MARKETING AUTHENTICITY IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Ira Silver
Cultural Survival, USA

Abstract: The process by which travel agents market Third World tourism is examined. It is argued that travel literature seeks to portray indigenous peoples as authentic, in order to cater to certain images within Western consciousness about how the Other is imagined to be. Authenticity is constructed in multifaceted ways according to the type of tourist consuming the image. Although images of the Other marketed in travel literature have been constructed and reconstructed over centuries of contact between the West and Third World, the impact of touristic discourse upon the Western imagination has an independent political significance.

Keywords: tourism marketing, the Other, authenticity, orientalism, invention of tradition, mass tourists, post-modern alienation, alternative forms of tourism, chic travelers.

Résumé: Le marketing de l'authenticité aux pays du Tiers-Monde. L'article examine le procédé par lequel les agents de voyages commercialisent le tourisme au Tiers-Monde. On soutient que la littérature touristique cherche à présenter des indigènes de façon authentique dans le but de satisfaire certains clichés que la conscience collective des pays de l'Ouest se fait de l'Autre. On construit cette authenticité de façon assez variable, selon le genre de touriste qui sera le consommateur de l'image. Bien que l'image des "autres" commercialisée dans la littérature de voyage ait été construite et reconstruite au fil des siècles de contact entre l'Ouest et les pays du Tiers-Monde, l'impact du discours touristique sur l'imagination collective de l'Ouest a une signification politique indépendante.

Mots-clés: marketing du tourisme, l'Autre, authenticité, orientalisme, invention de la tradition, touristes de masse, aliénation post-moderne, tourisme alternatif, voyageurs branchés.

INTRODUCTION

Tour operators play a pivotal role in shaping motivations for travel because tourists usually lack access to information that can provide them with insight about the places they seek to visit. Thus, most people turn to advertisements and brochures in order to help them plan vacations (Adams 1984:472). Like most marketing strategies, the images that the tourism industry promotes are geared toward selling the prod-
uct that is being advertised. Tour operators are chiefly concerned with marketing images of authentic culture, and they tend to be motivated more by profit than by any genuine sensitivity toward representing indigenous peoples in a fair and accurate manner (de Kadt 1979:56).

The tourism industry did not create the many images of the authentic non-Western Other that are so prevalent in travel literature. Indeed, *orientalism* (the ideological discourse that makes distinctions between “West” and “Other”) has been a part of Western consciousness at least since the first contacts were made between European and Arab peoples (Said 1979:1–2). Examining the development of orientalism provides an historical context in which touristic images of the Other can be properly understood. Such images appear in many media besides tourist advertisements and brochures. These include films, documentaries, and magazines like *National Geographic* and *Smithsonian*. Indeed, images of the Other are so prevalent that they are virtually ubiquitous, and can be found blatantly within the surface of most forms of Western discourse (Bruner 1991:248). Because most tourists rely upon travel literature for information about the Third World, their understandings about indigenous peoples seems to derive most immediately and explicitly from images marketed in travel magazines, advertisements, and brochures.

Moreover, since the tourist industry only markets those images that it anticipates will be verified during travel, for tourists authenticity is not necessarily determined by gaining a genuine appreciation for another culture, but rather by verifying a marketed representation of it (Adams 1984:472). Thus, even though this concept of authenticity has recently undergone criticism (Bruner 1991; Cohen 1988; Volkman 1990), it nonetheless seems to provide a useful paradigm for examining how marketed images characterize different types of tourism.

Yet, it is not the intent of this paper to analyze the interplay of picture and caption within hundreds of advertisements and brochures in order to categorize the different types of images depicted in travel literature. Britton (1979), Dilley (1986), and Buck (1977) have each done extensive research along these lines. Rather, this paper seeks to evaluate marketed imagery in terms of their orientalist context, and to draw observations about how authenticity is constructed for different tourist clienteles. Thus, while only a handful of advertisements, brochures, and travel articles are examined, this number is sufficient to substantiate the propositions made.

Within the context of orientalism, marketed images of indigenous people tend to portray predominantly what Westerners have historically imagined the Other to be like. Although some representations of the Other may be ethnographically accurate, they also exaggerate many of the distinctions that anthropologists have made between industrialized societies and tribal cultures. In an important sense, then, tourist marketing reveals more about what tour operators think of a Western need to experience authentic and primitive natives than about the natives themselves (Bruner 1989:440).

In dialectical opposition to the developmental capabilities of the Western self, advertisements and brochures often portray natives as having static traditions and as having been largely unchanged by the
forces of Western colonialism, nationalism, economic development, and even tourism itself (Bruner 1991:239). Indeed, because tourists wish to see the primitive, marketed images usually omit references to a host country’s level of industrialization. Tourist marketing seeks not only to present a pastoral myth, but in so doing it also obscures the inherent realities of many tourism destinations. In its effort to foster an appeal for the Third World, the tourism industry markets travel as a form of escape in which host countries must necessarily be viewed by tourists as devoid of problems. Therefore, advertisements rarely emphasize, or even mention, that most native peoples live amidst wretched poverty (Britton 1979:321).

Probably the most salient example of this image of pastoral primitiveness comes from brochures about Tahiti, which often refer to Gauguin’s caricatures of “exotic” women (Dilley 1986:62). Most brochures display pretty young women in sexy “primitive” dress. These barely clothed, and often bare-breasted, women appeal to Western tourists as much for their exoticism as for their sexuality, even though both representations are clearly present in the advertisements (Petit-Skinner 1977:86).

Fieldwork among the Tana Toraja, of Sulawesi (Indonesia), illustrates one specific manner in which images of the primitive have fabricated indigenous tradition. Travel literature tends to use ethnic markers, such as religion, dance, and architecture, in order to market the primitiveness of Torajan culture. Images of “animistic funeral celebrations” and “dramatic buffalo sacrifices” (to name only two) portray these natives as static and timeless. Advertisements often depict the exoticism of the Toraja by claiming that even their name (“Tana Toraja” means “Land of the Heavenly Kings”) signifies the primitiveness of their myths of origin (Adams 1984:474–476).

Indeed, travel literature about the Tana Toraja (and other indigenous peoples) has invented tradition in much the same way that European powers did in extending their hegemony over parts of Africa during the 19th century. Britain sought to legitimize her imposition of colonial rule by getting native Africans to believe that certain social structures, necessary under colonialism, were part of traditional African ways of life prior to first contact with the West. Europeans tended to grossly distort the ethno-histories of the societies they ruled, in order to portray to their subjects that colonial structures and ideas were part of African tradition (Ranger 1983:247–248).

Social theorists have argued that no indigenous society had a singular identity or set of traditions prior to contact with the West, and that tradition is not static but rather always changing. Indeed, many colonial regimes in the Pacific constructed a past they viewed as authentic, when in fact indigenous societies prior to first contact had histories that were both multifaceted and ambiguously complex. Thus, the concepts of “tradition” and “authenticity” have continuously been constructed and reconstructed over time (Kessing 1989:25). While Europeans invented indigenous tradition in order to ideologically justify colonial rule, tour operators do so to compete in a market whose customers want to experience a taste of cultures they perceive as timeless and unchanging.
Thus, tourists are not alone in overlooking the many changes that have occurred within indigenous societies. Others, including even anthropologists, have viewed native peoples as static and unchanging. Asad (1973) and Fabian (1983) have each documented how anthropology emerged during the 19th century in conjunction with, and as an implicit legitimation of, colonialism. Perhaps, then, inventing tradition and orientalizing the Other are characteristic of Western industrial societies. In his definitive analysis of touristic motivations, MacCannell (1976) construed the tourist's quest for authenticity within such a post-modernist perspective (see also Clifford and Marcus 1986; Clifford 1988; and Cohen 1988).

Yet, touristic representations of indigenous peoples do not merely reinforce cultural stereotypes. They also often portray the notion that natives exist primarily for the consumption of Western tourists. Indeed, this is precisely what gives advertisements and brochures their enormous power and influence upon potential tourists. Consider a recent article in a travel magazine that implies (and thus seems to assume) that tourists have a right to photograph native peoples. The author does not consider why natives might prefer not to be photographed, nor the overall implications that photography might have within the larger touristic process. Instead, he offers strategies for, in essence, subduing Others in order to photograph them (Houser 1990: 48). Indeed, very little travel literature informs tourists that many natives do not want to be photographed, or that they at least expect to be paid for it. Thus, tourists are often left unaware that natives might view the context in which photography takes place differently than Westerners do. This can cause tourists to disrespect local restrictions about appropriate camera use, and to assume that all natives are "open game" for photographing (Chalfen 1979:440-441).

Therefore, successful marketing seems to be based on a few simple ideas being effectively manipulated in order to sell something that people want. Various examples indicate that travel literature does not portray indigenous people as they might represent themselves, but rather according to Western markers of authenticity. However, these markers differ according to the type of tourist who is consuming a particular marketed image. The implications of selling culture in these ways cannot adequately be assessed without specifically focusing on how tourism is marketed to particular types of tourists. It is clear, though, that developing such a typology has political importance given that marketed images tend to encapsulate, if not also distort, how tourists come to view the societies they visit (Britton 1979:320). Marketing tends to insulate tourists from the historical processes that have made tourism possible, as well as many of the social realities present within tourism destinations (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett nd:64).

MASS TOURISM

Mass tourists desire to see the authentic primitive, but they also believe that what they are experiencing will be greatly changed during the coming years (Errington and Gewertz 1989:43). While mass tourists acknowledge the inevitability of social change within the Third
World, they overlook the degree to which it has already occurred. Their belief that Third World countries should develop is consistent with the typically middle class context from which these tourists have come, and in which they have succeeded economically (Gewertz and Errington 1991:68-69). Thus, advertisements for expensive package tours tend to depict tourism as a modernizing force in the Third World, but one that does not threaten the primitiveness of indigenous peoples. This image caters to these tourists' ambition to see a changing, but as yet unchanged, primitive (Britton 1979:322).

The term "primitive" is used rather loosely by this author even though social theorists have made various comments about the different ways in which Westerners evaluate this concept. In reference to tourism, the term is used here to emphasize that tourists often make fundamental distinctions between their lives in the modern world, and what they tend to view as the timeless and unchanging—thus primitive—lives of many native peoples.

In travel literature, what is necessary in fusing images of the modern and the primitive is to show the potential mass tourist that resort destinations are neither too remote (with too few amenities), nor too touristy (lacking all authenticity). Therefore, travel literature seeks to draw a fine line between these extremes. It claims, for example, that "Barbuda is not really out of the way, just overlooked" (Rattner 1990:82); that Tana Toraja is "remote, yet easily accessible" (Adams 1984:473). However, even these representations may not sufficiently cater to the tourist who seeks both an authentic experience and the luxury of Western amenities. Therefore, advertisements not only portray places as accessible, they also minimize the foreignness of host countries by claiming, for instance, that English is spoken, or that top hotel personnel are European (Britton 1979:322).

This fusion of modern and primitive indicates that images directed at mass tourists represent the Other as an unchanged primitive living within a society that has undergone Westernization. Generally, the only forms of development that advertisements and brochures acknowledge are those that enable mass tourists to enjoy all of the amenities that they have at home. Consider, for example, that many brochures for luxury hotels in the Caribbean juxtapose images of natives in the background (often as menial laborers) with captions suggesting that the finest attributes of tourism derive from the hotel's Western amenities. Such images seem to convey to the mass tourist that natives only matter insofar that they fulfill a Western desire to experience authenticity.

Another implication of mass tourism marketing that needs to be considered is that tours are often sold as standardized packages. Brochures for these tours tend to ignore the particular cultural identities of the indigenous peoples among whom the tourists will descend, and instead they focus on the similar climates or Western amenities that most mass tourism destinations have. Because advertisements for package tours tend to market the four s's—sun, sea, sand, and sex—it seems to matter little to mass tourists whether they are in Hawaii or the Bahamas. The tourism industry places many geographically and ethnically distinct places in what has been termed the "pleasure periph-
ery," which includes sunspot resorts that are as dissimilar as the Caribbean and Pacific islands (Matthews 1978:81–83). In many advertisements, references to indigenous peoples are entirely omitted, and instead, images of the purely Western attributes (golf, fine cuisine) are depicted (Dilley 1986:60). Examining travel magazines, such as Caribbean Travel and Life, illustrates how culturally distinct islands are marketed as undifferentiated products. The overall scenario one seems to derive from the advertisements in this magazine is that all of the islands of the Caribbean are very similar. Although an advertisement may highlight the unique qualities of a particular island, the mass tourism products for all of the islands are virtually indistinguishable. They are all, it seems, identically unique.

The Case in Point

An analysis of particular advertisements and brochures substantiates many of the earlier general comments about the marketing of mass tourism. It seems implicit to suggest that brochures and advertisements are effective when they market a product concomitant with tourist motivations. Even though it is difficult to measure the precise relationship between tourism marketing and motivations for travel, advertisements and brochures do lend some insight into the nature of this dialectic. For example, one brochure begins by stating that "our well-executed tours show you the Africa and Middle-East of your dreams" (Olson-Travelworld brochure 1990:2). It suggests that these places are enticing to Westerners for particular reasons, and that tours to Africa and the Middle East will confirm one's expectations of those places.

Consider Figure 1, an advertisement for the island of Bonaire. It conveys a clear image of how the tourism industry attempts to market a cure for what social theorists have called post-modern alienation. MacCannell (1976) argued that tourism can be viewed as a post-modern phenomenon; it is an attempt by post-modern subjects to neutralize the alienation produced in contemporary societies, by holding on to disappearing elements of pre-modernity. Because individuals in Western industrialized societies tend to differentiate work from leisure, tourism enables them to escape the alienation of their working lives by descending upon the authentic world of indigenous peoples (MacCannell 1976:8–9).

Many social theorists have argued that the routinization and bureaucratization of living in an industrialized society have literally caused people to lose a sense of what is real or authentic in their lives. As tourists, people want to encounter cultures that appear radically different from their own, in order that they may gain some sense of purpose in a world that often seems to be lacking one (van den Berghe and Keyes 1984:345). Thus, the notion that an authentic reality exists may indeed derive from and be rooted in the experience of living in the modern, industrialized world. Moreover, many Westerners seem to believe, at least implicitly, that they can only find authenticity beyond the scope of the inauthenticity of their own lives; that is, among other means, through tourism. Western tourists also tend to believe that they must find this authenticity in the non-Western Other because
modern life has undermined the connections between them, by fragmenting social relations, often solely in economic terms (Cohen 1988: 373). Figure 1 conveys this search for authenticity, through the contrary images of crowded masses on the beach and the carefree woman floating alone in the clear, blue Caribbean Sea. Bonaire is portrayed as an alternative to the alienation of modern life, “the last unspoiled island in the Dutch Caribbean and surely the most unique.”

These notions of the authentic and unspoiled conjure up images that are central to all types of tourism marketing. Other advertisements, such as Figure 2, depict authenticity by marketing the discovery of “previously untouched worlds.” This image that tourists can, in a sense, experience first contact with an authentic Other is portrayed in various ways. One brochure characterizes Irian Jaya, a territory belonging to Indonesia, as a “stone-age society,” and it describes Tana Toraja as a place where tribes “still adhere to their animistic beliefs and are best known for their elaborate funeral festivals.” Figure 3, an advertisement for swimwear, presents an archetype of the “exotic”
Figure 2. Ad for Trinidad and Tobago
Source: Caribbean Travel and Life (1990).

pan-Caribbean native. Similarly, Figure 4 is a brochure about tropical paradises, which contains a photograph of a woman who is described in the caption as “a traditional hula dancer.”

While tourists (like other consumers) are not passive recipients of these marketed images, their views toward host populations tend to be shaped by advertisements and brochures. Indeed, even though tourists are usually fully aware that natives perform many of their traditions explicitly for them, their experiences tend to mirror their own imaginary projections about the Other (Bruner 1991:243–244). Moreover, because many tourists are motivated by a desire to escape their own alienation, they may behave insensitively toward natives in order to satiate their touristic expectations. While probably very few tourists deliberately intend to devalue or disrespect native traditions, tourism marketing allows, indeed often encourages, them to view host populations insensitively. Many seem to believe that it is the natives’ job to adapt to them, rather than their responsibility to adjust to the particular conditions of the host society (Nash 1989:41). Moreover, tourists may overlook the fact that many natives live amidst wretched poverty, both because tourism marketing tends to de-emphasize such “inauthentic” images, and also because tourists may feel that the amount of money they are spending to travel entitles them to leave their problems at home (Nettekoven 1979:137).

Tourism marketing, thus, ought to be viewed as just one facet of a larger touristic process which, as briefly outlined earlier in reference to orientalism, is itself only a small part of a complex asymmetrical relationship between the West and the Other. The implications of selling indigenous culture must be assessed within this historical asym-
metry. Indeed, it seems that tourists and indigenous peoples are incommensurately different within the touristic process, and indigenous peoples can only continue to be attractive to tourists so long as they remain undeveloped, and, hence, in some sense primitive. To the extent that natives attempt to become what they see as more equal (more developed), they will inevitably begin to lose their appeal, and more importantly their value, to Western tourists (Gewertz and Errington 1991:87).

While natives are hardly passive in accepting marketed images about them, their ability to subvert touristic discourse is often constrained. Natives usually have no choice but to present themselves according to romanticized imagery, because Western travel agents control the terms of the touristic encounter (Bruner 1991:241; Hitchcock and Brandenburgh 1990:22). However, resistance to tourism can take many forms. A few Native American tribes have devised jokes about tourists to counteract feelings of objectification and subordination (Evans-Pritchard 1989:93–94). The Balinese have also been able to enhance some of their traditions and profit from performing them for tourists (McKean 1989:123–124; Noronha 1979:201–202).

Yet, while natives do stand to gain economically from certain touristic encounters, they can only do so by performing a set of traditions derived largely from the Western imagination. Even those natives who take pride in such traditions and ostensibly see themselves in opposi-
tion to the West, such as the Balinese and Masai of East Africa, must construct a sense of self and identity that mirrors Western discourse (Bruner 1991:247).

Thus, viewed within the context of this asymmetry, advertisements and brochures do not merely represent the Other; they also present a particular view of indigenous tradition that in many cases seems to cause mass tourists to devalue native peoples. For example, when mass tourists look at images like Figures 5 and 6, photographs of native Papua New Guineans, their impressions of these people are shaped not just by such images, but also by notions that they already hold about the Other. This is not to imply that every marketed image fits within a defined category, but rather that because such categorizations already exist and are reinforced by touristic discourse, it is often difficult for tourists to ignore them. Thus, both of these images, and especially the caption Trans Niugini Tours provides to describe Figure 6—“Unspoiled environments, primitive cultures,” indeed might suggest to tourists that these natives are savages whose traditions are important only insofar that they are performed for Western tourists; perhaps because many of their traditions are performed only for Western tourists.

It is also important to consider what is omitted from the images depicted in travel literature. Because mass tourists depend upon advertisements and brochures to gain a knowledge of the Third World destinations they aspire to visit, they never learn many of the ethnographic “facts” that might challenge the stereotypes they hold about the Other. In this light, then, it matters profoundly that a description of a tour
to the South Pacific neglects to inform its readers of the historical reasons—pertaining to colonialism and years of profound social changes—why the Fiji Islands were "a feared cannibal country a hundred years ago, but are now called the 'friendly islands'" (Travcoa brochure 1991:8).

**Alternative Travelers**

Alternative travelers tend to define themselves in contrast to mass tourists. They associate mass tourism with many of the problems that Western influence has had within the Third World, and they particularly resent how mass tourism can spoil indigenous cultures by commoditizing social relationships (Gewertz and Errington 1991:69). Thus, different techniques are used to market alternative forms of tourism. Generally, there is no such thing as an advertisement or a brochure for alternative travel, because this type of tourism is premised largely on anti-commercialism. Alternative travelers believe that places
cannot be truly authentic if they are being advertised in, for example, *The New Yorker* or *Smithsonian*. Because alternative travelers seek an authenticity that takes them off the beaten track, they are most likely to turn to travel guides to find out where the most remote places are. Such *survival kits* are written generally for younger travelers, who seek an inexpensive encounter with the primitive.

Like mass tourism, alternative tourism is marketed as a contrast to the industrialized West. One travel guide states that the Melanesian outlook on life “may be a great antidote to the stresses and strains of modern living” (Lighthbody and Wheeler 1985:33). Yet, beyond this common motivation the similarities end, because alternative travel is generally marketed as the antithesis of mass tourism. Alternative travelers, it seems, tend to define their motives negatively, rather than positively. In a comprehensive analysis of flyers for jungle trekking tours in northern Thailand, Cohen (1989) argued that trekking companies seek primarily to distinguish their products from those of standardized mass tourism. Flyers highlight that the experiences offered on treks are unique; tour guides are not merely professional, but have an intimate knowledge of tribal peoples, or are themselves natives (Cohen 1989:52–53).

These distinctions illustrate the ways in which alternative travel claims to market a more authentic Other than does mass tourism.
Because alternative travelers view mass tourism as intrinsically linked to the modernization of Third World countries, survival kits often inform them that some rituals that appear authentic are actually staged for tourists. A chapter on the Sepik area of Papua New Guinea warns people not to buy carvings that may resemble traditional art forms, but instead have been modified for tourists (Lightbody and Wheeler 1985:44-45). Alternative tourism marketing conveys an image that there are peoples in the world who remain largely unchanged by Western influences. Thus, it seems, for example, that tourism has recently increased in Tana Toraja because it has been portrayed in many advertisements as an "unspoiled alternative" to Bali, which now has a large mass tourism industry (Volkman 1982:30). The language employed in trekking advertisements exemplifies this marketing of the truly authentic. Among the many different words and phrases used are: "exotic," "unsophisticated," "primitive," "harmony with nature," and "remote" (Cohen 1989:40-45).

The accuracy of these images must be questioned, considering that no people remains unaffected by Western influences. The words and images used in trekking flyers serve merely to confirm alternative travelers' expectations about what they imagine the hill-tribe people to be like, rather than give them any informed ethnographic understanding about how these natives actually live. Tour guides are portrayed as having an authentic knowledge of the hill tribes, and as unconditionally friendly. Flyers also convey a sense that travelers are guests rather than tourists, even though guides expect—and need—to be paid for their services in what is by now a cash economy (Cohen 1989:54-55). Like the images used in mass tourism marketing, these depictions mask the realities of commercialism that have affected even the "remote" hill-tribe region.

Consider specifically the political implications of survival kits, such as *Papua New Guinea: A Travel Survival Kit*. "Survival kits" seem to have created the self-fulfilling prophecy that one cannot endure off the beaten track without them. They implicitly convey that alternative travel is exciting, yet safe. This image is central to the authenticity they are marketing. Survival kits also package indigenous peoples so that they apparently can be understood by Westerners. "Big men," for example, are described as similar to Western capitalists (Lightbody and Wheeler 1985:196). However, such a comparison is all too simplistic and seems, rather than to inform tourists about the "big men," to distort the complexities within any informed understanding of who these people really are.

**Chic Travelers**

Because typologies are usually inexact, it is often difficult to assess whether marketing is directed toward mass tourists or alternative travelers. Some marketing seems designed to appeal to members of a third category that incorporates many of the characteristics of the other two. The marketing of "chic travel" seems to have begun very recently, and particularly because there are certain places that cannot entirely fulfill the desires of either mass tourists or alternative travelers, and thus
have had difficulty promoting their tourism businesses. The marketing of chic travel, however, has not been limited to those places that have had difficulty attracting tourists. Rather, this type of marketing has been used in places (like Hawaii) that have large mass tourism industries, but seek to make themselves attractive to an even greater number of tourists. It has also been used in places (like Papua New Guinea) that want more tourists, but do not (yet) want to develop a mass tourism industry. However, chic travel has not grown simply because many locales do not fit the tastes of mass tourists or alternative travelers. Rather, this type of travel has become viewed as “chic” precisely because tour operators have marketed it as avant-garde, culturally sensitive, and ecologically responsible.

Hawaii has recently begun to market chic travel, mostly on its lesser-developed islands (Molokai and Lanai), but also on the Big Island of Hawaii as well. Advertisements for the new Lodge at Koele, on Lanai, epitomize the appeal of chic travel. The lodge is described as:

. . . a destination for the kind of affluent world traveler who craves a more traditional and authentic Hawaiian experience than the commercial luaus of Waikiki and the crass excesses of “fantasy” resorts elsewhere in Hawaii (Reinhold 1990:19).

The Kona Village Resort, on the Big Island, according to its own brochure, is similarly marketed as a place “where an elegant, old Hawaii still lives.” Additionally, an article in Caribbean Travel and Life describes renting a villa in Barbados as a vacation in which one can escape from the hordes of mass tourists staying in large hotels. Its author suggests that her vacation was more authentic than either that of mass tourists or alternative travelers because she felt like a native of the island (even if only temporarily), rather than an outsider (Rickey 1990:66).

Chic travel is also being sold in more remote places that have little or no mass tourism, but receive a relatively large number of alternative travelers. The Melanesian Discoverer, a boat that cruises the Sepik River in Papua New Guinea, has been marketed as a way for affluent tourists to see the primitive while traveling in comfort and safety. Brochures portray chic travel as a means toward the gradual development of a tourist industry, yet they emphasize that “mass tourism has no role to play” in Papua New Guinea. According to a Melanesian tourist services brochure, the Ambua and Karawari Lodges are characterized, like the Koele Lodge, as providing “a touch of luxury off the beaten track.”

These examples illustrate how travel is sold to an elitist clientele who come to view their experiences as more authentic than those of mass tourists, while also more luxurious, and perhaps cleaner, than alternative travel. Thus, chic travel is marketed as a more authentic alternative to mass tourism in places that have a large mass tourism industry yet want to attract new types of tourists, and as a more luxurious option than alternative travel in places that are too developed to attract alternative travelers, and want a wealthier clientele.
CONCLUSIONS

Chic travel has recently become popular because the tourism industry has successfully constructed and marketed a new niche of authenticity. This type of tourism development is growing, even in places like Papua New Guinea that used to receive only a small number of alternative travelers annually. As it grows, so does the West's power to determine where and how development occurs. In Papua New Guinea, chic travel is marketed as a better and less disruptive alternative to mass tourism development. Yet, such marketing, designed as it is in order to sell a product, also suggests the inevitability of large-scale development in the future, should it prove profitable. Thus, the crucial distinction between chic travel and the other two types of travel is that the former reflects the newest version of how the industry packages indigenous peoples as marketable products. Chic tourist marketing is particularly effective because it depicts new images of authenticity and suggests to sophisticated (and usually highly-educated) people how they may travel in morally responsible and politically correct ways.

Moreover, the emergence of this new category of travel seems to illustrate that even though most tourists share a similar desire to experience authenticity, how they specifically wish to fulfill that desire varies among different types of tourists. However, these categories are not rigidly defined, and most of the distinctions among tourist types outlined in this paper are constructed by travel agents and affirmed in the minds of tourists, rather than through their experiences. Indeed, such constructions are central to how tour operators sell the authentic Other. Because the touristic encounter is asymmetrical and natives must cater to the wishes of the tourist's imagination, most natives are positionally unable to affect how images of authenticity are constructed and marketed. Natives can usually distinguish "mass tourists" from "alternative travelers," but they generally lack the power to influence the discourse that has created these different categories of tourists (Bruner 1991:247).

Travel literature continues to present multifaceted images of authenticity through new marketable tourism products or practices developed or popularized by tour operators. Consequently, it is operators and their agents who continuously redefine and reconstruct notions of "authentic" culture. It is them who contribute to how ideas of the Other are imagined and conceptualized within Western consciousness.

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