category 'trauma' and more specifically post-traumatic stress syndrome.

Drawing on the work of Foucault and the production of truth, Fassin and Rechtman outline their work in terms of their desire to understand how trauma and post-traumatic stress syndrome (PTSD) have shifted from what they describe as a place where pain and suffering was not legitimate or questioned to one in which those who have experienced trauma are offered sympathy and/or compensation. These shifts, essential to the authors' conception of how PTSD has taken center stage within society, are traced genealogically. Three case studies are included as a means of demonstrating their research. The authors strategically chose the case studies to be locally based (Part Two), internationally based (Part Three) and to be, what they describe as being in the middle (Part Four), i.e. one that discusses those men and women seeking asylum because of torture or other significant trauma resulting in emigration. In all, the reader is given a solid background of the development of trauma and PTSD as well as the roles of doctors and other health workers (mainly in France) have had.

Part One, *The Reversing of the Truth,* explores the history of the shifts in trauma, the ways in which it has been socially constructed and how psychiatry and psychology have come to define the terms theoretically. The authors discuss in what ways the world wars and other large-scale incidents, like the Holocaust, have influenced society's understanding of trauma. The chapters within this section also tease out the development of symptoms and diagnoses of PTSD through a critique of the American Psychiatric Association's book of disorders (DSM-III, IV). This was an informative section of the book. However, brought into question are the handlings of particular events that, though eventually leading to the acceptance of PTSD, highlight the frequent failings of health-care workers to apply the theories of trauma to their practice, usually to the detriment of victims. The slow progress of joining theory and practice is addressed in more detail in Parts Two to Four.

Part Two, *The Politics of Reparation,* critiques the operationalising of psychiatry through the advent of 'victimology,' a more focused study on victims of trauma. They

apply the ideas of victimology to their first case study, an explosion at a chemical factory in Toulouse in 2001. Through this event as well as through other traumatic events like the attacks on the World Trade Centers, the authors explore reparation – the act of 'paying back' or 'compensating' the victims. Made salient is the fact that this reparation is not simply monetary but recognition that victims of trauma, such as terrorism, deserve and should get help. The process of bringing the effects of trauma into the public eye has also created a sense of humanitarianism within psychiatry: a need to know and a need to seek the truth.

Parts Three (*The Politics of Testimony*) and Four (*The Politics of Proof*) follow case studies focused on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict during the second Intifada (2000) and non-governmental organization (NGO) work with exiled victims and especially those victims of torture. More specifically, the rise in what the authors label 'humanitarian' psychiatry and the 'psychotraumatology of exile' is discussed thoroughly as the call to help victims is answered within the health care industry. These are complicated terms developed in an attempt to explain of the range of trauma symptoms as well as the call to put theory to action, but ones that are well defined and used as examples through the case studies.

Fassin and Rechtman do not limit their discussion on the positive nature of either 'humanitarian' psychiatry or the work with exiled immigrants. Instead, they question practices, such as what drives individuals to testify about what they see and hear and in what ways this drives others to offer assistance. The need to seek the truth – to seek proof of trauma is crucial to the process of helping and healing as well as defining what is traumatic. In the case of workers attempting to help asylum seekers, the need for accurate reporting is crucial for those in question. Not only do workers have to let go of their convictions but must also be able to prove psychic scars. Fassin and Rechtman also address the development of a psychiatric language to be used in accurately diagnosing and reporting to courts on asylum cases. These are just a few of the examples the authors touch on in these final two sections of the book. Beyond these examples is a wealth of information on the construction, maintenance and application of trauma in contemporary society.

This reviewer highly recommends this book to those who work in the field as well as though with an interest in violence and/or trauma. This work is remarkable in its coverage of the history of trauma, psychiatry and the treatment of victims of war and other atrocities the world has encountered in the 20th and 21st centuries.

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Birembaum-Carmeli, Daphna, Marcia C. Inhorn (eds.). 2009. *Assisting Reproduction, Testing Genes: Global Encounters with New Biotechnologies, Fertility, Reproduction and Sexuality* (Vol. 18, *Fertility, Reproduction and Sexuality series*). Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books. 304 pp. Hb.: $90.00 / £55.00. ISBN: 9781845456252.

Assisting Reproduction, Testing Genes is the 18th volume published in the *Fertility, Reproduction and Sexuality* series. This volume comprises 10 chapters of social anthropological studies, organised into three main parts: the first part 'Families and beyond' is made up of three chapters from Germany, Bulgaria and the Middle East, while stories from Ecuador, Iran, Vietnam and Israel are presented in the second part, 'Couples and others'. The final part of the book is about 'Testing genes and using cells' in Argentina, India and Brazil.

In the first chapter on 'Families and beyond', minority Turkish German women and men talked about how kinship practices influenced their decisions to use Artificial Reproduction Technologies (ARTs) and that acculturation into the German society did not make this easier; they remained a marginal group within Germany. For Bulgarian women, as described in the second chapter, ARTs redefined family and parental roles whereby women were given decision-making responsibility by the doctors and their partners. Unlike women in other studies, Bulgarian women rarely invoked personal, religious or moral dilemmas when considering the use of ARTs: their discussions were framed predominantly within a secular understanding of reproduction and medical intervention. Middle Eastern Muslim men in Egypt and Lebanon provided their accounts of the causes of male infertility and what this meant to them and their families, and issues of disclosure in the third chapter. Male infertility was perceived to be caused by environmental toxins, stress and fear caused by the war, uncontrolled dumping of toxic waste and chemical toxins due to war, past infections that impaired male reproduction function and premature sexual activity outside their own country. This chapter ends with a discussion of the use of the newest ARTs, i.e. Intracytoplasmic sperm injection (ICSI) in these Islamic countries to address problem of religious and social acceptance about third-party donation.

The second part of this volume, 'Couples and others', begins with the stories of Ecuadorian women's preferences for interfamilial egg donation, which was based on exchanges of property, debts and obligations to their extended families. The stories in Shia Iran describe the inadequacy of religious rulings in addressing the use of gamete and embryo donation and surrogacy, which unintentionally undermined kinship and socio-cultural practices. A similar problem was found in Vietnam where the government controls the choice of IVF treatment (e.g. the banning of surrogacy with IVF) to protect traditional values, morality, and social structures valued by the communist state. In Israel, a court case between estranged partners raised public debates about the right of the ex-wife to have the cryo-preserved embryos implanted in a surrogate woman's womb, and the implications of this case on gender order and women's societal position were presented.

The final part of this book, 'Testing new genes and using cells', deals with the new technologies in ARTs. In Argentina, the author argues that Preimplantation Genetic Diagnosis (PGD) signifies not just another technological advances of ARTs accessible by Argentineans, but its practices clearly exposed the problem at the core of ARTs in general,

i.e. the legal and moral status of the human in vitro embryo, and ethical issues regarding the value of human life. The cultural complexities inherent in the production of embryonic stem cells and the problems involved in the supply of human embryo for manipulation in public and private research facilities in India were also examined. The final chapter in this volume examines the implications of DNA paternity testing on the familial relationships and gender-related attitudes and practices in Brazil.

This volume explores the practices, cultural significances and political impacts of ARTs in non-Western settings. It challenges the assumption of neutrality of ARTs across all societies, and shows that local culture (beliefs, practices, religion and kinship) and contexts (legislature and authorities) affect the provision and adoption of ARTs. Perceptions, experiences, expectations of ARTs by individuals who used the technologies (women, men, couples, surrogates, gamete donors) as well as those of family members (parents, parents-in-law, siblings, relatives) and friends are provided. The volume also reveals the lengths to which women and couples will go to have a child and how this need is shaped and controlled by local providers, legislature and authorities. Redefinitions of gender and parental roles were also reported; women were ascribed the responsibility of decision making about ARTs adoption by the provider and their partners, and in some cases, inadvertently bearing the financial cost of ARTs adoption. Men or husbands were shown to be supportive but preferred to play a marginal role.

This volume successfully describes the human face of ARTs in non-Western societies and that ARTs are not disconnected from social and cultural influences. It provides detailed and interesting insights into how Middle Eastern, South American, South Asian, South East Asian and minority German men and women, families, providers, and authorities dealt with issue of infertility and ARTs. However, the impacts of ARTs on the Western societies are insufficiently addressed (Introduction chapter) although the title ('Global encounters') gives the impression otherwise. As it is, the volume is deprived of details of ARTs on Western societies and a comparison to assess differences in perceptions, experiences and kinship influences between the Western and non-Western societies.

Overall, this book provides good and interesting reading for all who want details of the cultural significances, religious and political impacts of ARTs as experienced by people of different ethnicity and religious background. Most importantly, this volume conveys the complexities of introducing and implementing ARTs in different cultures and political settings. It also brings to forth the meaning of reproduction in societies, the price and value of human life.

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Knudsen, Ståle. 2009. *Fishers and Scientists in Modern Turkey: The Management of Natural Resources, Knowledge and Identity on the Eastern Black Sea Coast.* New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. 290 pp. Hb.: $80.00/£50.00. ISBN: 9781845454401.

This is a book about knowledge, and it rejects many of the commonly held assumptions about knowledge and its relation to society. At the same time, it is a book about ecology, marine fishing and an ethnography that follows the classical anthropological methods of data collection, through participative fieldwork, life history, narrative constructions and historical data. While discussing marine fishing in the Black Sea, the author includes three categories of people – fishers, bureaucrats and scientists – in modern Turkey who, belonging to the same society are not mutually exclusive of each other. While he accepts Ingold's claim that all knowledge is skill, the author also asserts that skills are not exclusive of cultural models. For example, in the use of sonar technology he shows that the technology is interpreted and effective not by itself but by the experience and knowledge of the users who interpret it according to their own system of knowledge. The introduction of sonar (a very expensive technology) has not radically changed the skill of the fishers but has rather led to social differentiation and a change in moral perceptions. While earlier people believed that success in fishing was because of one's moral superiority, chance and God's will, they now see it as economic and political power often obtained through nefarious means.

The author, however, finds problematic the widely accepted difference in anthropology between 'science' and indigenous systems of knowledge. He argues that there is no absolute difference between science and other forms of knowledge, but it is only a question of degree and any study of knowledge must account for both content and context. Set in modern post-colonial Turkey, this book examines the manner in which differential values and life style choices shape food preferences and in turn impact the management of the fishing industry. Sea food consumption and the manner of its consumption (often with alcohol by elite and secular Turks) is criticised as non-Islamic by the poor who use a symbolic expression of life style in a religious idiom rather than attacking class differences directly. Yet at another level, the author finds that at the moral level there is no essential difference between 'upper' and 'lower' class. Eating fish and fishing also has an ethnic association, namely with the Greek and consequently with Europe, and also serves to distinguish the life styles of different sections of society.

Modernizing fisheries became an enterprise for the state in its overall objective of 'modernizing' post colonial Turkey, a process recognisable in many other post colonial states such as India where the state has been engaging in aggressive 'modernisation' projects that categorise and stigmatise all those reluctant to follow it as 'backward'. Yet, as the author with his long term involvement with Turkish fisheries shows, there was little actual contribution of 'marine science' to fishing, and whatever gains were made were those because of economic, political and lifestyle changes. The state propagated the 'bio-economic' model because that was the only way in which it could control this sector, the purview of 'traditional' knowledge being well beyond its control, since it is transmitted by experience and not by any state-sponsored institutions, such as those imparting formal technological knowledge.

However, the author is not ready to concede that science is an abstract form of knowledge and indigenous knowledge alone is 'embodied'. He believes that all knowledge (if it is to be applied) is 'embodied' for it must be put in practice to be effective. Secondly, if identification and taxonomic classification is a primary activity of science, it is also of traditional fishers as it is of most people in most kind of activities. However, for the fishers such classifications are embedded in situated activities and the range of knowledge varies from general to more localised (such as related to local sea topography and fauna).

Where the local fishers differ most from formal organisations is in their sense of ethnical 'know how' as compared to what the author calls ethical 'know that'. The moral rules followed by them are not 'inscribed' but simply a continued sense being fair that is implicitly understood yet neither explicitly verbalised nor recognised as formal, yet followed by all practitioners and infringements are recognised as wrong. It is because of this implicit morality that most fishers are 'locals' and outsiders find it difficult to get acceptance.

The essential difference between fisher's knowledge and science is that while the latter is ethically neutral, a fisher's knowledge is embedded in a local system of ethical morality. This does not mean that such knowledge is static, since it can be both dynamic and innovative. Based on his own ethnography, Knudsen also contests the fact that Indigeneous Knowledge (IK) or Indigeneous Ecological Knowledge (IEK) is always ethnically or geographically distinct. He does not find the fishers to be a distinct group in his field area, and they are the same social group from which scientists and bureaucrats are drawn. In this way, all organisations are incorporated within the social web and there are no social networks apart from political or economic networks.

The scientists differ from the fishers in their cultural capita, but not in their ethnicity or other social characters. Thus, science not only produces knowledge, it produces different social categories based on differences in culture. The fishers are not taken seriously not because they are not knowledgeable, but because they are seen as culturally inferior. Thus, knowledge becomes invariably 'embodied' attached to the carrier of knowledge. Consequently, there is no essential difference between knowledge of one kind and the other, but only between the 'people' who are representatives of this knowledge; these differences are socially located because they are meaningful only where they belong.

In other words, the social and cultural values of Turkey need not necessarily be replicated elsewhere, but the essential principles on which such an analysis is based may be. One may reemphasise the main contention of this book that there can be no context-independent study of knowledge.

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Vah Jevšnik, Mojca. 2009. *Building Peace for a Living: Expatriate Development Workers in Kosovo*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC Publishing. 112 pp. Pb.: 9.40 Eur. ISBN: 9789612541569.

Mojca Vah Jevšnik has first-hand experience from ethnographic research work in Kosovo. Her book compels the reader to reflect on the various implications of working to help countries torn apart by war or devastated in other ways. As the title indicates, her main theme concerns aspects of the complex situation in which expatriate development workers find themselves in Kosovo. She outlines the historic background to the situation: Kosovo's involvement in wartime Yugoslavia, disputes during and after the war between the minority Serbian and the majority Albanian populations, and the outcome: the establishment of a United Nations (UN) protectorate. Kosovo needed help; against this background, the author throws theoretical light on questions of interest concerning the conduct of – and possible developments in – humanitarian work devoted to peacekeeping and nation-state building. She starts with definitions of the concepts used, and also shows connections between these processes, being positive or negative for the society in question.

Intervention in a community, such as that of the UN in Kosovo, is fraught with dilemmas. The population of Kosovo needed help, which inevitably placed them in a subordinate position. Vah Jevšnik's declared leitmotif is the impact of the motives of the 'expatriate peace-building workers' ('expatriates' for short). She analyses the possible impact of their elite status and of their various motives, which need not be altruistic or idealistic. For example, expatriate workers might be seeking personal satisfaction through prestige, economic advantage or adventure. To improve their self-respect they may hope to acquire reputations for being good and idealistic helpers: to 'doing well while doing good' (p. 101) as she concisely phrases it in a heading. They live their private and social lives apart from Kosovo's inhabitants: their housing is better, they can afford more expensive food, and after work they join other expatriates and also journalists from different countries.

Vah Jevšnik discusses concepts used for the groups of 'transnational space expatriate development workers', also adding the concept of 'deterritorialised' (p. 87). So she analyses the dynamics of the expatriates' private life in transnational social space in Kosovo (p. 90ff.). These observations are a starting point for the author's discussion about whether doing 'good' for oneself can be combined with doing 'good' for others. In my opinion, it would have been interesting if she had also analysed the impact of journalists, but this is not included in her perspective. Most likely it would need another big project.

There are more questions to consider. Expatriate development workers come from different organisations and countries whose motives may vary from open to covert, and whose perspectives may be more or less long-sighted. In this connection, the author considers the possibility of disparities between the intentions of organisations that send expatriate workers and those of the expatriates themselves. One problem she mentions is that disparate agendas regarding the immediate situation and long-term development may occur at all levels in organisations and countries offering assistance.

The author points out that external support might lead to permanent dependence or even colonisation of a war-torn community. Both positive and negative outcomes,

i.e. increased prosperity or long-term dependency, might be in the interests of another organisation or country. Vah Jevšnik's observation acquires topical relevance in the light of current suspicions about US motives in sending thousands of troops to create order in Haiti and thereby support its aid program. She discusses the problematic consequences of intervention, and concludes that in the Kosovo/UN situation 'a protectorate has neither domestic sovereignty nor international independence' (p. 54).

An article in the Norwegian newspaper, *Morgenbladet*, (22.01.10) illustrates yet another way in which her discussion is relevant to the dilemmas Kosovo will face for a long time to come. The UN hesitated in the face of Serbia's refusal to agree to Kosovo's claim for independence, fearing that the creation of such a new, small nation-state might prompt other minority groups, whether ethnic or not, to also seek independence.

Mojca Vah Jevšnik presents and discusses the many interesting and challenging dilemmas of developmental work in an unbiased way. She thinks that the UN was right to intervene in Kosovo at that time, considering that the possible alternative was imminent mutual havoc. Notwithstanding her penetrating discussion of the dilemmas associated with aid-work at all levels, she concludes that humanitarian intervention and peace-building activities benefit states in distress. Despite the fact that powerful states may seek to 'feather their own nests' by pursuing their imperial interests, she concludes that the expatriates' humanitarian assistance nevertheless benefits the local population. Her research indicates that, even though these expatriates' motivation and social commitment may vary, the people they meet recognise the value of their practical contributions, provided that these are adapted to recipients' needs.

The author's otherwise persuasive text is somewhat marred – and the reader's attention strained – by the absence of an alphabetical glossary containing all the many acronyms she uses for projects of various sizes and for different kinds of organisation.

Mojca Vah Jevšnik intersperses case presentations with theoretical discussion, bringing her subject matter to life while maintaining her own role as exponent. In this way, she seems to invite her readers to join her in a silent dialogue or to reflect on the dilemmas she talks about on the basis of their own experience. Her reflections are more nuanced and thorough than can be conveyed in a short review. The questions she raises are both thought provoking, and remain topical in the context of Kosovo itself. Yet her book is also relevant when it comes to evaluating the challenges posed by many kinds of aid work, whether humanitarian, peace-building, developmental or nation-state building, regardless of how those efforts may be distinguished by the particular situation in the recipient country. This book is well worth studying.

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Shove, Elizabeth, Frank Trentmann and Richard Wilk (eds.). 2009. *Time, Consumption and Everyday Life. Practice, Materiality and Culture* (*Cultures of Consumption Series*). Oxford: Berg. 236 pp. Pb.: £15.99. ISBN: 978 184788 3643.

Studies of time usage by writers drawing on a diverse range of consumer situations enliven the debate on how time is viewed culturally. These papers are trans-disciplinary between anthropology, history and sociology, but explicitly omit biological time as a direct mode of analysis. The reader is led to consider time as a social construct, particularly in the English-speaking and European worlds, thus bringing closer together the mundane and abstract questions of time (p. 10).

The rhythms of everyday life are common themes, whether addressing commuting, or seed catalogues, Turkish tea-drinking, or ritual consumption at the Japanese New Year. Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis* (2004) is juxtaposed with assessments of disjunctures of temporal rhythms, such as war (Ehn and Lofgren, Chapter 6), blackouts (Trentmann, Chapter 4), or illness. In the introduction, Shove et al. assert that drawing on 'comparative ethnography and historical analysis […] contributors reveal the co-existence of multiple periodicities' (p.3). They further assert that 'the studies in this book build a raft of common ground through their continuing focus on empirical studies of daily life…that emphasise the creative production, reproduction and consumption of multiple temporalities' (p. 3). Slater's contribution on the Ethics of Routine (Chapter 14) summarises moral ways in which time use has been perceived and actioned.

Time has become a very conscious consumable of everyday western life. The contrast between the rhythms of working life and those of leisure, or after-work times, draws on Marxist analyses of social relations of production. As Slater argues in his discussion of hobbies, such as Tai Chi, the tag 'hobby' emerged within critical thought as 'a judgement on the inconsequentially routinised nature of everyday life', as 'escape attempts from strictures of unemployment and domesticity' (p. 222). He provides no justifications from social research for such assertions, so it would be interesting to know how hobbies are regarded within modern un/employment situations. Some hobbies are increasingly becoming the starting point to generate small businesses, such as wood turning, or coaching sports teams. Is the vast involvement of volunteer workers considered productive?

The temporalities discussed here include material consumables, such as changing fashions (Gronow, Chapter 8), or buying 'distressed' jeans, or antiques (Miller, Chapter 10), or wooden-boat building (Jalas, Chapter 13), purchasing seeds (Moskowitz, Chapter 7), or eating breakfast (Wilk, Chapter 9). Wilk suggests a sequence whereby everyday life practices are cultivated, naturalised and become submerged or repressed into the background by habituation. The changing nature of routines is highlighted in Southerton's assessment of 'harriedness' (p. 61) in daily practices, as recorded in English diaries from 1937 and the year 2000 interviews. For her informants in 2000, there were fewer fixed institutional events, and temporal boundaries were less defined than the 1937 diaries recorded.

The reordering of temporal rhythms is an important area for further research, which emerges from these contributions. Firstly, the emergence of time into general consciousness may be a feature of the Western world, rather than of the other 80 per cent of the

world's populations. It becomes a constraint on life ways for those seeking employment, especially in urbanised lifestyles. Rural lifestyles have their own rhythms that have yet to be covered, both in terms of consumables and the materialisation of time. Clocks may be important to those working an eight-hour day, but for agricultural workers the amount of daylight prevails. The introduction of 'smokos', tea breaks and other introduced rhythms over and above the clock-in machine is a cultural innovation that becomes accepted, and submerged as Wilk's sequence suggests.

While these studies deal exclusively with everyday life in the northern hemisphere, they could well be contrasted with life in the southern hemisphere where key rhythms have to be adjusted. British immigrants to New Zealand and Australia bring with them temporal rhythms that necessitate major adjustments in consumption and household activities. Christmas and New Year are celebrated with picnics and barbeques, while also falling in the summer holidays, and the major start to the new school year (in late January). Each adjustment requires major consumer expenses, which become stark realities with large bills appearing in January and February. Major sales promoted by all the stores at this time do not help the budget. For those who try to retain some of the old (northern hemisphere) Christmas, or holiday rhythms from 'back home' find themselves out of line with local social expectations. 'Fitting in' poses strong constraints on interpretations of temporalities.

The metaphors used or implied by these contributors, refer to time as a river, as having sequences that have become accepted into Western cultural life. But they may not be so appropriate in other cultures, such as Asian, where time and space are viewed from a different perspective. We need studies of the ways in which time has been fetishised, i.e. whether and how time is 'pressurised' or alternative explanations for controls of time, and imposed rhythms in newly emerging nations of Asia, Africa and South America. How others see time, and the appropriateness of the concept of rhythm, and metaphors employed, can expand our cultural understandings of 'temporalities'. Such studies would increase the range of theoretical approaches that social scientists use, moving beyond Marxist, phenomenological or structural analyses that Slater (Chapter 14) provides as summary of the moral dimensions that social scientists currently employ.

These papers offer incentives to extend 'new lines of enquiry strung between the study of time and practice' (p. 19) beyond European constructs to reveal alternative ways of thinking and consuming time. Rhythms of work, for example, derive from social constructs other than 'time pressures'. And exploring the temporalities of non-work activities, whether cooking, or star-gazing, would expand our understanding of time as a consumable.

The book is well presented, a strongly bound paperback, with acceptable price. I found very few errors (p. 79 except for accept, p. 142 rivalry, p. 158 'be' is missing, p. 208, p. 212 possess, p. 215 missing 'is'). The content has strong value as teaching material as well as building further research.

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