

Chapter 1

The Necessity of Touring Beyond the Nation: An Introduction

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Although tourism history is still in its infancy, the bird's-eye narrative of the story is relatively well established, even as it is also somewhat problematic. Most scholars agree that modern tourism started to take shape as a product of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour, a coming of age ritual for English gentlemen. These young men ventured to continental Europe for between a few months to a few years and were expected to learn languages, form relationships, and improve their aesthetic sensibilities.¹ At roughly the same moment, notions of landscape attractiveness and desirability changed profoundly when Edmund Burke, a transplanted Irishman who later made a name in British politics, published *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* in 1757. When combined with scientific advances that prompted many Enlightenment-minded tourists to seek new discoveries in the natural classroom of the outdoors,² and the burgeoning Romantic movement which encouraged an emotional, solitary, and semi-spiritual relationship with aesthetically pleasing landscapes,³ Burke's essay soon convinced tourists to visit places that were once deemed frightening and ugly but which now allowed visitors to experience the sublime.⁴ Within the next 150 years, the seaside

¹ Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992) and James Buzard, "The Grand Tour and After (1660–1840)," in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 37–52.

² Robert Macfarlane, *Mountains of the Mind: How Desolate and Forbidding Heights were Transformed into Experiences of Indomitable Spirit* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), pp. 22–65. See also: Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994).

³ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), pp. 42–3.

⁴ Gerhard Stilz, "Heroic Travellers—Romantic Landscapes: The Colonial Sublime in Indian, Australian and American Art and Literature," in Barbara Korte, Hartmut Berghoff, Ralf Schneider, and Christopher Harvie (eds), *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600–2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 85–107.

emerged as a leading attraction for tourists: starting with elites and gradually filtering down to the working classes.⁵

Technological advances added to a growing desire to escape from the work-a-day world into leisure pursuits. Initially, engineers and investors imagined that railways would carry coal, lumber, iron, and steel. Passengers were, if anything, an afterthought. Even so, less than a year after the famous Rainhill Trials prompted the emergence of a more efficient steam engine, the Liverpool and Manchester Railway launched a passenger service. That first year 460,000 travelers experienced mobility at a blistering 17 miles per hour. Leisure rail travel soon expanded still more.⁶ Teetotaler Thomas Cook led his first excursion on July 5, 1841 and within only a few years he transported leisure travelers all across England, then Scotland, and soon the world.⁷ Trains made travel more affordable and efficient.

Henceforth, resorts developed,⁸ cruise lines stepped up trans-Atlantic tourism opportunities,⁹ the number of guidebooks mushroomed,¹⁰ and companies in the

⁵ For example, see: John K. Walton, *English Seaside Resorts: A Social History, 1750–1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1983).

⁶ P.J.G. Ransom, *The Victorian Railway and How it Evolved* (London: Heinemann, 1990), pp. 56–7. See also: Jack Simmons, *The Victorian Railway* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991) and Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986).

⁷ Piers Brendon, *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Travel* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1991).

⁸ John K. Walton's *Blackpool* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998) offers an invaluable history of the most popular of working-class English resorts. Ellen Furlough's "Making Mass Vacations: Tourism and Consumer Culture in France, 1930s to 1970s," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40 (1998): pp. 247–86 includes interesting material about the rise of commercial tourism in France, including a discussion of the creation and early development of Club Med. John Beckerson and John K. Walton's "Selling Air: Marketing the Intangible at British Resorts," in John K. Walton (ed.), *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity, and Conflict* (Clevedon, Buffalo, and Toronto: Channel View Publications, 2005), pp. 55–70 examines how fresh air was marketed as a primary selling point at British seaside resorts between the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries.

⁹ Tarry Coleman, *The Liners: A History of the North Atlantic Crossing* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1976). See also: Lorraine Coons and Alexander Varias, *Tourist Third Cabin: Steamship Travel in the Interwar Years* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

¹⁰ For a useful discussion of tourist guidebooks, see: Rudy J. Koshar, "What Ought to Be Seen': Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe," *Journal of Contemporary History* 33/3 (1998): pp. 323–40. See also: Jan Palmowski, "Travels with Baedeker: The Guidebooks and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian England," in Rudy Koshar (ed.), *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002), pp. 105–30.

United States and across Europe catered more and more to largely middle-class clients anxious to pursue “what ought to be seen.” Later, during the second half of the twentieth century, the advent of jet aircraft inserted the final piece of the puzzle.¹¹ Costs dropped, time investment decreased, and all at once even many members of the working class could realistically dream of traveling the world. The age of mass tourism dawned.¹²

There are a number of striking things about this account. First, it tends to be fairly Anglocentric. The narrative posits that the Grand Tour, railways, seaside resorts, and mountaineering were all English inventions that spread easily to the rest of the world; the vectors of distribution were straightforward and uncomplicated. It follows that much (though certainly not all) of the scholarship on tourism history focuses disproportionately on Great Britain.¹³ Second, and perhaps as an outgrowth of the extraordinary preponderance of class analysis in English historiography, social class dominates as a focus of scholarly enquiry.¹⁴ While many studies adopt a top-down narrative for tourism development, other accounts, such as Susan Barton’s excellent *Working-Class Organisations and Popular Tourism, 1840–1970*, suggest a more bottom-up course of events in which workers increasingly defined leisure patterns in Britain.¹⁵ Either way, class stands as a driving force behind the evolution of tourism. Third, and perhaps most striking, the narrative of tourism history is largely contained within national borders. Without singling out specific studies, histories of

¹¹ Kenneth Hudson, *Air Travel: A Social History* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1972).

¹² Orvar Löfgren offers a very readable account that discusses many of these developments in *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

¹³ John K. Walton, “Prospects in Tourism History: Evolution, State of Play, and Future Developments,” *Tourism Management* 30 (2009): pp. 783–93. See especially p. 787.

¹⁴ See Eric G.E. Zuelow, “The Making of the English Traveling Class: A Review of Susan Barton’s *Working-Class Organisations and Popular Tourism, 1840–1970*,” *H-Travel*, March 2007. Available online at: <http://www.h-net.org/~travel> [accessed November 16, 2009].

¹⁵ Susan Barton, *Working-Class Organisations and Popular Tourism, 1840–1970* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005) stands as the principal example of a bottom-up narrative. Top-down narratives are more numerous. Rudy J. Koshar’s excellent study of German travel guidebooks, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), for example, is concerned with guidebook authors/publishers rather than with any broader dialogue about German tourism. Shelley Baranowski’s superb study of Nazi leisure policy, *Strength through Joy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), addresses policymakers and their objectives. Irene Furlong’s study of tourism in Ireland, *Irish Tourism: 1880–1980* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2009) is overwhelmingly focused on agencies, governments, and prominent tourism developers rather than community-led development efforts.

American, French, German, Spanish, English, and Irish tourism function within geographically bounded areas. Even when developments are understood within a larger context, the relationships between actors are surprisingly limited. For example, Irish tourism is almost always imagined in terms of the Anglo-Irish relationship; little space is allowed for larger transnational connections—with Germany or France, for example—by Irish developers.¹⁶

It is not that scholars completely ignore transnational relationships. Shelley Baranowski's superb book on *Kraft durch Freude* [*Strength through Joy*], the Nazi leisure organization, places National Socialist leisure policy into the context of the international push toward Fordist production techniques and clearly acknowledges connections between Nazi and Italian fascist leisure regimes.¹⁷ Sasha D. Pack's excellent account of tourism development in Spain under Francisco Franco certainly positions developments on the Iberian Peninsula within a larger European context.¹⁸ Likewise, Harvey Levenstein's entertaining two-book treatment of American tourists in France from the eighteenth century to the present clearly addresses a relatively simple bi-dimensional transnational relationship.¹⁹ The issue is that the self-conscious focus on specific national cases or on discrete two-way tourist flows almost always fails to ask whether there are still more complicated dynamics at work. Are there broader transnational discourses, developments, or trends that drove the history of tourism, both in terms of tourist practices and in terms of the evolution of national tourist movements?

There is considerable evidence that suggests the growth of tourism occurred amid a complicated matrix of transnational forces. Consider what happened in the immediate aftermath of World War II. Europe was in dire shape. Many British and German cities were little more than piles of debris that were so vast that even Germany's hardworking *Trümmerfrauen* [rubble women] and their British equivalent could only make a start with the cleanup. More daunting, some 70 percent of Europe's industrial infrastructure was destroyed. Vital transportation networks were broken into so many occasional patches of roadway or bits of track. Supplies were scarce and rationing nearly ubiquitous. Worse still, many

¹⁶ William H.A. Williams, *Tourism, Landscape, and the Irish Character: British Travel Writers in Pre-Famine Ireland* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008) and Melissa Fegan, "The Traveller's Experience in Famine Ireland," *Irish Studies Review* 9/3 (2001): pp. 361–72.

¹⁷ Baranowski, *Strength through Joy*.

¹⁸ Sasha D. Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship: Europe's Peaceful Invasion of Franco's Spain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

¹⁹ Harvey Levenstein, *Seductive Journey: American Tourists in France from Jefferson to the Jazz Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) and *We'll Always Have Paris: American Tourists in France since 1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

in the West saw the specter of totalitarian rule waiting in the wings yet again. For Winston Churchill, Russia's failure to "co-operate"²⁰ was akin to an "iron curtain" descending across the continent. Faced with a new autocratic threat, he demanded close collaboration because "the safety of the world ... requires a unity in Europe."²¹ These were urgent times requiring dramatic measures. Another Adolf Hitler must not be allowed to rise; Joseph Stalin must be blocked from spreading his red menace to the West. If only the dire economic conditions of the inter-war years could be avoided, principally by assuring that American dollars flowed into Europe while also increasing the corresponding export of European products to America,²² peace and stability might yet reign.

The European Recovery Program (ERP), or Marshall Plan, with its millions of dollars in aid, was one solution to the crisis. Agricultural and industrial redevelopment was obviously a major part of the story—perhaps the most famous part—but for those anxious to rebuild Europe, tourism was a core component of any revitalization program. The industry was particularly intriguing because it offered twin benefits: "dollar-earning capacity of the tourist services proper" (including the purchase of European products while traveling) and the prospect of "stimulating the export of commodities to America" after the "American tourist traveling in Europe gets to know European goods, for which, on his return to America, he may help to create a demand."²³ With so much to add to reconstruction, both Marshall Plan officials and the member countries of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) saw tourism as a cornerstone of a sound economic future. Both groups had working committees devoted to tourism policy. The OEEC Tourism Committee and the Marshall Plan's "Travel Development Section" cooperated with a third group, the European Travel Commission (ETC), to conduct an international marketing campaign, to make it easier to cross borders, to assure adequate facilities for tourists, and even to devise ways to smooth the path for working-class people into the tourist ranks.

Officials launched their collaborative efforts in early February 1949, anxious to tackle tourist problems from "every angle." From the OEEC perspective the

²⁰ Mary Saran, "Europe and the Marshall Plan," *The Antioch Review* 8/1 (Spring, 1948): pp. 26–32.

²¹ Winston Churchill, "Iron Curtain Speech," March 5, 1946. Available online from *The Modern History Sourcebook*. Available online at: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/churchill-iron.html> [accessed February 8, 2009].

²² National Archives of Ireland [hereafter NAI], Tourism, Transport, and Communications, 3/1/3 vol. 1, Letter from the Swedish Tourist Association, November 28, 1952.

²³ *Ibid.*

goal was primarily “coordination and inspiration,” but as time passed, officials expected the group’s remit to grow. Above all else, the Organisation recognized the need for extensive cooperation and “close contact with the other technical committees and the specialized bodies outside the OEEC” including the International Hotel Federation, the ETC, and other such groups. It would be necessary to be flexible and to adopt the best ideas wherever they came from.²⁴

In keeping with this collaborative spirit, one of the first ideas floated by Marshall Planners was the composition of an international group of tourism officials who would travel to the United States to “examine on the spot the arrangements and services which an American tourist expects when he travels in his own country.” Following this trip, American officials would be invited to Europe in order to “assist in whatever reorganization it is decided to effect.”²⁵ By the first months of 1950, teams of experts from Belgium, Ireland, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, France, Greece, Italy, Germany, Austria, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden traveled to the United States to study hotel development and other tourism infrastructure questions.²⁶

During the spring of 1949, a sub-committee of the ETC successfully launched a joint advertising campaign in the United States. The program included the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Austria, and Luxembourg, each contributing funds ranging from \$30,000 each for Britain, Italy, and France to just \$1,000 from Luxembourg. Ordinarily the massive market represented by the United States was available only to countries with significant economic muscle; now even smaller countries got the word out. This joint advertising campaign continued into at least the mid-1960s before financial concerns expressed by countries such as France, who paid a disproportionate amount of the cost while seeing little obvious benefit, decided to withdraw from the program.²⁷

The impressive post-war development effort proved remarkably successful; tourism in Europe grew steadily. Perhaps more intriguing, however, the Europeans provided more impoverished geographic regions with a strategy for selling a tourist product to middle America. Specifically, various combinations of

²⁴ NAI, Department of Foreign Affairs [hereafter DFA], 305/57/128 pt. 1, “Tourism Working Party, Minutes of the 1st Meeting held on Thursday 27th and Friday 28th January 1949,” February 7, 1949.

²⁵ NAI, Department of the Taoiseach [hereafter DT], S5472B, “Tourist Traffic with USA: Development,” 1949.

²⁶ NAI, DFA, 305/57/128 pt. 1, E.C.A., “Dispatch of Teams of Experts to Study Tourist Equipment in the United States,” December 16, 1949.

²⁷ NAI, DFA, 2005/4/665, “Position of France in Relation to European Travel Commission,” March 31, 1965.

countries adopted the ETC as a model and created their own travel organizations in order to carry out the type of advertising campaign in the United States that was conducted by the Europeans. Thus, by 1959 there was a Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA) that included 22 countries such as Japan, Indonesia, and Australia. The South American Travel Association (SATA) included Panama, Chile, Peru, Colombia, and Bolivia. A Central American organization called the Caribbean Tourist Association conducted publicity campaigns in the United States. As an OEEC report noted, “joint publicity is becoming increasingly the custom” and it “can be handled best by a group of countries forming a geographical unity, rather than by any one country on its own.”²⁸

Towards a Transnational History of Tourism

The above story is obviously transnational, pan-European, and trans-Atlantic. More importantly, it is not an isolated example of wide-ranging connections that resulted from or even prompted tourism promotion efforts. Tourism development in Europe was seldom, if ever, contained within national borders. Tourism was bigger than a series of discrete national stories; it was hardly ever entirely the domain of specific state actors but was often the result of a larger current of developments. Obviously each individual country or tourist movement has its own unique story, but the argument put forward in this volume is that truly understanding the history of tourism requires moving beyond national boundaries. Simply stated, it is essential to recognize that the history of tourism unfolded across a broad, transnational canvas.

The present book offers ten case studies that collectively make the argument for the development of a transnational history of European tourism. The authors address cases ranging from the development of tourist practices and types of tourism to more traditionally “national” stories placed within a much larger framework. Their studies span geographic territory from the Soviet Union in the east to Ireland in the northwest to the Mediterranean in the south while also addressing a good deal of what falls in between.

Part I: Transnational Spaces: From Mountains to World's Fairs

The collection opens with four chapters that explore how transnational relationships play a vital role in the creation and perpetuation of tourist spaces

²⁸ NAI, DFA, 305/57/128/1 pt. 4, “Joint Publicity in the United States for the Development of American Tourism in Europe,” October 16, 1959.

such as beaches, mountains, and world's fairs. Tourists and historians alike often correlate these places with specific national, or at least regional, settings or characteristics. Beach tourism is associated with tropical or Mediterranean settings, mountain resorts take on a Swiss appearance, and world's fairs showcase the host country, even as they provide a vast display of world cultures. Yet, as John K. Walton, Stephen L. Harp, Laurent Tissot, and Angela Schwarz demonstrate, these places both developed through transnational dialogues and grew to provide a setting for further transnational exchange.

In Chapter 2, John K. Walton surveys some of the issues and impacts that resulted from interaction and development at the seaside. Although essentially an eighteenth-century English invention, seaside resorts soon emerged as a truly global phenomenon. From the Mediterranean to the United States, from Africa to Latin America, the seaside attracted "international seekers after health, pleasure, fashion, and display." Beaches prompted international middle- and working-class tourist flows, drawing social classes and national cultures together in a way that was not common during day-to-day existence. High-level diplomatic activity took place at the beach. Backpacker tourism drew young people to the world's coasts in greater and greater numbers from the 1960s. By surveying all of these interactions, Walton suggests that truly understanding the seaside resort and its global impact requires recognizing it as a transnational space that virtually demands a truly wide-angle perspective.

In Chapter 3, Stephen L. Harp picks up on the idea of the beach as transnational space by examining the evolution of nude tourism at the French Mediterranean resort at Cap d'Agde. According to Harp, the development of this prominent nudist destination is unthinkable without placing the site into a larger European context. During the 1950s, a small number of reportedly German nudists asked for permission to use a beach owned by a local vintner. Over the next several decades, extraordinary demand led to the creation of more and more amenities that, although not entirely popular with municipal authorities, were too lucrative to abandon. By the 1990s, Cap d'Agde was the "most heavily visited tourist center in all of France." International tourists made the resort, transformed the site, and constantly challenged local authorities to keep up with ever changing tourist demands. As Harp notes, "the 'naked city' has been a victim of its own rapid and wild success, adequately controlled neither by the municipality nor by the developers" but instead shaped principally by much larger international forces and demands.

Beyond beaches, mountains are perhaps the only geographic feature that inspires a comparable level of devotion. The various intellectual developments that prompted a reassessment of mountains during the eighteenth century, and which included thinkers from both Britain and continental Europe, are well

known.²⁹ The fact that mountain resorts and hotels nearly all have a distinctive Swiss character is far more mysterious. In Chapter 4, Laurent Tissot explains that the process behind the “Swissification” of mountain tourism is a complicated one. “Scientific, technological, economic, political, social, physical, medical, geologic, symbolic, educational, and cultural dimensions joined and blended in the development of this new tourist model.” Some developments were unique to the Swiss context, but others, such as the sport of mountaineering itself, emerged from a much larger transnational framework. Ultimately, Tissot illustrates that the Swiss-style resorts found in the United States, Canada, and even Latvia would not have developed at all without the larger transnational environment of European tourism development.

Like mountains and beaches, world’s fairs serve as a distinctive transnational space that both shaped and was shaped by discourse that extended well beyond national borders. In Chapter 5, Angela Schwarz examines this phenomenon, tracing the transnational nature of world’s fairs from the first such event in 1851 to the interwar period. Like beach and mountain resorts, fairs brought together “people, goods, technologies, ideas, and values.” The events allowed people to travel the world without venturing further than a single city, and they inspired enterprising businessmen to create exhibitions and infrastructure that ushered in “the age of tourism as an industry.” Between 1851 and 1937, more than 200 million people attended world’s fairs, venturing into a collective experience in which pavilions showcased unique cultures using common approaches. The result was the establishment of many universal tourism tropes that included both practices and modes of display.

Part II: Selling the National in a Transnational Context

Part II changes direction to focus explicitly on the marketing of more distinctly regional or national tourism products. When people travel, they often seek to encounter something different (though perhaps not too different) from what they know at home. An American traveling to France, for example, certainly expects to find a different experience from what she would see in the United States. An Englishman traveling to Budapest undoubtedly hopes that the “Queen of the Danube” is markedly different from London. It follows that one of the great challenges facing tourism developers is to carefully brand their product as distinctive. The Hungarians must sell what is uniquely Hungarian and the French must present something definitely French. It is unfathomable to imagine an Irish marketing scheme that reads: “Come to Ireland, very much like

²⁹ Macfarlane, *Mountains of the Mind*.

England but in the Eurozone and with darker beer!” One might imagine that development of a distinctive brand is almost entirely inward looking, prompting promoters to ask: “What makes us different?” The truth is therefore somewhat surprising. As Alexander Vari, Patrick Young, and Eric G.E. Zuelow illustrate in the three chapters comprising Part II, it turns out that the creation of national tourist products often (maybe always?) involves a much broader dialogue that necessitates moving beyond the nation.

According to Alexander Vari, city-marketing in Budapest between 1885 and 1939 involved frequent debate about whether to sell the city as the embodiment of the Magyar past, as nationalists wanted, or as the “Paris of the East” as profit-minded tourism developers wished. Those in favor of “Paris of the East” hoped to establish a city that was truly cosmopolitan, so they introduced Spanish-style bullfights and casino gambling. The result was heated conflict. In Chapter 6, Vari details the evolution of city marketing, taking us from the late-nineteenth-century “Paris of the East” campaigns, with their self-consciously international flare, to the twentieth-century “Queen of the Danube” idea that merged less offensive foreign gimmicks (fireworks, boat parades, and lit crosses) with more traditional Magyar imagery. Put another way, foreign ideas merged with national ones through fierce debate, creating a unique tourist product in Budapest.

The challenge of balancing national aspirations toward distinctiveness with external pressures, demands, and influences ran far beyond Hungary. In Chapter 7, Patrick Young explores how French tourism developers, starting in the 1890s, strove to create a unique French tourist product while repeatedly encountering the need to engage with others. On the one hand, tourism advocates held an “Estates General of Tourism” in 1913 that symbolized French difference, while on the other hand they found themselves faced with the need to adapt to larger trends. Over time, the French adopted more international approaches to advertising, followed the lead of others toward state-sponsored tourism development and away from private initiatives, and began to base their hotels on Swiss, Austrian, and German models. As developers sought to offer growing legions of visitors something that was uniquely French, “they also brokered a more complicated interface with a touring public that was not only significantly larger but also in some ways still largely unknown.” It was necessary to balance national and international pressures. Tourism necessitated crossing borders and demanded a truly transnational view of the industry and its various tropes.

The Irish story is similar. According to Eric G.E. Zuelow, Irish tourism promoters endeavored to sell a vision of Ireland that was at once unique and familiar. The Emerald Isle offered a place where visitors would find recognizable amenities, even as they experienced a culture and landscape that was distinctive. Without denying that an extraordinary amount of internal dialogue helped to

create tourist Ireland, the end product was every bit as much a result of larger forces. In Chapter 8, Zuelow argues that the transnational discourse that ultimately shaped Ireland's global persona were present from the very first. From the initial sense that tourism was a desirable national interest to the marketing and presentation of specific tourist products and amenities, Irish tourism evolved within a broad pan-European and trans-Atlantic context. The way in which all of the ingredients were combined ultimately made Ireland different, but the notion that they should be pieced together at all came from much further a field.

Part III: The Politics of Transnational Tourism

In Part III, Christian Noack, Kristin Semmens, and Michelle Standley make clear that tourism did more than shape practices or market specific places, the industry held potential for regimes anxious to distinguish themselves politically and economically from the rest of the world. Whether examining Soviet Russia where many dreamed of creating a class-free world that benefited all equally, studying Nazi Germany where the National Socialists looked forward to demonstrating their superiority, or investigating the German Democratic Republic where tourism offered a means of educating citizens and visitors alike about the positive strengths of the East German state, one finds that tourism promised an opportunity to remake society itself.

In the wake of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, some among the intelligentsia dreamed of further distinguishing the Soviet state from the West by creating a new type of tourism. For some intellectuals, *Kurort*, an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century leisure regime born of the aristocracy that defined pre-Soviet Russian tourism, had to be abandoned in favor of something altogether new and class free. In Chapter 9, Christian Noack details the rise and fall of such endeavors. Soviet leaders, it turns out, were steeped in "cultural outlooks" informed "by ideas prevalent among the late imperial intelligentsia that were solidly rooted in noble lifestyles and habits developed during the nineteenth century." Therefore, it was up to other intellectuals to endeavor to originate something special. As it happens, the task of building a new type of tourism proved to be nearly impossible. No matter how hard idealists tried, Western tourist ideas simply would not die.

However revolutionary Hitler and his cronies imagined the Nazi Party to be, they too were trapped within the larger context of tourism. In Chapter 10, Kristin Semmens demonstrates that Nazi tourism developers responded to the outside world not by trying to escape from larger tourist discourse, but rather by actively engaging with it. By examining three tourism conferences that were held in Germany under Nazi auspices, Semmens illustrates that even during

the Third Reich, conferences “became vehicles for cross-border conversations, which though carried out in different languages, were easily understood because notions about the problems of workers’ leisure time, the challenges of commercial tourism, and the trials of the hotel industry were shared by many participants.” The Nazis certainly sought to use tourism conferences to present their unique organization, *Kraft durch Freude*, to the world, but at the same time, they could not help but borrow from others.

Although there was unquestionably a politics to the presentation of virtually every tourist destination regardless of the type of government, the political motivation of tourism marketers in East Berlin was even more pronounced. In the final chapter, Michelle Standley illustrates that promoters had to show East Germany to be modern and successful, while eschewing capitalist corruption. They had to demonstrate to outsiders how successful their country was, while minimizing the grim reality that East Berliners experienced every day: that just over the Berlin Wall there were bright lights and endless consumer goods, while at home all was monotone, bleak, and often under-stocked. It was not enough to create mountains of plastic household items as a means of proving East German success,³⁰ tourism had to be employed to sell the country itself. The T.V. Tower Information Center was one way to accomplish this objective and the various actors involved thus worked tirelessly to use this facility not only to show visitors what ought to be seen, but how to see it.

Tourism: Beyond the Nation

Tourism scholars should not be surprised by the existence of transnational and pan-European tourism development links such as the ones described in this volume. After all, tourism is inherently a transnational phenomenon. Scholars who examine tourist behavior and experience often note the omnipresent interaction between hosts and guests—interaction that has economic, cultural, political, and social implications.³¹ Tourism necessarily places people from disparate backgrounds into contact with one another. When tourists travel, they seek the exotic. The further they venture, the more unique the cultures they gaze upon, the greater the prestige accrued; cross-cultural contact is virtually inherent in tourist practice.³²

³⁰ Eli Rubin, *Synthetic Socialism: Plastics and Dictatorship in the German Democratic Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

³¹ Valene L. Smith, *Hosts and Guests: An Anthropology of Tourism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), pp. 6–17.

³² Michel Peillon, “Tourism: The Quest for Otherness,” *Crane Bag* 8 (1984): pp. 165–8.

Until recently, scholars focused disproportionately on the impact of these guests on host cultures. Each tourist season, a “golden horde” invades less dynamic societies, turning them into a “pleasure periphery” and demanding that tourist regions provide a product suited to tourist demands.³³ According to some scholars, faced with the need to make money, as well as a very human desire to please, host cultures do their best to behave for the benefit of the tourist. They play a role, acting out stereotypical regional or national parts, eventually forgetting that they are acting. They become what hosts *think* the tourist wants, little more authentic than the “little hyper-real celluloid animal deities” that inhabit Disneyland. The tourist gaze thus creates cultures rather than offering visitors the chance to see something “real.”³⁴

There is a certain amount of truth to the influence exerted by guests. Consider an Irish example. As tourists venture to distant places, they bring with them preconceptions about what they will find that ultimately shape not only the tourist experience, but the place visited. As William H.A. Williams points out in his wonderful book on tourism, landscape, and identity in pre-Famine Ireland, travelers apply ideas drawn from their own lived experience to the places they go to see. These guests make value judgments about the sites that they view and sometimes they even make a conscious effort to recast these sites in their own image. Williams, for example, describes how English tourists grew convinced that the Irish must be morally deficient because they had not created a landscape in Western Ireland that resembled England. How could beautiful land not be productive? When the west of Ireland was suddenly depopulated in the wake of the mid-nineteenth-century Potato Famine (1845–51), English entrepreneurs attempted to resettle the area with English farmers—farmers who quickly discovered that morality was hardly the problem in a boggy, rock-strewn landscape not suited to economically viable agriculture. Despite this failure, according to Williams, the English tourists did manage to present the

³³ Louis Turner and John Ash, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976); Jost Krippendorff, *The Holiday Makers: Understanding the Impact of Leisure and Travel* (Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 1987); C. Michael Hall and Alan A. Lew, *Understanding and Managing Tourism Impacts: An Integrated Approach* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009); and, Catherine A. Palmer, “Tourism and Colonialism: The Experience of the Bahamas,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 21/4 (1994): pp. 792–811.

³⁴ Dean MacCannell, *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992): pp. 74–5 and 158–71. The tension between the respective interests of hosts and guests is well covered in Hazel Tucker, “The Ideal Village: Interactions through Tourism in Central Anatolia,” in Simone Abram, Jacqueline Waldren, and Donald V.L. Macleod (eds), *Tourists and Tourism: Identifying with People and Places* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997), pp. 107–28.

west as “real Ireland,” facilitating late-nineteenth-century Irish nationalist land agitation in western counties.³⁵ Put another way, the image of “Ireland” used by travel writers and later by Irish nationalists did not develop in Ireland among a collection of Irish-Irelanders, Fenians, and others; *it emerged from a transnational dialogue.*

While it is undoubtedly true that the tourist industry and the demands placed by guests can and sometimes do play a devastating role in destroying native culture—one need only look at the “socioeconomic apartheid” found in what some call “Cancún’s Soweto”³⁶—a growing number of scholars now point out that the relationship between hosts and guests is not nearly as one-sided as the traditional view suggests. Anthropologists such as Simon Abram and Moya Kneafsey, studying France and Ireland respectively, clearly show that host cultures do not lack agency nor are they so daft as to forget who they are, anymore than an actor like Meryl Streep or Robert De Niro forgets her or his identity following a film shoot. There is no “one-way process” whereby guests permanently alter their hosts; there is always a complex dialogue.³⁷

Tourism developers endeavor to provide visitors with what they believe guests will want to see or do, but they also try to create a positive image of themselves. Consider, for example, what happened when *Holiday* magazine, an American publication, released a story about Ireland that was less than flattering. The story spoke about domestic pigs, tyrannical priests, horrendous slums, the oppression of pregnant girls and courting couples, and a host of other evils. To read the article was to discover an Ireland that was somewhat less than appealing. The response was immediate and dramatic. The Old IRA, Church authorities, Irish-American groups, county councils, and the Department of External Affairs in Ireland all protested. The Irish government even demanded an explanation from the magazine. Although the story was not retracted, only one year later *Holiday* released a second feature on Ireland that painted a much more idyllic picture. The Irish government vetted the new story prior to publication. As noted in

³⁵ Williams, *Tourism, Landscape, and the Irish Character.*

³⁶ In Mexico, much of the problem stems from top-down government policy that, over time, handed much of the development and perpetuation of tourism over to transnational corporations. The result was an ever-widening gap between those who administer tourism services and those who toil on the bottom rungs of the industry, often with few benefits and almost nonexistent salaries. See: Tamar Diana Wilson, “Economic and Social Impacts of Tourism in Mexico,” *Latin American Perspectives* 35/3 (May 2008): pp. 37–52, especially pp. 46–50.

³⁷ Simone Abram, “Performing for Tourists in Rural France,” in Jacqueline Waldren, Simon Abram, and Donald V.L. Macleod (eds), *Tourists and Tourism: Identifying with People and Places* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997), pp. 29–50; and Moya Kneafsey, “Tourism and Place Identity: A Case-Study in Rural Ireland,” *Irish Geography* 31/2 (1998): pp. 111–23.

Chapter 8, throughout the history of tourism development, Irish planners worked tirelessly to decide who they thought they were and what they thought Ireland should be. They certainly considered the tourist viewpoint in these deliberations, but domestic concerns and ideas of self were always part of the equation.

Neither a story of purely hosts or guests, the development of tourist images and products turns out to be a story of dialogue.³⁸ Any such interaction between people causes what Stuart Schwartz describes as “readjustments and rethinking as each side [is] forced to reformulate its ideas of self and other in the face of unexpected actions and unimagined possibilities.”³⁹ This process is not a one-way thing; all sides play an active role in it. All sides make conscious decisions. All sides are fully involved actors.

If both hosts and guests are active in shaping tourism, it is hardly surprising to discover that the creation of tourist products, the manufacture of tourist practices, or even the effort to mold society, government, and economic systems through tourism is also shaped by widespread interaction—much of which is carried out by tourist agencies or governments anxious to create the best possible product. Stated simply, it is important to look across national borders and to place national movements into transnational contexts. To understand the history of tourism, we must not just acknowledge the big picture or the host/guest relationship we must make a larger transnational analysis a core component of our analytical frameworks. The histories of tourism in England, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Spain, Ireland, Hungary, and beyond, to say nothing of the histories of touristic activities such as nude tourism, seaside tourism, mountain tourism, or world’s fair tourism are parts of something bigger.

The ten scholars whose work makes up this volume adopt often very different approaches to their respective subjects. While some of the authors focus overwhelmingly on specific cases and primary documents, others adopt a much broader, more social science-oriented perspective. Furthermore, some explore totalitarian regimes while others study democracies. And yet, despite differences, the overwhelming message contained here is the need to adopt a transnational focus. It is not enough for scholars of tourism to study German, Italian, or Latvian tourism, totalitarian or bourgeois tourism regimes, urban adventures or remote and wild rambles, they must place those histories into a

³⁸ Eric G.E. Zuelow, *Making Ireland Irish: Tourism and National Identity since the Irish Civil War* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2009).

³⁹ Stuart B. Schwartz, “Introduction,” in Stuart B. Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 3.

