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MITOVI U TURIZMU – KOMPARATIVNO ISTRAŽIVANJE****TOURIST MYTHS – A COMPARATIVE EXAMINATION****

SAŽETAK: Uzimajući ozbiljno turističke mitove, cilj ovoga rada je usporediti status i dinamiku “turističkih mitova” u tri društveno-povijesna konteksta: moderni zapadnjački turizam, postmoderni zapadnjački turizam i suvremeni nezapadnjački, prvenstveno azijski turizam. Rad pokazuje da se odnos između mita i turizma znatno razlikuje u navedena tri konteksta te da, iako turisti, kako navodi Selwyn (1996), tragaju za mitovima, oni to čine na veoma različite načine. Nostalgični moderni turisti prvenstveno nastoje pronaći tragove mitske prošlosti na rubovima suvremenog svijeta vjerujući da ti tragovi još uvijek postoje. Postmoderni turisti, uvjereni u uzaludnost takve potrage u svijetu simulakri, nastoje mitske teme ponovno oživjeti na ozbiljno zabavan način u umjetno stvorenim izmišljenim kontekstima koji sadrže drevne mitove s postmodernim pomakom. Za razliku od navedenoga, nezapadnjački turisti koji žive u svijetu u kojemu je mitsko još uvijek živo prisutno nastoje izravno svjedočiti njegovim povremenim manifestacijama u samom tom svijetu.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: mit, moderni turizam, post-moderni turizam, nezapadnjački domaći turizam

SUMMARY: Taking the concept of myth in tourism seriously, this paper seeks to compare the status and dynamics of “tourist myths” in three socio-historical contexts: modern Western tourism, post-modern Western tourism and contemporary non-Western, predominantly Asian, tourism. It shows that the relationship between myth and tourism varies significantly between the three contexts, and that, though tourists, as Selwyn (1996) argued, might be chasing myths, they do so in very different ways. Nostalgic modern tourists seek primarily to recover the traces of a mythical past on the margins of the contemporary world, where they have been led to believe that those traces are still preserved. Post-modern tourists, convinced of the futility of such a quest in a world of simulacra, seek to re-enact mythical themes in a seriously playful manner in contrived make-believe contexts, which confer the ancient myth with a post-modern twist. In contrast, contemporary non-Western tourists, for whom the mythical is still vitally present in the world they inhabit, seek to witness directly its occasional manifestations in that very world.

KEYWORDS: myth, modern tourism, post-modern tourism, non-Western domestic tourism

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1. ISTRAŽIVANJE MITOVA U TURIZMU

U ovome ću članku usporediti status i dinamiku "turističkih mitova" u tri društveno-povijesna konteksta: modernog zapadnjačkog turizma, postmodernog zapadnjačkog turizma i suvremenog nezapadnjačkog, prvenstveno azijskog turizma. Pokazat ću da se odnos između mitova i turizma u znatnoj mjeri razlikuje u navedena tri konteksta i da iako turisti, kako navodi Selwyn (1996), tragaju za mitovima, to čine na veoma različite načine.

Uz nekoliko iznimaka (npr. Hennig, 2002 i Seaton, 2002), studenti turizma rijetko su turističke mitove ozbiljno shvaćali. Kako u jednom od svojih ranih radova navodi Percy Cohen (1969:337): „U popularnoj imaginaciji pojam „mita“ gotovo se uvijek rabi u pejorativnom smislu...Mitovi su, prema takvom shvaćanju, pogrešna vjerovanja kojih se držimo usprkos tomu što nam svi dokazi ukazuju na suprotno...Pojam je također sinonim za zablude i bapske priče.“ Takvo značenje ovoga pojma javlja se u mnogim raspravama o mitovima u turizmu i odredilo je prevladavajući stav prema mitovima na nedavnoj Međunarodnoj konferenciji „Mitovi u turizmu“ održanoj u Zadru (Čavlek ed, 2013.). Međutim, P. Cohen se suprotstavlja takvom površnom pogledu i tvrdi da „...mitovi zapravo nisu greške...jer njihova je istina, za one koji je prihvaćaju, sačuvana za vječnost“ (P. Cohen, 1969:337). Cohen nadalje definira mit iz antropološke perspektive: „... mit je narativni događaj; sveta komunikacija odvija se u simboličnom obliku; barem neki od događaja ili predmeta koji se pojavljuje u mitu ne javlja se niti ne postoji van svijeta mita; narativ je dramatičan i odnosi se na porijeklo i transformacije“ (P. Cohen, 1969: 337).

Započet ću kratkim razmatranjem „mitova“ porijekla u izučavanju religije, a potom ću predstaviti načine na koje se pojedini mitovi javljaju u raznim turističkim kontekstima.

1. MYTH IN TOURISM STUDIES

In this article I shall compare the status and dynamics of “tourist myths” in three socio-historical contexts: modern Western tourism, post-modern Western tourism and contemporary non-Western, predominantly Asian, tourism. I will show that the relationship between myth and tourism varies significantly between the three contexts, and that, if tourists, as Selwyn (1996) has argued, might be chasing myths, they do so in very different ways.

With a few exceptions (e.g. Hennig, 2002 and Seaton, 2002), tourist myths have been rarely taken seriously by students of tourism. As Percy Cohen (1969:337) pointed out in an early article: “In popular imagination the term ‘myth’ is almost always intended pejoratively...Myths, on this view, are erroneous beliefs clung to against all evidence. The term is then synonymous with fallacy and old women tales.” Such a connotation of the term is implicit in many discussions of myths in tourism, and constituted the principal attitude to myth at the recent international conference on “Myths in Tourism” in Zadar, Croatia (Čavlek ed., 2013). However, P. Cohen argues against such a superficial view, claiming that “... myths are really not errors...for their truth, for those who accept them, is preserved for eternity” (P. Cohen, 1969:337). He goes on to define “myth” from an anthropological perspective: “...a myth is a narrative event; the sacred communication is made in symbolic form; at least some of the events and objects which occur in the myth neither occur or exist in the world other than that of the myth itself; and the narrative refers in dramatic form to origins and transformations” (P. Cohen, 1969:337).

I shall start by a brief consideration of “myths” of origins in the study of religion, and then turn to the manner specific myths are deployed in different touristic contexts.

Prema eminentnom stručnjaku za religiju, Mircea Eliade, u religioznoj kozmografskoj imaginaciji svijet ima Središte (koje je dobro izraženo u hebrejskoj riječi „Zion“, koja može biti prevedena kao *znak*), koje je u vremenskom smislu početna točka stvaranja, a u prostornom najsvetija točka kozmosa (Eliade, 1969b). Središte je izvor božanske karizme koja, tekući od njega u četiri ključna smjera (Wheatley, 1971), kozmosu daje njegov sveti red. To je točka „početka“, točka „porijekla“ svijeta i ljudskih bića, o kojoj je priča ispričana na mnogo raznih načina u bezbrojnim „mitovima o stvaranju“. Neki stručnjaci za religiju smatraju da su u vrijeme stvaranja nastali arhetipovi koji su kasnije beskonačno reproducirani u ljudskim simbolima i ritualima (Eliade, 1971). Međutim, to je vrijeme nepovratno izgubljeno te postaje najvažnijim ciljem nostalgije, neutažive čežnje. Ta nostalgija za porijeklom predstavlja prototip bilo kojeg oblika nostalgije za idealiziranim, nepovratnom prošlošću. Moderni „turistički mitovi“ varijanta su takve nostalgije i stoga im se može djelotvorno pristupiti iz perspektive sociologije religije.

Smatram da moderni „turistički mitovi“, a posebice mitovi o (turističkim) rajevima (Cohen, 1982; Harrison, 2004), predstavljaju permutacije religijskih mitova, poput mita o Raju na zemlji kojega naši suvremenici nastoje na različite načine pronaći ili oživjeti putovanjima u destinacije koje u sebi sadrže tragove „porijekla“ ili idealizirane prošlosti. Upravo je ta moderna zapadnjačka turistička čežnja, koja može naći ispunjenje u nekim nezapadnjačkim okruženjima, „turističke mitove“ učinila temom kritičkog, osobito postkolonijalnog izučavanja. Kako Seaton (2002:161) primjećuje o knjizi koju je uredio Selwyn (1996), turiste se obično predstavlja kao one koje „prvenstveno zanima potraga za mitovima koji postoje u njihovim maštanjama o mjestima u koja odlaze i o domaćinima (koje neizbježno vidimo kao one koje možemo eksploatirati, kao poniženo, stereotipno drugo).“ Iako ne poričem legitimnost i moć postkolonijalne perspektive, njezine

According to the eminent student of religion, Mircea Eliade, in the religious cosmographic imagination, the world has a Center (well expressed in the Hebrew word “Zion,” which can be translated as the “mark”), which is in temporal terms the starting point of creation, and in spatial terms the holiest point in the cosmos (Eliade, 1969b). The Center is the source of divine charisma which, flowing from it in the four cardinal directions (Wheatley, 1971), endows that cosmos with its sacred order. It is the point of the “beginning,” of the “origins” of the world and of human beings, the story of which is told in many different ways in innumerable “creation myths.” However, while according to some students of religion the time of creation is the original source of archetypes which are endlessly reproduced in human symbols and rituals (Eliade, 1971), that time itself is irretrievably lost; and becomes the ultimate goal of nostalgia, of an unattainable longing. That nostalgia for origins, in turn, is the prototype of any nostalgia for an idealized, irretrievable past. Modern “tourist myths” are one variant of such nostalgia and can therefore be effectively approached from the perspective of the sociology of religion.

I propose that modern “tourist myths,” and specifically myths of (tourist) paradises (Cohen, 1982; Harrison, 2004) are permutations of religious myths, such as the myth of the Earthly Paradise, which moderns seek to recapture or relive in various ways by trips to destinations which contain traces of “origins,” or of an idealized past. It is these modern Western touristic longings, which could find apparent fulfillment in some non-Western settings, which made “tourist myths” a topic of critical, especially post-colonial, examination. As Seaton (2002:161) remarked regarding Selwyn’s (1996) edited collection, tourists are often represented as “concerned mainly with the pursuit of the myths residing in the imagining of host places and people (inevitably seen as exploitative, debasing, stereotypical othering).” While I do not deny the legitimacy and power of the post-coloni-

implicitne ideološke premise onemogućuju razumijevanje dubljeg značenja „turističkih mitova“ i njihovog javljanja u kontekstima koji nisu povezani s povijesnim procesom kolonijalizma te stoga ne podliježu postkolonijalnoj analizi. To je osobito slučaj s postmodernim turističkim mitovima i turističkim mitovima u suvremenom, ali nezapadnjačkom kontekstu. Nakon analize važnosti mitova u modernom turizmu, usredotočit ću se na komparativnu analizu turističkih mitova u drugim kontekstima.

2. MODERNI TURISTIČKI MITOVI

Mircea Eliade (1969a:55) skovao je izraz „nostalgija za rajem“ kojeg možemo smatrati prototipom za sve raširenijom (modernom) čežnjom za prošlošću, tako da, kako kaže David Lowenthal (1985:6), „nekad ograničena vremenom i mjestom, nostalgija (na zapadu) danas obuhvaća čitavu prošlost“. U jednoj od najdubljih analiza moderne nostalgije, Linda Hutcheon (2000) razmatra porijeklo i permutacije toga pojma u zapadnoj misli. Naglašava povijesne transpozicije značenja „nostalgije“ s mjesta na vrijeme. Skovan iz grčkih riječi *nostos* (vratiti se kući) i *algos* (bol), pojam se prvotno odnosio na čežnju za nečijim domom (*Heimweh* na njemačkom), ali je postepeno počeo dobivati značenje čežnje za izgubljenim vremenom. „Bol“ u „nostalgiji“ je stoga pojačana jer uvijek se možemo nadati da ćemo ponovno naći izgubljeni dom, ali ne i izgubljeno vrijeme. Hutcheonova smatra da nostalgija izražava nepovratnost prošlosti, njezinu nedokučivost, ali istovremeno ističe da nostalgija ne čezne za historijskom prošlošću, već prošlošću zamišljenom i idealiziranom kroz sjećanje i želju. Stoga je njezina ključna teza da nostalgija ima manje veze s prošlošću nego sa sadašnjošću – s projekcijom ideala, kojeg ne živimo u sadašnjosti, u prošlost.

Prema Hutcheonovoj (2000), ta idealizirana prošlost zamišljena je kao jed-

al perspective, its implicit ideological premises preclude an understanding of the more profound significance of “tourist myths,” and hence also of their emergence in contexts unrelated to the historical process of colonialism, and therefore not accessible to post-colonialist analysis. This is in particular the case with post-modern tourist myths and with tourist myths in a contemporary, but non-Western context. After examining the significance of myths in modern tourism, I shall therefore turn to a comparative examination of tourist myths in those other contexts.

2. MODERN TOURIST MYTHS

Mircea Eliade (1969a:55) coined the term “nostalgia for paradise,” which can be seen as a prototype for an increasingly diffuse (modern) longing for the past, so that, in the words of David Lowenthal (1985:6) “formerly confined in time and place, nostalgia [in the West] today engulfs the whole past”. In one of the most perceptive analyses of modern nostalgia, Linda Hutcheon (2000) looks into the origins and permutations of the term in Western thought. She stresses the historical transposition of the connotation of “nostalgia” from place to time. Combined from the Greek terms *nostos* (to return home) and *algos* (pain), the term had initially referred to longing for one’s home (*Heimweh* in German), but came to connote a longing for a lost time. The “pain” in “nostalgia” was thereby intensified; for one can always hope to find a lost home again, but never a lost time. Hutcheon argues that nostalgia expresses the irrecoverable nature of the past, its inaccessibility. But she points out that it is not the historical past, but the past as imagined and idealized through memory and desire, which nostalgia longs for; hence she makes the crucial point that nostalgia is less about the past than about the present – a projection of an ideal, which is not lived now, into the past.

According to Hutcheon (2000), that idealized past is conceived of as simple, pure,

nostavna, čista, uređena, lagana, lijepa i harmonična nasuprot složenoj, zagađenoj, anarhičnoj, teškoj, ružnoj i konfliktnoj sadašnjosti. Nostalgija tako izražava nezadovoljstvo sadašnjosti i, dodao bih, otuđenje od sadašnjosti.

Ali u modernom turizmu nostalgija je ponovno fokus pomakla s vremenske na prostornu dimenziju: na čežnju za dalekim (*Fernweh* na njemačkom). Ono što je bilo nepristupačno u prošlosti postalo je ponovno pristupačno u sadašnjosti u onim dijelovima svijeta koje se percipira (i promovira) kao tisućljećima nepromijenjenima. Široko rasprostranjeni turistički mitovi smatrali su da je u dalekim, rubnim dijelovima suvremena svijeta još uvijek moguće naći posljednje ostatke nepotvorene prošlosti, idealnoga društva, nepokvarene prirode, autentične, žive kulture „plemenitih divljaka“. Turizam je tako održao obećanje ispunjenja nostalgije čežnje za prošlošću, koja se prije činila nedokučivom, putovanjima u destinacije poput Pacifičkih otoka, „Orijenta“ ili afričkih rezervata gdje se ostaci prošlosti još uvijek mogu iskusiti.

Za razliku od religijskih rituala, koji prošlost čine stvarnom njezinim uprizorenjem u sadašnjosti, turizam je čini dostupnom njezinim transponiranjem iz vremenske u prostornu dimenziju. Vremenska udaljenost pretvara se u prostornu udaljenost. Ali smjer nostalgije čežnje starih Grka je preokrenut: moderni ljudi nisu nostalgici za poznatošću vlastitoga doma, već za stranošću dalekog Drugog.

Međutim, laka pristupačnost tih dalekih, rubnih mjesta ubrzo je uništila kvalitete zahvaljujući kojima su postali atraktivnim „rajevima“. Ma kako rajske, „primitivne“ ili „netaknute“ osobine ta mjesta sačuvala od uništenja imperijalnih osvajanja, zapadnjačke komercijalne eksploatacije ili misionarske gorljivosti, dolaskom masovnog turizma one su uništene. Kako su ih često „otkrivali“ prvi turisti s ruksacima na leđima, na te navodne ostatke prošlosti ubrzo su navalili investitori

ordered, easy, beautiful or harmonious in contrast to the complicated, contaminated, anarchic, difficult, ugly and confrontational present. Nostalgia thus expresses a dissatisfaction, and I would add an alienation, from the present.

But in modern tourism nostalgia was again re-focused from the temporal to the spatial dimension: a longing for the far-away (*Fernweh* in German). What is inaccessible in the past became again accessible in the present, in those parts of the world which are perceived (and promoted) as having remained unchanged for millennia. Widely disseminated tourist myths claimed that the last remnants of an unadulterated past, of an ideal society, of unspoiled nature, of an authentic, living culture or of “noble savages” can still be found in the far-off, marginal parts of the contemporary world. Tourism thus held out the promise of fulfillment of a nostalgic longing for a past, which had seemed inaccessible, by travel to such destinations as the Pacific islands, the “Orient” or the wild animal preserves of Africa, where the traces of the past can still be experienced.

Unlike religious ritual, which makes the past actual by re-enacting it in the present, tourism makes it accessible by transposing it from the temporal into the spatial dimension: the remoteness in time is transformed into the remoteness in space. But the direction of the nostalgic longings of the ancient Greeks has been reverted: it is not the familiarity of one’s home the moderns have been nostalgic for, but the strangeness of the remote Other.

However, the very accessibility of those remote, marginal places has quickly destroyed the qualities which made them attractive “paradises” in the first place. Whatever paradisiac, “primitive” or “unspoiled” traits those places might have preserved from destruction through imperial conquest, Western commercial exploitation, or missionary zeal, were now debased by the coming of mass tourism. Often “discovered” by the early backpackers, these alleged residues

u turizmu koji su brzo i nepopravljivo uništili samu bazu njihovog imidža „netaknutih“ krajeva koji je na početku privlačio turiste (Cohen, 1982). Hawaii, Tahiti i Bali najbolji su primjeri toga procesa, ali ima ih i bezbroj drugih, manje poznatih, poput dolaska turizma na otoke Samui i Phuket u južnom Tajlandu ili pak takozvanih sela „planinskih plemena“ na sjeveru zemlje početke kojih sam izučavao kasnih 1970-ih (Cohen, 1996).

Prema kraju 20. stoljeća, globalizacija i brzo širenje komunikacijskih mreža dovršili su stvaranje „globalnog sela“ (McLuhan, 1964) dovodeći i posljednje izolirane ljudske zajednice i kulture u orbitu moderniteta, dok su ostaci dotad „netaknute“ prirode pali žrtvama neumorne ekonomske eksploatacije. Preostaju nam samo ograđeni nacionalni parkovi s upravama, od kojih su mnogi ugroženi ulascima prekomjernog broja ljudi i pretjeranim turističkim korištenjem, te područje Arktika, pustinja, visokih planinskih lanaca i dubokih oceana (Cohen, 2012) od kojih većina još nije pristupačna za obične turiste, već samo za istraživače, ekstremne skijaše i turiste te avanturiste. Korištenje rubnih dijelova svijeta kao prostorne alternative za prošlost koja neumoljivo nestaje propalo je uslijed dolaska razvitka i turizma.

Ali dok su zadnji „rajevi“ suvremenoga svijeta izgubljeni, slika raja kao mjesta zadovoljenja (bez osjećaja krivice) naših želja transponirana je pomoću oglašivačke industrije na destinacije modernog konzumerizma: pojavio se niz „rajeva“ umjetno stvorenih ljudskom rukom, koji trebaju zadovoljiti specifične želje suvremenog potrošača, poput šopingaških rajeva, rajeva za odmor, golfer-skih rajeva, kockarskih rajeva, pa čak i rajeva seksa. Kao i drugi stari mitski simboli, simbol raja komercijaliziran je (Cohen, 1982) i učinjen dvodimenzionalnim; pretvoren je u simbol zabave i užitka i prestao odražavati bilo kakve dublje, mitološke ili religijske konotacije.

of the past were soon invaded by tourism developers, who in a short while irretrievably destroyed the very basis of their “unspoiled” image, which had attracted the tourists in the first place (Cohen, 1982). Hawaii, Tahiti and Bali are prime examples of this process, but there are innumerable less known ones, such as the touristic penetration of the islands of Samui and Phuket in southern Thailand, or of the so-called “hill tribe” villages in the country’s north, the beginnings of which I have studied in the late 1970s (Cohen, 1996).

Towards the end of the 20th century, globalization and the rapid expansion of communication networks completed the creation of the “global village” (McLuhan, 1964), as they brought the last isolated human communities and cultures into the orbit of modernity, even as the remains of as yet “untouched” nature fell pray to relentless economic exploitation. What remains are bounded and managed national parks, many of which are threatened by outsider intrusion and touristic overuse, and the Arctic regions, deserts, high mountain ranges and the deep oceans (Cohen, 2012), most of which are as yet not accessible to run-of-the-mill tourists, but only to explorers, and some danger-seeking extreme tourists and adventurers. The substitution of the margins of the world as a spatial alternative for the inexorable lost past failed under the double onslaught of development and tourism.

But while the last “paradises” in the contemporary world were lost, the image of paradise as a place of (guiltless) satisfaction of one’s desires was transposed by the advertisement industry upon the destinations of modern consumerism: a variety of contrived, man-made “paradises” emerged, to satisfy specific desires of the contemporary consumer, such as shopping paradises, vacation paradises, golfing paradises, gaming paradises and even sex paradises. Like other archaic mythical symbols, the symbol of paradise was commercialized (Cohen, 1982) and “flattened:” it was turned into a symbol of fun and enjoyment, ceasing to reflect any deeper, mythological or religious connotations.

3. POSTMODERNI TURISTIČKI MITOVI

Uvjerenje da su posljednji tragovi „izvorne“ prirode ili kulture nestali u modernosti, dovelo je do „postmodernog“ obrata u suvremenoj misli. Kako su mislioci poput Jean Baudrillarda (1988) današnji svijet proglasili svijetom simulakri bez originala i – što je još važnije za našu temu – sociolozi poput Dean MacCannella (1992:18-20) proglasili kraj primitivnog svijeta, postalo je uzaludno tražiti „porijeklo“. Shvaćanje da u postmoderno vrijeme više nema niti jednog mjesta na kojemu bi se mogla zadovoljiti nostalgična čežnja za prošlošću pomaknulo je fokus postmodernih turista s ozbiljne potrage za „izvornim“ na često rezignirano i ironično uživanje u onom površinskom raspoloživih predmeta i događanja, bez zamaranja njihovim porijeklom: mogu voljeti (ili ne voljeti) neko umjetničko djelo, a da se pri tome ne brinu je li to original, kopija ili reprodukcija; mogu uživati u etničkom plesnom nastupu, a da se pri tome ne pitaju je li on „autentičan“; mogu se zabavljati posjećujući neki tematski park, a da ih pri tome ne brine njegova artificialnost.

Čini se da postmoderni turisti, pošto su odustali od potrage za porijeklom, isključuju mogućnost postojanja ili stvaranja „turističkih mitova“. Ali daleko od toga da su nestali, „turistički mitovi“ su se u postmodernoj turističkoj kulturi namnožili. Međutim, razlikuju se od svojih modernih prethodnika u nekoliko temeljnih aspekata. Postmoderni mitovi nisu obojeni nostalgičnom čežnjom za izgubljenom prošlošću čak i ako starim mitskim temama daju postmoderni pomak; kod njih je nevažno jesu li stvarni, već ih se izričito prepoznaje kao ludičke (zabavne) fantazije, a pretpostavka za uživanje u njima je da se prestane vjerovati; oni su lišeni bilo kakve povezanosti s (postojećim) religijama.

Prethodnici takvih postmodernih kreiranja mitova bili su odmarališni resorti Club Méditerranéea: sa svim potrebnim sadržajima, hermetički zatvoreni prema svojoj oko-

3. POST-MODERN TOURIST MYTHS

The conviction that the last vestiges of “original” nature or culture had disappeared in modernity, boosted the “post-modern” turn in contemporary thought. As thinkers like Jean Baudrillard (1988) declared the present world as one of simulacra without originals, and – closer to our topic – sociologists like Dean MacCannell (1992:18-20) proclaimed the end of the primitive world, it became futile to look for “origins.” The realization that there was no place left in the post-modern age for the satisfaction of nostalgic longings for the past, re-focused the post-modern tourist’s attention from a serious quest for “originals,” to an often resigned or ironic enjoyment of the surfaces of available objects or events, without concern for their origins: they may like (or dislike) a piece of art, without caring whether it is an original, a copy or a reproduction; they may enjoy an ethnic dance performance, without asking if it is “authentic;” they may have fun visiting a theme park, without being disturbed by its artificiality.

Post-modern tourist attitudes, having given up the quest for origins, appear to exclude the possibility for the existence or creation of “tourist myths.” But far from disappearing, “tourist myths” proliferated in the post-modern tourist culture, though they differed from their modern predecessors in some fundamental respects. Post-modern myths are not marked by nostalgic longings for a lost past: even as they might endow old mythical themes with a post-modern twist; they do not make any reality claims, but are explicitly recognized as ludic (playful) fantasies, the enjoyment of which is predicated on a suspension of belief; they are also devoid of any linkage to (established) religion.

A predecessor of such post-modern myth-making were the Club Méditerranée vacation resorts: self-contained, hermetically closed-off from their surroundings, cashless and simple, they enabled their pleas-

lini, bez plaćanja gotovinom i jednostavni, omogućili su svojim gostima u potrazi za zadovoljstvom da se osjećaju kao da su daleko od civilizacije i da razigrano uživaju u (skupom) „primitivnom“ stilu odmora. Ti tipovi resorta prepuni su tema raja; ali za razliku od moderne potrage za preostalim „rajevima“, ovdje je „raj“ smišljen od strane menadžmenta i ludički uprizoren od strane samih posjetitelja resorta.

Nekoliko sjevernih zemalja i regija proglasile su se domom Djeda Božićnjaka. Te tvrdnje, iako često osporavane, drugi su dobar primjer nastojanja da se stara legenda oživi uz postmoderni pomak. Te diskutabilne tvrdnje ne odnose se na povijesni dom biskupa Nikole iz Myre iz 4. stoljeća (prema kojemu je navodno stvorena ta legenda), već na mjesto na kojemu se nalazi imaginarni dom Djeda Božićnjaka kao legendarnog lika u crvenom odijelu za kojeg se smatra da s dalekog sjevera na Božić dolazi na svojim saonicama koje vuku sobovi kako bi dobroj djeci podijelio darove. Najviše truda u nastojanju da se potkrijepi ta tvrdnja učinio je Finski turistički odbor proglasivši 1989. sjevernu finsku pokrajinu Laponiju „Zemljom Djeda Božićnjaka“ i razvivši oko nje pravu turističku industriju s izmišljenim lokacijama poput Sela i radionice Djeda Božićnjaka te Parka Djeda Božićnjaka (Cohen, 2008:258-259; Pretes, 1995; Meyer-Hartmann, 1998) koje godišnje posjećuju stotine tisuća turista. Djed Božićnjak je tako kroz igru pretvoren u „praktički stvarnu“ osobu.

Aspekte igre i izmišljanja u postmodernim mitovima na sličan je način analizirao i Alexander Moore (1980) u članku o Walt Disney Worldu u Orlando na Floridi. Moore interpretira Disney World kao „zabavni park čiji je oblik posuđen... od drevnih hodočasnicih središta“ (ibid: 207). Moore ide tako daleko da ironično kaže da „U vrijeme [1980-ih] kad neki proglašavaju da je Bog mrtav, Sjevernoamerikanci se mogu utješiti istinom da Mickey Mouse vlada baroknim glavnim gradom [Pepejugina] Čarobnog kraljevstva i da je Walt Disney njegov prorok“ (ibid:216).

ure-seeking guests to feel remote from civilization, while playfully enjoying an (expensive) “primitive” style of vacationing. The paradisiac theme reverberates in this type of resorts; but in contrast to the modern quest for the remaining “paradises,” here “paradise” was contrived by the management and ludically re-enacted by the vacationers themselves.

The contested contemporary claims of several northern countries and regions that they are the home of Santa Claus are another illuminating example of an effort to endow an old legend with a post-modern twist. For it is not the historical home of the fourth-century bishop Nicolas of Myra (on whom the legend is allegedly founded), which is of concern in those conflicting claims, but rather the location of the imaginary home of Santa Claus as a legendary red-clad figure, who is said to come at Christmas on his reindeer-drawn sled from the far north to distribute presents to good children. The most elaborate effort to substantiate that claim was made by the Finnish Tourist Board, that in 1989 proclaimed the northern Finnish province of Lapland as “Santa Claus Land,” and created a veritable tourist industry around Santa Claus, featuring such imaginary sites as the Santa Claus Village and Workshop and the Santa Claus Park (Cohen, 2008:258-259; Pretes, 1995; Meyer-Hartmann, 1998), which are visited annually by hundreds of thousands tourists. Santa Claus is here playfully turned into a “virtually real” person.

The playful, make-believe character of post-modern myths has been similarly analyzed in Alexander Moore’s (1980) article on the Walt Disney World in Orlando, Florida. Moore interprets the Disney World as “an amusement park whose form is borrowed... from the archaic pilgrimage center” (ibid:207). Moore goes as far as to suggest, tongue-in-cheek, that “At a time [the 1980s] when some proclaim that God is dead, north Americans can take comfort in the truth that Mickey Mouse reigns at the baroque capital of [Cinderella’s] Magic Kingdom and that

No to je zabavna „istina“, svojevrsna „velika predstava“ (ibid:207). Stoga „Ići tamo znači sudjelovati u veličanstvenoj imitaciji, kazališnom komadu koji ima smrtno ozbiljne namjere“ (ibid:207). Moore se na ovome mjestu približava nečemu što je kasnije postalo glavnom odlikom postmoderne kulture, a to je miješanje stvarnosti i fikcije.

Moj posljednji primjer, Festival paljenja Čovjeka u pustinji Black Rock u sjevernoj Nevadi, predstavlja možda najbolji primjer postmodenog ritualnog događaja. Ustanovljen je kao ritual paljenja krijesova na ljetni solsticij 1980. što ga labavo veže za drevne solsticijske mitove i rituale, ali je znatno izmijenio svoje mitske korijene i prilagodio ih kako bi kroz njega ljudi mogli izraziti svoje nezadovoljstvo suvremenom potrošačkom kulturom. Kozinets (2002:26) navodi da je događaj promoviran kao „lijek za suvremenu tržišnu bolest“, ali „se ustvari više odnosi na pružanje otpora eksploataciji od strane moćnih korporacija, nego na pružanje otpora razmjeni ili trgovini“. Cilj mu je pomoći jačati duh zajedništva besplatnom razmjennom darova među sudionicima, istovremeno naglašavajući važnost osobne slobode u radikalnom samoizražavanju i umjetničkoj kreativnosti. U središtu događaja je divovska skulptura Čovjeka napravljenog od drveta i neona koja predstavlja „fizičko i psihološko središte zajednice... Spaljivanje Čovjeka središnja je metafora festivala oko koje se svi ujedinjuju, zasnovana na ideji pročišćujuće moći vatre. Sudionike se potiče da sudjeluju u činu transfera emocija na Čovjeka kojeg se spaljuje tako da se, dok skulptura gori, usredotoče na nešto što bi željeli eliminirati iz svojih života, što su došli spaliti“ (ibid:20). Ritual tako sadrži drevnu temu čišćenja kroz vatru, ali se taj čin percipira u svjetovnom, metaforičkom smislu, a ne kao okajanje grijeha u religijskom ritualu ili kao magijski čin čišćenja čovjekova tijela i duha poput onoga u ritualu hodanja po vatri na kineskom Vegetarijanskom festivalu u Phuketu na Tajlandu (Cohen, 2001:97-101).

Walt Disney is his prophet” (ibid:216). But this is a playful “truth,” a form of “grand play” (ibid:207). Hence “To go there is to engage in transcendent make-believe, play which is intended with deadly seriousness” (ibid:207). Moore here touches upon what later became a distinguishing feature of post-modern culture, the blending of the boundary between reality and fiction.

My last example, the Burning Man festival in the Black Rock Desert in northern Nevada, constitutes perhaps the best example of a post-modern ritual event. It was stated as a bonfire ritual at the 1980 summer solstice, and is thus loosely related to ancient solstice myths and rites, but it has thoroughly transformed and adapted those mythical roots to lend expression to people’s dissatisfactions with the contemporary consumerist culture. According to Kozinets (2002:26), the event has been promoted as “a cure for the contemporary market malaise,” but “is actually more about resisting exploitation by powerful corporations than it is about resisting exchange or commerce”. The festival is intended to further a communal spirit of free gift giving between participants, while emphasizing personal freedom for radical self-expression and artistic creativity. The event is focused on a huge effigy of the Man made of wood and neon, which serves as “the physical and psychological center of the community...The burning of the Man is the central and uniting metaphor of the festival, one based on purification through fire. Participants are encouraged to consider an act of transference onto the Burning Man by concentrating, while the effigy is burning, on what they would like to eliminate in their lives, what they came to burn” (ibid: 20). The ritual thus resonates with the ancient theme of purification through fire, but this act is perceived in a secular metaphorical sense, rather than as an expiation of sins in a religious ritual, or as a magical act of cleansing one’s body or spirit, as, in the fire walking ritual at the Chinese Vegetarian Festival in Phuket, Thailand (Cohen 2001:97-101).

U svojoj kritičkoj analizi Festivala spaljivanja Čovjeka Kozinets (2002:32) nastoji dati političku interpretaciju njegove svrhe: umjesto općeg antipotrošačkog i antitržišnog prosvjeda, Kozinets ga vidi kao prometejsku borbu „za kontrolu nad kreativnim silama zajednice i kulture“ i tvrdi da „Dublje čitanje prometejskih mitskih tema u ritualu spaljivanja Čovjeka sugerira da organizatori i sudionici velike korporacije vide kao zastrašujuće Titane i divove.“ Stoga „Spaljivanje Čovjeka treba čitati kao ritual zajednice koji simbolizira važnu borbu za moć kojom se nastoji povratiti iskonska... kreativna energija koju je prisvojilo industrijsko korporativno tržište.“

Festival spaljivanja Čovjeka opisan je kao „antiteza Disneylandu, kao ‘suprotnost Disneylandu‘ (Kozinets 2002:25). Kozinets smatra da su „kreirajući slogan ‘suprotnost Disneylandu’ organizatori spaljivanje Čovjeka uspješno distancirali i diferencirali od komercijalnosti Disneya, indirektno ga pozicionirajući kao privlačnoga pobunjenim potrošačima.“ Ali ironično, „S visokom cijenom ulaznica i pića, tematskim zabavama, fascinacijom medijima i bendovima događaj ima mnogo sličnosti s Disneyevim tematskim parkom“ (ibid:25). Oboje su zabavne i izmišljene postmoderne kreacije: jedan je ikonički izraz potrošaštva, a drugi izraz otpora prema njemu, ali ulovljen u isti kontekst dominantnog „režima potrošnje“ kao i prvi.

4. NEZAPADNJAČKI TURISTIČKI MITOVI

Za razliku od zapadnog, nezapadni svijet, a osobito Azija, nije prošao temeljiti proces sekularizacije u osvit svoje modernizacije; isto tako ne karakterizira ga široko rasprostranjen osjećaj otuđenja kao veći dio modernog zapadnog društva. Kako je sačuvaao veći dio veza sa svojom prošlošću, nije iskusio vrstu nostalgije koja je na Zapadu dovela do očajničkih nastojanja da se kroz turizam nadoknadi izgubljena prošlost. Na-

In his critical analysis of the Burning Man festival, Kozinets (2002:32) seeks to put forward a political interpretation of its intent: rather than an all-encompassing anti-consumerist and anti-market remonstrance, Kozinets sees it in terms of a Promethean struggle “for the control over the creative powers of a community or culture,” and claims that “A deeper reading of the Promethean mythic themes at Burning Man suggests that organizers and participants conceptualize large corporations as threatening Titans or giants.” Hence “Burning Man should be read as a communal rite symbolizing an important power struggle seeking to reclaim genuine...creative energy from the industrial corporate marketplace.”

The Burning Man festival has been described as “an antithesis of Disneyland, as ‘Disneyland in Reverse’ (Kozinets 2002:25). Kozinets comment that, “by providing the sound bite ‘Disneyland in Reverse,’ organizers effectively distance and differentiate Burning Man from the commercialism of Disney, concomitantly positioning it as appealing to resistant consumers.” But, ironically, “With high ticket prices, drink concessions, entertaining theme spaces, media fascination, and a cherished band, the event has many similarities to a Disney theme park” (ibid:25). Both are playful, make-believe post-modern creations: the one an iconic expression of consumerism, the other an expression of resistance to it, but also caught in the same context of the dominant “regime of consumption” as the former.

4. NON-WESTERN TOURIST MYTHS

In contrast to the West, the non-Western world, and particularly Asia, has not undergone a comprehensive process of secularization in wake of its modernization; it is also not marked by widespread personal alienation as is much of modern Western society. Having preserved much of its ties to the past, it has not experienced the kind of nostalgia which has in the West led to desperate efforts

suprot tomu, u mnogim nezapadnim, osobito azijskim društvima, mitovi prošlosti još su uvijek živi i uprizoruju se u religijskim ceremonijama i popularnim festivalima u kojima su mitska i stvarnost svakodnevica nevidljivo isprepletene, što je djelomično rijetko ili potpuno odsutno na suvremenom Zapadu. U Aziji takvi događaji brišu crtu između područja religije i turizma te privlače raznovrsne posjetitelje koji se međusobno razlikuju po tome u kojoj mjeri prihvaćaju ili pak dovode u pitanje vjerovanja u nadnaravno porijeklo ili magijske sile prisutne u događaju kojemu svjedoče. Takvi su tipovi turista u literaturi poznati kao hodočasnici, hodočasnici-turisti i obični turisti.

Premda se može navesti bezbroj primjera takvih događaja iz suvremenih azijskih, latinoameričkih ili afričkih društava, ovdje ću se ograničiti na samo jedan primjer iz moge rada o Tajlandu, na takozvane Vatrene lopte Mekonga (Cohen, 2007).

Za praznik kojime se obilježava kraj budističkog povlačenja (poznatog i kao Budistička korizma) veliki broj domaćih posjetitelja iz cijele zemlje sakuplja se u sumrak na obalama rijeke Mekong, u pokrajini Nong Khai, kako bi prisustvovali prizoru podizanja crvenkastih vatrenih kugli s površine rijeke. Događaj se najviše slavi u gradu Phon Phisai gdje se sakuplja na desetke tisuća ljudi na za tu priliku posebno podignutim tribinama duž rijeke s kojih se može vidjeti najviše vatrenih kugli.

Događaj se temelji na mitu o dva zmaja (točnije zmije po imenu *Naga* na sanskritu ili *phayanak* na tajlandskom) koji su u stara vremena živjeli na Himalaji. Posvađali su se i odlučili se razdvojiti. Jedan je otišao u pravcu današnje Burme i stvorio je korito rijeke Irrawaddy; drugi je otišao u pravcu današnjeg Tajlanda i stvorio korito rijeke Mekong. Zmajevi su bili divlje životinje, ali su na kraju podlegli moći Budine dharme (učenja). Vjeruje se da oni ispaljuju plamene kugle s rijeke Mekong kako bi proslavili Budin povratak na zamlju iz Raja, gdje je svoju

to recoup a lost past by way of tourism. Rather, in many non-Western, especially Asian, societies, the myths of the past are still alive, and are re-enacted in religious ceremonies and at popular festivals, in which the mythical and everyday reality are seamlessly interwoven, to an extent rare or absent in the contemporary West. In Asia, such events straddle the line between the domains of religion and tourism, and attract a medley of visitors differing in the extent to which they adhere to, or question, the belief in the supernatural origins or magical forces present in the witnessed events. They thus form a range of what are in the literature seen as pilgrims, pilgrim-tourists or ordinary tourists.

Though innumerable examples of such events could be offered from contemporary Asian, Latin American or African societies, I shall restrict myself here to a single telling example from my own work in Thailand, the so-called Mekong Fireballs (Cohen, 2007).

At the holiday marking the end of the Buddhist Retreat (known as the Buddhist Lent), great numbers of domestic visitors from all over the country gather as night falls on the banks of the Mekong river, in the area of Nong Khai Province, to witness the rising of reddish fire balls from the river. The event is most intensely celebrated in the district town of Phon Phisai, where tens of thousands of people gather on specially erected stalls along the river, because the largest number of fire balls can usually be sighted at that spot.

The event is based on a myth about two dragons (more precisely serpents, called *Naga* in Sanskrit or *phayanak* in Thai), who have in old times lived in the Himalayas. They had a conflict and decided to part. One went in the direction of contemporary Burma, and created the riverbed of the Irrawaddy River; the other went in the direction of contemporary Thailand, and created the riverbed of the Mekong. The dragons were wild animals, but have eventually succumbed to the power of the Buddha's dharma (teachings). They are believed to be shooting the

majku poučavao dharmi nakon budističkog povlačenja.

Kako se vatrene kugle podižu s površine vode, sakupljeno ih mnoštvo svaku ponosob pozdravlja radosnim povicima. Događaj traje nekoliko sati, do dugo nakon ponoći. Vatrene kugle pažljivo se broje i o njihovom broju se svake godine izvještava u medijima.

Ovaj je primjer važan za moju tezu jer taj događaj nije samo prikazivanje mitskog događaja koji se dogodio, kako bi Eliade rekao, *in illo tempore*, već se vjeruje da mitske životinje – ili njihovi nasljednici – doista u njemu sada sudjeluju (iako su ponuđena i neka druga moguća objašnjenja porijekla vatrene lopti). Ovaj primjer pokazuje kako se prirodno i naoko čudesno neprimjetno spajaju u percepciji vjernika, pri čemu *phayanak* i sami brišu granicu između prirodnog i mitskog jer se vjeruje da su oni istovremeno oboje, i životinje i nadnaravna bića.

Međutim, vatrene kugle Naga nisu religijski događaj u užem smislu riječi. Ustvari, budistički redovnici u hramu pored mjesta na kojima se događaj u Phon Phisaiu zbiva ogradili su se od njega smatrajući ga pukim praznovjerjem. Posjetitelji nisu „hodočasnici“ u užem smislu riječi, već turisti koji žele vidjeti neobičan događaj. Nema jedinstvenog objašnjenja same pojave (Cohen 2007), ali pokušaji da je se objasni kao puku prirodnu pojavu ili pak od strane čovjeka smišljenu varku nisu uspjeli narušiti njegovu mitsku privlačnost.

5. ZAKLJUČAK

Ovaj članak imao je za cilj u postojeću raspravu o turističkim mitovima uvesti neke analitičke distinkcije. Moja je glavna teza da je moguće da turisti doista, kako tvrdi Tom Selwyn, tragaju za mitovima, ali u različitim društveno-povijesnim kontekstima oni za njima tragaju na bitno drugačije načine. Iz prethodne rasprave i navedenih primjera možemo zaključiti da su nostalgični moderni

fire balls from the Mekong river in merriment at the Buddha's return to earth from Heaven (where he taught dharma to his mother) at the end of the Buddhist Retreat.

As each fire ball rises from the water, the assembled audience greets it with enthusiastic shouts. The event lasts for several hours, until well after midnight. The number of fire balls is carefully counted and annually reported in the press.

This example is important for the present argument, because the event is not just a re-presentation of a mythical event which took place, in Eliade's phrase, *in illo tempore*, but the mythical animals – or their descendants – are widely believed to be actually participating in it (though alternative explanations for the origins of the fire balls have been proposed). The example thus demonstrates how the natural and the apparently miraculous seemlessly merge in the believers' perception, the *phayanak* themselves straddling the boundary between the natural and mythical, in that they are believed to be both, animals and supernatural beings.

But the Naga fireballs are not a religious event in a narrow sense. In fact, the Buddhist monks in the temple adjoining the event in Phon Phisai dissociated themselves from it, considering it a mere superstition. The visitors are not "pilgrims" in a narrow sense, but tourists who desire to see an extraordinary event. How this event actually occurs is a contentious matter (Cohen 2007); but all efforts to explain it as a mere natural occurrence, or a man-made deception, have as yet failed to dampen its mythical attraction.

5. CONCLUSION

This article sought to introduce some analytic distinctions into the ongoing discussion of tourist myths. My principal argument was that tourists might indeed, as Tom Selwyn argued, be chasing myths, but in diverse socio-historical contexts they chase them in significantly different ways.

turisti prvenstveno nastojali ponovno pronaći tragove mitske prošlosti na rubovima suvremenog društva, vjerujući da su ti tragovi još sačuvani. Postmoderni turisti, uvjereni da je takva potraga uzaludna u svijetu simulakri, nastoje ponovno uprizoriti mitske teme na ozbiljno-zabavan način u izmišljenim, umjetno stvorenim kontekstima zahvaljujući kojima stari mitovi dobijaju postmoderni pomak. Nasuprot tomu, suvremeni nezapadni turisti, koji žive u svijetu u kojemu je mitsko još uvijek živo prisutno, nastoje izravno svjedočiti njegovim povremenim manifestacijama u samom tom svijetu.

Treba napomenuti da je moja teza spekulativna, zasnovana na primjerima koji su mi poznati iz mojih vlastitih istraživanja; samo sistematično komparativno izučavanje načina na koje turisti rabe pojedine mitove i tragaju za njima u različitim društvenim kontekstima pokazat će adekvatnost predložene analitičke distinkcije opisane u ovome članku.

The preceding discussion, and the examples offered, lead to the conclusion that nostalgic modern tourists sought primarily to recover the traces of a mythical past on the margins of the contemporary world, where they have been led to believe that those traces are still preserved. Post-modern tourists, convinced of the futility of such a quest in a world of simulacra, seek to re-enact mythical themes in a seriously-playful manner in contrived make-believe contexts, which confer the ancient myths with a post-modern twist. In contrast, contemporary non-Western tourists, for whom the mythical is still vitally present in the world they inhabit, seek to witness directly its occasional manifestations in the very world they inhabit.

It should be noted that my argument is speculative, based as it is mainly on examples with which I am familiar from my own research; only a systematic comparative study of the manner in which specific myths are deployed and pursued by tourists in diverse social contexts will show the adequacy of the proposed analytic distinctions made in this article.

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