The Notion of Hyper-wandering in Apprehending the Mobility of Israelis After the Army Along the Andes Cordillera

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Introduction

1   This article analyses the practice of "wandering" (Berthelot and Corneloup, 2008; Kirschner, 2018) by contextualising it in the era of hypermobility (Gallez and Kaufmann, 2009). Wandering here qualifies a spatial and recreational practice that simultaneously values physical displacement and voluntary roaming, two aspects that are central to practitioners' projects (Leroux, 2007; Kirschner, 2018). Through improvisation, encounters with others and the control of their temporalities, practitioners redefine their routes and the stopping points through which they pass (Leroux, 2007).

2   By questioning long-term tourist mobility, the analysis apprehends the interrelationships between wandering and hypermobility. On the basis of our understanding of Israeli tourist mobility and empirical data collected in Chile, we have highlighted the existence of a singular form of wandering "on the margins" of tourism (Condevaux *et al.,* 2016). The aim of this article, taking into account the specificities of this phenomenon - its flexible temporalities and its self-regulated organisation - is to define this complex wandering using the notion of hyper-wandering.

3   Every year, several thousand young Israelis make the traditional post-army trip, based on the '*backpacker*' model (Noy and Cohen, 2005). Carried out since the 1970s on the five continents, this phenomenon[1] has undergone profound changes due to the advent of technology and connectivity and its assimilation into a tourism system (Cohen, 2003; Noy, 2006). The transformation of the practice and its heterogeneity thus reconfigured

the status of Israeli *backpackers* (Noy, 2006), who have been little studied in Latin American spaces (Cohen, 2003; Noy, 2006).

4   We will seek to define the practices of Israeli wanderers, whose mobility and temporalities structure a hybrid form of wandering. It is marked by the alternation between speed and slowness, permanent connectivity and the construction of a familiar space in otherness, interacting with multiple places and individuals. Recreational wandering can also refer to modes of travel and various detours that reposition this practice with the emergence of *hyper-tourism* (Condevaux *et al.*, 2016; Bourdeau, 2018). In this sense, this article questions Israeli post-military tourist mobilities and defends the hypothesis that *HaTiyul HaGadol*[2] in Latin America constitutes a specific practice, which leads us to propose the notion of 'hyper-wandering'.

5   The methodological analysis is part of a qualitative approach and is based on fieldwork carried out between January and March 2019 in Pucón, Chile. Using participant observation and 37 semi-directive interviews[3], this method questions the mobility and strategies of Israeli *backpackers* by analysing their discourse, values and behaviour. It aims to understand how the practices and forms of mobility of these wanderers structure the phenomenon around places valued by the travelling community. The corpus presents varied profiles with regard to age (18-34 years), gender, social origin and mastery or not of a foreign language. In this text, for reasons of anonymity[4], the term *Backpacker* (*B*) will be associated with a number (e.g. *B. 14)* in order to quote travellers. Further research on the use of technological tools (internet, applications, networks) shows that digital space allows both the redefinition of travel locations and networks of sociability, while at the same time acting as a space for narrative production and self-construction.

6   Touristically, Chilean and Argentinean Patagonia reflect imagery of natural and mountain landscapes (Muñoz and Torres, 2010). Located in the Araucania region, Pucón is a mountain lakeside resort. It is a city that is charged with backpacker imagination and a major tourist attraction in Chile, offering a range of distinctive and valued activities in summer (thermal baths, parachuting, climbing the *Villarica* volcano) and winter (ski resort).

Figure 1: String of tourists (including Israelis) guided by a Chilean agency. Summit of the *Villarrica* Volcano.

Sources: Mao, 2018

Literature review and theoretical posture on contemporary mobility associated with wandering

7   Wandering constitutes a dual form of movement, both material through physical displacement and immaterial in terms of the biographical and existential background of practitioners (Berthelot and Corneloup, 2008). Backpacking characterises an itinerant form of tourism whose practices and values are based on mobility, meeting others and empowerment - in relative opposition to organised tourism (Cohen, 2003; Demers, 2012; Le Bigot, 2016).

From mobility to hypermobility

8   The social sciences are questioning the increase in different forms of mobility associated with globalisation, whether they be social, spatial or virtual (Kaufmann, 2005; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Gallez and Kaufmann, 2009).

9   On the one hand, mobility leads us to consider that the dissemination of practices in multiple locations shapes a "society of mobile individuals," emancipating themselves from their geographical referents (Stock, 2006). On the other hand, it suggests that social science research should distance itself from its theoretical foundations by affirming that *"what defines the contemporary world is circulation, much more than stable structures and organisations"* (Urry, 2005). All mobilities (people, ideas, material and immaterial flows) contribute to the fluidity of social space (Baumann, 2000) and require

an action of movement that transcends social barriers, space and time (Gallez and Kaufmann, 2009).

10   When geography focuses on mobility, a distinction is made between spatial mobility - displacement - and potential mobility as spatial and relational (including digital) competency that Kaufmann *et al (2004)* define as *motility*. Motility is defined by these authors as *"the way in which an individual or a group makes the realm of mobile possibilities their own and makes use of them"*. It reflects the capacity of actors to be mobile and is built around three factors: *accessibility* (economic and spatio-temporal conditions), *skills* (modes of travel, management of temporalities, techniques) and *cognitive appropriation*, which refers to the actors' representations, habits and strategies (Kaufmann, 2005). Motility asserts that mobility does not necessarily imply physical movement and that it can stand in for technological progress.

11   The accentuation of spontaneous or planned travel (Kaufmann, 2005) coupled with the increase in relational exchanges has led to the emergence of the concept of hypermobility (Sheller and Urry, 2006). The "motility" capital of mobile individuals therefore develops in a hyper-connected space (Gallez and Kaufmann, 2009).

12   The tourist mobilities of Israeli backpackers refers to this capital. Following the works of authors who have demonstrated the collective and normative singularity of this phenomenon (Noy and Cohen, 2005), we identify three aspects which highlight its hypermobile dimension. For many respondents, travel constitutes the first tourist experience carried out autonomously outside of Israel, in contact with "otherness". Moreover, in the spaces of the *Tiyul,* the Israelis in our study deploy anchoring strategies that refer to a familiar universe. Finally, the unbroken links with the place of origin are maintained by regular exchanges between travellers and by a strong virtual connectivity.

13   Hypermobility is a complexification of forms of mobility and a hybridisation of modes of transport. This notion is conceived in the light of spatial and technological skills allowing a mastery of the spatio-temporal framework and of the construction of the self. In this particular case, the prefix *hyper* echoes the notion of *hypermodernity*, highlighting an exacerbated radicalisation of modernity inseparable from a feeling of excellence of the self (Charles, 2005).

14   In the continuity of studies on *post-tourism* (Berthelot, 2012; Bourdeau, 2018), geographers place this transition in the field of *hyper-tourism* (Condevaux *et al.,* 2016; Bourdeau, 2018). Practitioners play with the spatio-temporal framework by regularly changing spatial universes, partly via a virtual space (Kaufmann, 2005). The framework of Israeli travellers is marked by a de-differentiation of practices (Condevaux *et al. ,* 2016), between activities linked to the tourist sphere and more routine activities arising from everyday life (Anteby-Yemini *et al.,* 2005).

Theoretical stance and discussion on wandering

15   Due to individual projects experienced on the margins of traditional 'flows', the practice of wandering seeks to distinguish itself from tourism (Kirschner, 2018). It also adapts the codes of tourism by emphasising not the destination, but the ideal "journey" and the detours that will redefine it. Finally, it is defined through an individual control of temporality (Lachance, 2013). This posture is often taken in works on the existential and socio-cultural dimensions of wandering (Corneloup, 2011; Kirschner, 2018).

Improvised practices are spatially deployed through social innovation, slowness and hospitality (Berthelot and Corneloup, 2008; Kirschner, 2018), in opposition to modern values (growth, speed, planning) applied to tourism (Corneloup, 2011).

16 Some of the bases of recreational wandering have their origins in the mobile practices of a set of movements equated with post-modernity (Cohen 2003, Berthelot, 2012). Backpacking is thus a continuation of the *drifters*[5] phenomenon (Cohen, 2003; Demers, 2012). However, by analysing their practices in *places of* tourism, Leroux (2007) concludes that contemporary wanderers pass through the same spaces as other tourists, but according to different modes and rhythms. Being in control of distance (Vacher, 2014), temporalities (Lachance, 2013) and spatial and technological skills (Kaufmann, 2005) favours the preservation of a familiar universe within "otherness" (Kaufmann, 2005). In this framework, Gallez and Kaufmann (2009) question positive mobility, arguing that *hypermobile* individuals are not necessarily the most mobile, but that their decision-making strategies aim to protect themselves from risks.

17 Based on our case study, we would like to highlight the peculiarities of Israeli backpackers who introduce their wandering in a *hyper* context.

Backpacking: hypermodern wandering

18 *Backpacking* embodies a form of wandering that is an extension of the ba*ckpacker* model (Cohen, 2003; Berthelot, 2012; Demers, 2012). According to Lachance (2013), their wandering is positive because backpackers are in control of their own temporalities. He defines backpackers as hypermodern individuals responding to the imperatives of empowerment, flexibility and risk management. In this, they adapt to the norms and tools of a global context (Martín-Cabello, 2014).

19 The backpackers we surveyed are part of this global culture. Their temporalities are relatively long (a few months, a year) and are marked by a redefinition of their trajectories over the course of their encounters with others, especially virtually. In places of sociability or on the road between two stops, wandering is spatially observable and analysable through the discourses of the practitioners, with an existential scope. Wandering can be identified in the relationship to space and in the relative slowness translated by a desire to rest (*B. 11; B. 23*), to relax the body (*B. 23; B. 30*) and to enjoy free time, which many respondents express by the expression "to chill", i.e. to decompress, to laze about.

> "Now? It's the first day here. We'll chill together. Going to the city, seeing the streets, the people. To know the field[6], you know ?"» (*B. 21*).

20 During the journey, the wandering of the Israelis manifests itself in a series of experiments (playful, voluntary work, transport). These relate to, for example, *slow* modes of travel such as hitch-hiking, walking or horse-riding (*B. 20; B. 25; B. 27*), or *a contrario* "extreme" sports practices (rafting, canyoning, trekking, parachuting).

21 By staying several days at the same site without planning activities, *backpackers* individually redefine their practices by maximising their resources and time (*B. 6; B. 16; B. 23*). Finally, wandering is social, particularly in hostels geared towards the Israeli public (Anteby-Yemini *et al.,* 2005) where practices show a certain anchoring in *everyday life* (whether or not to respect the *Sabbath*, eating habits).

The peculiarities of the wandering of Israeli backpackers in Chile

22   Based on multiple mobilities and practices, the wandering of backpackers links itineraries and stopover places, with flexible time frames (Le Bigot, 2016). Reproduced collectively, Israeli post-military backpacking questions long-term wandering in a *hypermobile* and connected context.

Do the mobility practices of Israelis in Latin America reveal a form of wandering?

23   The *Tiyul* phenomenon is relatively rooted in Israel, having begun in the 1960s (Noy and Cohen, 2005; Cohen, 2016). Formerly carried out by the socio-cultural elites wishing to emancipate themselves from Israel (Noy, 2006), post-military travel is now a part of a larger tourist process, following social and demographic changes and the development of a designated market (Noy and Cohen, 2005; Noy, 2006). Progressively ritualised by Israeli youth since the 1970s and 1980s, regular tourist flows and the feedback of experiences have made the itineraries evolve from generation to generation (Noy, 2011; Michel, 2016). Because of its heterogeneity, Noy (2006) describes contemporary practices as institutionalised '*post-backpacking*', far removed from its original values.

24   Israeli youth continue this 'rite of passage' (Noy and Cohen, 2005) which constitutes an important period in the transition to adulthood, shortly after military service (Lieblich, 1989; Noy and Cohen, 2005). Learning through otherness and the development of independence recalls the exploratory role of the "Grand Tour" (Martín-Cabello, 2014). The Israeli case is all the more illustrative because the majority of wanderers have recently left the army, a powerful social institution (Schweisguth, 1978). Practitioners feel that they are continuing this collective myth (*B. 8; B. 15*) by maintaining the original spirit and values of the practice (Cohen, 2003), now marked by ultra-connectivity (*B. 34; B. 37*).

25   This ritualised wandering is a form of tourism in line with hypermobility. With regard to the role given by practitioners to their travels, wandering is realigned on a personal and intellectual level. For the respondents, the *Tiyul* is an important stage for resting after stressful military service (*B. 23; B. 30, B. 33*), for participating in humanitarian projects (*B. 3; B. 11*), for developing creativity (*B. 19; B. 36*) or for learning a language (*B. 3; B. 15; B. 26*). As previous studies have shown (Noy, 2004), Israeli youth in 2019 also saw their voyage as a way to imagine innovative experiences as part of a growing-up process "far from the Homeland[7]" (*B. 5; B. 15),* before returning to Israel.

> "Well I think it's a very cultural thing. My older brother did it, my older sister did it. All the people I know in Israel do it. It's like a pattern that we have... when we are teens. I feel like when you grow up in many... like institutions, like school and then the army. You don't want to start another institution right away." (*B. 15*).

26   Wandering designates a posture of distancing for the purpose of self-knowledge and self-actualisation (Cohen, 2016), and reveals a transformative meaning (Noy, 2004). It expresses the intellectual and introspective path in the emancipatory journeys of practitioners (Kirschner, 2018). According to Israeli authors, these journeys occupy a major place in the transition of former conscripts due to physical separation from their *place of origin* and family (Lieblich, 1989; Cohen, 2016). This phenomenon thus

constitutes a liminal rite, establishing a *before* and *after,* with the individual returning transformed by his experience (Van Gennep, 1909; Noy, 2004).

> "And here that you are really far from Home, they [*the parents*] can't come. You have to learn to cook by yourself and book a plane, or a bus, or whatever you want to go, and take a hike by yourself. And all these… these 4 years are very… it makes you more ready for adulthood." (*B. 4*)

27   The journey emerges as a space of transition that Fourny (2014) defines as a space of liminality, where the non-knowledge of norms leads individuals to deploy their strategies to build their spatial identity. This space temporarily becomes a *place* of possibilities, where the individual can deploy his or her skills in the face of otherness and risks, or, on the contrary, experiment with new ways of living and travelling (Corneloup and Mao, 2010).

A phenomenon based on flexible routes: the case of Latin America

28   The flow of Israeli backpackers is concentrated in Latin America, India and South-East Asia - *exotic* spaces that are reminiscent of the world of *drifters* (Reichel *et al. ,* 2009). Other areas exist in Australia and New Zealand, North America and Europe, while new destinations are developing in Africa[8]. The choice of itineraries depends on factors such as tourist imaginations, individual projects or accessibility (distance, cost, risks). The construction of itineraries has been developed over the long term, through the circulation of advice[9] between travellers and the dissemination of stories and experiences upon return to Israel (Noy and Cohen, 2005; Noy, 2006).

29   The available figures only reflect an estimate of the number of tourists pursuing the *Tiyul.* Studies estimate that 30,000 to 75,000 travellers were pursuing this initial route in the early 2000s, the majority (Maoz, 2006) choosing the *Shvil HaHumus[10]* route in India.

30   From national statistics, Graph 1 presents the evolution of the number of Israeli tourists entering five areas of the *Tiyul.* These data show an overview of the phenomenon, as the institutional registers do not detail all the information on the age or identity of travellers. In Chile and despite our requests, a law protects the identity of people entering the territory[11], which limits the precise identification of the number of Israeli *backpackers.* This is conservatively estimated at between 5,000 and 10,000 people each year. It is estimated on the basis of other case studies[12] (Muñoz and Torres, 2010; Scholz *et al.,* 2012), our observations in the field (hotel registers, temporalities of the respondents) and a comparison of fragmented national data (Bourlon and Mao, 2016).
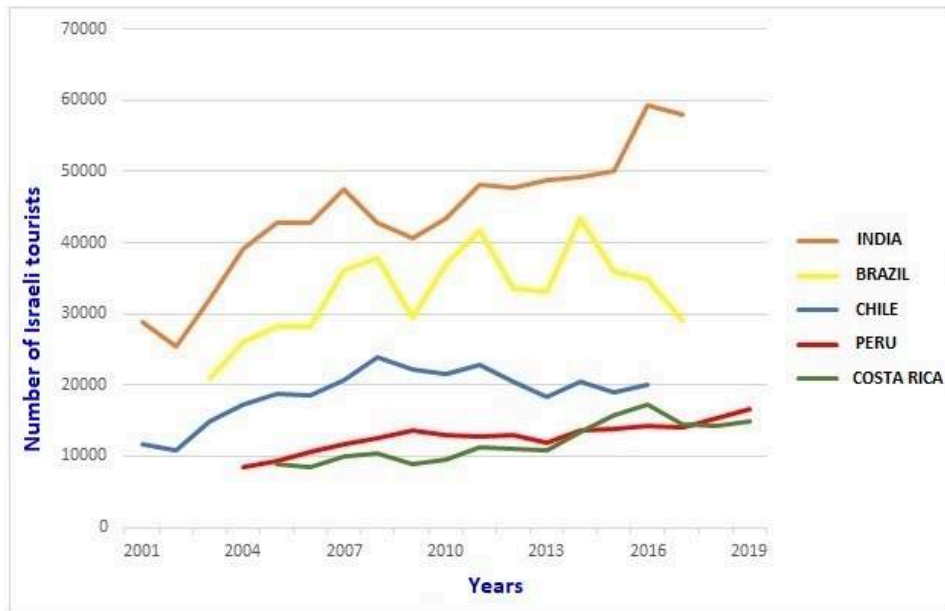
Chart 1: Number of Israeli tourists entering India, Brazil, Chile, Peru and Costa Rica (2001-2019)

Sources: Ministries and National Tourism Agencies (2001-2019)

31 In Latin America, routes connect different tourist areas, alternately by fast (air and road) or slow (walking, hitchhiking) modes of travel. On this continent, there are two main itineraries based on stages that are recognised and constantly re-evaluated by the travelling community (seasons and climates, risks, events). One is north-south, from Mexico to Tierra del Fuego (*HaGal HaYored),* the other is south-north (*HaGal HaOleh*), starting in Buenos Aires, continuing to Ushuaia and then travelling up the Chilean and Argentinean Patagonia in a pendulum-like fashion along the Andes Cordillera before extending further north (*B. 1*; B. *11*; B. *25*)[13] . Travellers then continue their journeys according to their aspirations and socio-economic conditions, and following the encounters made.
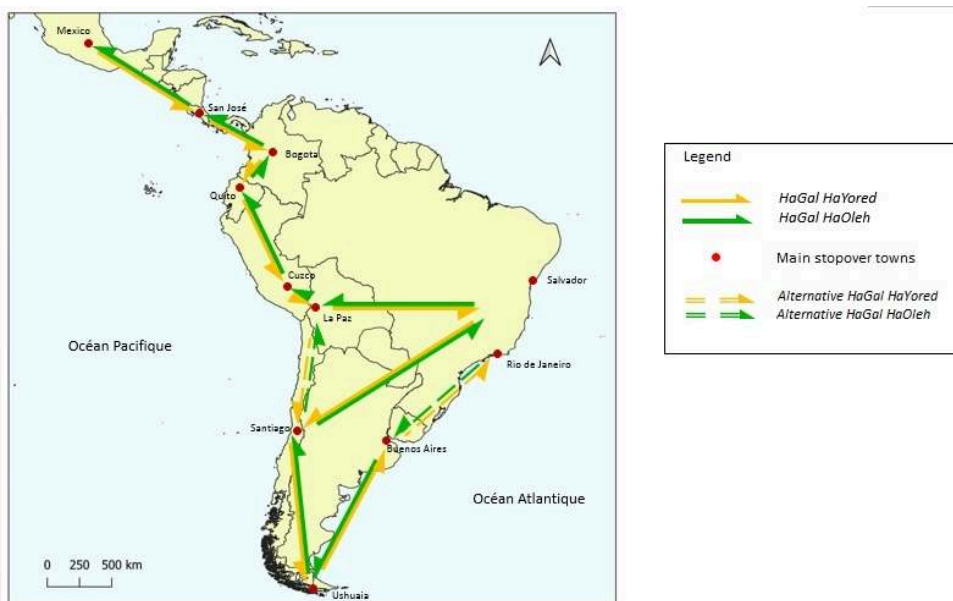
Map 1: Map of young Israeli wanderers in South America (2019)

Sources: Noy and Cohen, 2005; *Lametayel.co.il*; *Muchiler.co.il*; *Backpackers surveyed.*
Produced by QGis: the authors (2020). Data: Natural Earth Data (2020).

32   The *Tiyul* is built around main stages (Pucón in Chile, Cuzco in Peru, Carnival in Rio or Cancún in Mexico). In these cities, enclaves for *backpackers* have developed (Wilson and Richards, 2008) where the service offer is oriented by a specific market (Martín-Cabello, 2014). In Latin America, Israeli tourism has its own market, and there are multiple private structures which participate in the development of "Israeli enclaves" (Maoz, 2006; Noy, 2006). In Chile, the digital company *Muchiler*[14] has 42 partnerships with local companies, all located in the main *backpacking* areas (Martín-Cabello, 2014). Based on data collected at Chilean border crossings, Map 2 shows the correlation between Israeli tourist flows and the *places* of the *Tiyul* recognised by the travelling community[15].
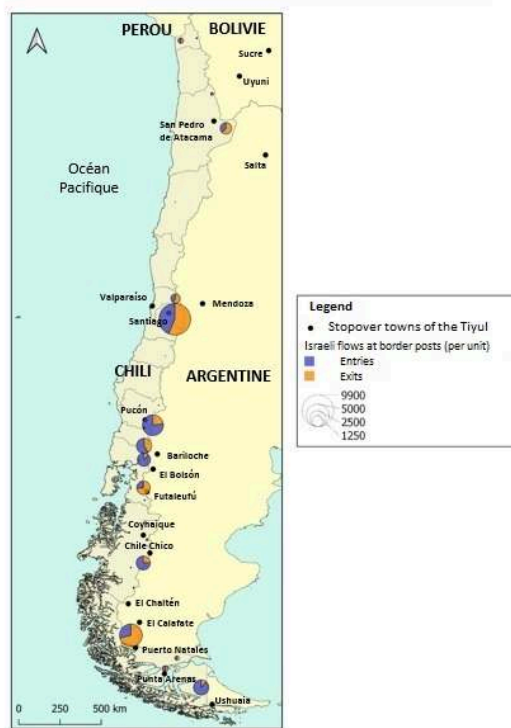
Map 2: Israeli flows at Chilean border crossings in 2018

Sources: Jefatura Nacional de Extranjería y Policía Internacional, Carabineros de Chile (2018)
Directed by QGis: The Authors, 2020. Data: Natural Earth Data (2020).

33   In this collective construction of representations of space, communication tools play a decisive role in materialising the narration of the self (Lachance, 2013) and the transition to hypermodernity (social networks, mobile applications, drones). Ultra-connected Israeli youth use these tools: "We all use *Muchiler*[16]! "(*B. 4; B. 26*).

> "We have our, we have like *Facebook* where a lot of people recommend where they...
> like Israeli people recommend that "This is a good place. This is a bad place. Don't
> go there, go there". So most Israelis go to the same hostels like this." (*B. 4*)

34   By extension, the analysis of the main specialised internet pages shows the existence of a virtual community that produces the mechanisms of travel (itineraries and practices),

through the users (discovery of places, purchasing opportunities, search for partners). Thus, *Muchiler*'s objective is to encourage the construction of places of discovery and sociability by the *backpackers'* own community.

Mobility and motility: a trade-off between familiar anchoring and a world of otherness

35   The specificity of Israeli wandering is seen in their intergroup social ties that contribute to distancing them from "otherness", and in the permanent interrelationships maintained with the community of origin in Israel.

Sociability, connectivity and ubiquity of Israeli tourists

36   The *Tiyul* phenomenon is a laboratory for understanding how the mobilities of Israelis link different spaces and imaginary worlds connected to their journey or originating from their place of origin. The blending between daily practices and the practice of wandering (Anteby-Yemini et *al.,* 2005) highlights their de-differentiation and the hyper-touristic dimension of this phenomenon (Condevaux *et al.,* 2016).

37   With regard to the "Israeli enclaves", our observations and interviews in Pucón revealed the existence of four "hostels" specifically oriented towards the Israeli public[17], to which are added numerous local structures (tourist agencies, hotels, restaurants) or transnational structures (*Beit Habad*[18], transport companies). These *places* are produced and self-maintain through various flows between Israel and the travel space (Noy, 2006). These *familiar* hostels are places of sociability which reinforce the identity of Israelis (Cohen, 2016).

> "Israel is the best country in the World. We have the best army, the best education and the best gastronomy. [...] But yes the trip changed me... now I drink wine! "(*B. 31*).

38   In these hostels, travellers share their experiences and redefine their itineraries, according to the encounters and opportunities found online. By moving towards dedicated structures, Israeli backpackers reveal their anchorage and definition as hypermobile subjects. They resort to their capital of motility to distance themselves from otherness. These choices depend in part on their skills (cognitive, linguistic, technical), their capital (resources, time, experience) and their ability to regulate distancing. Some authors explain, for example, that the lack of mastery of a foreign language leads Israeli *backpackers* to group together (Noy, 2011) and that their collective practice does not fundamentally seek contact with "the other" (Maoz, 2006). Moreover, proximity to the Israeli backpacker community helps to maintain a familiar and secure environment (*B. 4*; B. *15*; *B. 26*).

39   The potential mobility of Israelis is closely linked to the use of virtual space and community ties (Jauréguiberry, 2004). This space is invested in order to redefine itinerant trajectories (destinations, detours, planning) around a virtual community, and to maintain immediate contact with relatives who have remained in Israel. Via his networks, the backpacker insures himself against risks (Kaufmann, 2005), because he will be able to continue to move by finding help and advice in the travel space, on the internet, or from the space of origin (family, travel insurance). This permanent

movement is constituted as a strategy that distances otherness and refers to certain skills developed by populations with irreversible mobility, such as migrants (Perraudin, 2017).

40   The capital of motility of Israeli travellers is therefore the subject of an arbitration regarding their anchorage, routes and possible detours. It represents a central aspect of hypermobility, the individual being able to free himself from spatio-temporal barriers in order to instantly associate connectivity.

Individual strategies for combining connectivity

41   As a result of its uniformisation and the development of tourism, the *Tiyul* is characterised by its social heterogeneity (Noy, 2006). Furthermore, the great diversity of practitioners is aware of the development of the phenomenon. In Chile, the Israeli backpackers use the expression "*israeliyada*[19]" (*B. 8*; *B. 17*; *B. 23*) to define travellers embodying this "massification", which reveals a distinction in the spatial representations associated with travel.

42   Backpacking is characterised by connectivity and permanence of flows (Martín-Cabello, 2014). Israeli backpackers, in the goal of making a personalised journey, develop individual strategies to establish flexible distance from the rest of the community. They individually define their own routes and can return to a familiar universe (*places of wandering*, digital space) in order to combine connectivity and redefine the frameworks of the journey. The *hyper* era keeps this virtual community in a floating space accessible at all times.

> "But because I am Israeli, I know if I really need help, I always know how to get it. Because there is always *Beit Chabad* or an Israeli hostel, or like people that I know who are travelling nearby." (*B. 15*).

43   Rethinking one's mobility allows one to reconstruct one's route, in particular by exploring pages on the Internet and by passing through "enclaves", in both cases by interacting with other travellers. In addition to the desire to return to a familiar environment, this strategy is deployed by *backpackers* wishing to minimise expenditures (discount card, voluntary work in hotels), to meet fellow travellers after travelling alone (*B. 3*; *B. 24*; *B. 30*) or obtain help or advice from the community.

Conclusion and discussion on hyper wandering

44   Seen as a whole, the Israeli backpackers appear spatially as hypermobile tourists, but more "immobile" in otherness (anchorage, contact with family, management of distance). They use their motility capital to evaluate their skills in the face of otherness, maintaining a permanent link with all their networks (travellers, virtual community and relatives in Israel). Their practices, their journeys and their flexible temporalities simultaneously refer to different imaginations, while their itineraries are segmented into familiar places where they can find a certain comfort. The entire journey is conducted in a *hyper* context that is both connected and distant, anchored and un-anchored, where recreational and experimental practices merge with everyday practices.

45   In its classical sense, wandering refers to forms of mobility that are part of a logic of emancipation and openness to others (Berthelot and Corneloup, 2008; Kirschner, 2018).

It is a practice which goes beyond tourism, oriented towards responsibility, sociability and proximity, tied to the notion of slowing down the negative effects of modernity (Corneloup, 2011; Kirschner, 2018).

46   On the other hand, Israeli *backpackers* are undeniably close to the figure of *backpackers* 'touring the world' (Le Bigot, 2016). Hypermobile, they appropriate places and inhabit space in a hybrid way. Nevertheless, their spatiality is different and Israeli *backpackers* seem to be more anchored in the referents of their origins, in a collective and group-dependent dimension (Maoz, 2006; Noy, 2006).

47   The wandering of Israeli *backpackers* differs from *slow* or *transmodern* roaming that values sobriety and disconnection (Corneloup, 2011). It is part of a technological and consumerist posture and is constructed in a hyper-connected social space made up of groups and networks. In this sense, the singularity of *HaTiyul HaGadol* in Latin America leads us to integrate it into a new category that we call *hyper-wandering*. It is a hyper-technologised wandering, which is emerging in a hypermobile setting.

48   However, the notion of *hyper-wandering* cannot be used to describe all Israeli post-military mobility. The *Tiyul* in India has a completely different singularity and seems to be more grounded and spiritual (Maoz, 2006). It is based on long temporalities within the same place (several months), particularly in Israeli enclaves (Reichel *et al.,* 2009). The local anchoring in India jointly questions the figure of the tourist, the migrant and the *neo-inhabitant*. A comparative approach would enable us in the future to identify the distinctions that are made according to the itineraries and projects of the practitioners.

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NOTES

1. In Israel, this phenomenon refers to "the great trip after the army" (*hatiyul hagadol aharei hatzava*).

2. In Hebrew "The Great Journey", translation of *Grand Tour* or *Big Trip*. Also known as *Tarmila'ut* (*backpacking*), 'post-army trip', 'extended trip abroad' (Noy and Cohen, 2005). We use the term *Tiyul* (journey), used by the respondents.

3. Conducted in English and Spanish.

4. Respect for anonymity: respondents were open about their military experiences and are identifiable on social networks.

5. *Drifter* (*to* drift) corresponds in Cohen's (1979) definition to the figure of the alienated, protesting itinerant from the counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s.

6. Military expression is frequent in discourse and behaviour (Noy and Cohen, 2005).

7. *Homeland*, understood as the space of origin.

8. *Lametayel.co.il* website. Founded in Israel in 1978 by backpackers, *Lametayel* is a company that structures the tourist industry (Noy, 2006) with 27 travel shops. Being online, it offers several services (insurance, guides, ticket and accommodation reservations, social networks). The respondents we spoke with are all familiar with this platform.

9. Formerly transmitted orally or in the form of notes left in social venues and embassies.

10. "The Houmous Road".

11. Law 19.620 on the protection of privacy.

12. In the Aysén region of Chilean Patagonia, Israelis are the second largest international clientele after Argentines (Muñoz and Torres, 2010; Scholz *et al.,* 2012).

13. *HaGal HaYored* means "the descending wave" and *HaGal HaOleh* means "the rising wave".

14. Specialising in Latin America, *Muchiler* offers travel services (guides and advice, virtual community). The "*Muchiler* card", which is subject to a fee, enables users to obtain preferential rates in partner establishments. To be linked to *Muchiler,* a company must obtain "at least two recommendations from Israelis" (*B. 34*; *muchiler.co.il*).

15. *Backpackers surveyed*: Stages recognised by the travelling community and identifiable on *Muchiler*. In Chile, these stages are located close to protected natural spaces (SNASPE) administered by CONAF (SERNATUR 2010-2016).

16. The *Muchiler* network is based virtually around a large community, a *WhatsApp Muchiler* group, a *Facebook* page "2019-2020" followed by more than 43,000 people.

17. Three of these hostels (one of which complies with Jewish law) are affiliated with *Muchiler*. The fourth hostel, which is not affiliated, is nevertheless valued by the recommendations of the practitioners (*Lametayel*).

18. *Beit Habad: Habad House*. The *Habad-Loubavitch* Dynasty is part of the *Hasidic* current of Orthodox Judaism. This transnational movement has several hundred community centres abroad, notably in the places of *Tiyul* (Noy, 2006).

19. *Israeliyada*: refers to the 'group' of Israeli backpackers travelling on a 'recreational mode' (Cohen, 1979), maintaining the cultural codes of *Israel* (Noy and Cohen, 2005).

ABSTRACTS

Through the study of Israeli tourist mobility, this article questions the interrelations between wandering and hypermobility. In Israel, travelling after the completion of compulsory military service is a valued practice in contemporary society, and several thousand recently discharged young people pursue this faraway wandering every year. This article examines the phenomenon of post-military travel in Chile by proposing an approach based on spatial and virtual mobility and on the motility capital of the practitioners. The analysis of these mobilities reveals a form of long, flexible and virtually connected wandering that is part of the era of hypermobility. The insertion of the practice in a global and digitised context leads us to position it in a new category that we call *hyper-wandering*.

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