

# **How Adventurers Become Tourists: The Emergence of Alternative Travel Guides in the Course of Standardisation of Long-Distance Travelling**

**Jürgen Mittag / Diana Wendland**

## **RESÜMEE**

Ziel des Beitrags ist es, Perspektiven einer stärkeren inhaltlichen und konzeptionellen Verzahnung der Forschungen zum alternativen Tourismus und zum Ferntourismus am Beispiel der Bundesrepublik Deutschland aufzuzeigen. Alternativ- und Ferntourismus weisen sowohl Besonderheiten als auch Schnittmengen auf: Im Bestreben, sich von einer zunehmend raumgreifenden Massenreisekultur abzugrenzen, rückten namentlich in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren ferne außereuropäische Ziele ins Visier von unkonventionellen Touristen. Als Entdecker, Forscher oder Pioniere bereisten sie auf individuellen Pfaden die Fremde, erweiterten dabei kontinuierlich den touristischen Radius und wurden schließlich selbst zu „touristischen“ Touristen. Der alternative Reiseanspruch dieser frühen Fernreisenden sowie die vermeintliche Standardisierung des alternativen Ferntourismus werden im vorliegenden Beitrag exemplarisch anhand von alternativen Fernreiseführern, die ursprünglich im Selbstverlag publiziert wurden, untersucht. Am Beispiel dieses bislang noch unerforschten Quellenkorpus können sowohl Wahrnehmungs- als auch Differenzierungsprozesse des alternativen Ferntourismus sowie das Verhältnis und die Wechselwirkungen von Alternativ- und Massentourismus analysiert werden. .

## Introduction: Framing alternative long-distance tourism as new form of vacation

In the fifties and sixties, characterised by Lutz Raphael and Anselm Doering-Manteuffel as the ‘boom time in the 20<sup>th</sup> century’,<sup>1</sup> the West German society underwent significant changes.<sup>2</sup> New family and gender structures, growing influence of media and expanding consumption can be highlighted as some signs of change in a society characterised by an increasing pluralisation of lifestyles. The fifties, sixties and seventies also seem to be a period of establishing a new order within the relatively ‘new’ phenomenon of tourism. It is a common narrative in contemporary research that those social transformation processes led to new kinds of travelling and tourism. The fact that the class-independent phenomenon of tourism has been re-established in society is illustrated not only by an increasing number of reports on tourism published in German media, such as the ‘Spiegel’ magazine, but also by a rising number of academic publications on tourism since the fifties and sixties.<sup>3</sup> Significant features of economic development in the seventies were cyclical ups and downs or even declining rates of economic growth. However, the tourism industry still rose in the decade of economic crises – the seventies can even be described as the ‘take-off-period’ of modern tourism creating new forms of touristic consumption.<sup>4</sup> Not only did the seventies enable parts of West-German society that were still underrepresented in tourism – for instance blue-collar workers – to participate, but they also triggered a rise in foreign tourism in particular. During the seventies the annual vacation trip was established as part of everyday life. In the following years the intensity and the radius of travelling increased continuously.<sup>5</sup> However, the market for long-distance travels did not develop noticeably until the eighties.<sup>6</sup> Although some long-distance tour operators already emerged in the sixties and seventies they only formed a small part in the sum of travels to foreign countries.<sup>7</sup> The majority of German tourists during that decade still travelled to Austria, Switzerland, Italy, or Spain. In 1978, around

- 1 The authors wish to thank Anni Pekié (Cologne/Loughborough) for her support in editing the text and the editors for many helpful comments.
- 2 A. Doering-Manteuffel/L. Raphael, *Nach dem Boom. Perspektiven auf die Zeitgeschichte seit 1970*, Göttingen 2008, p. 8.
- 3 See for the dimension of those touristic changes the important work of T. Manning, *Die Italiengeneration. Stilbildung durch Massentourismus in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren*, Göttingen 2011. Manning understands tourism as part of a social debate. He puts the new form of tourism, which he illustrates by the example of tourism in Italy, into the context of generational history and argues that the emergence of a new kind of tourism and the beginning criticism of such tourism can be understood as a generationally motivated controversy.
- 4 Cf. C. Kopper, *Neuerscheinungen zur Geschichte des Reisens und des Tourismus*, in: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 44 (2004), pp. 665-677, p. 667.
- 5 See for the initial phase of outbound and organised tourism C. Kopper, *Die Reise als Ware. Zur Bedeutung der Pauschalreise für den westdeutschen Massentourismus nach 1945*, in: *Studies of Contemporary History/Zeithistorische Forschungen* 4 (2007), Online-Ausgabe, <zeithistorische-forschungen.de/161226041-Kopper-2-2007>, paragraph 9 and C. Kopper, *Kundenvertrauen und Pauschalreise. Aspekte der Veranstaltertouristik in West-Deutschland*, in: *Voyage* 8 (2009), S. 118-128.
- 6 For further statistics on tourism development in West Germany see also Kopper, *Die Reise als Ware* (5).
- 7 Already in 1966 Neckermann invested in the touristic development of foreign countries outlying Europe. The tour operator offered tours to India, Thailand or Sri Lanka. See *ibid*, paragraph.

4,4 per cent of German tourists travelled outside of Europe, a decade later the number rose to 13,8 per cent.<sup>8</sup>

In tourism history a second wave of transformation in the late seventies is documented. A new style of travelling has been established and has repeatedly been labelled as a 'change of habitus' in tourism,<sup>9</sup> but thus far it has been widely neglected in terms of its emergence and development. A particular segment of these new lifestyles and travel styles was considered to be alternative.<sup>10</sup> Since the fifties, especially youth cultures played the 'role of a trendsetter'<sup>11</sup> in tourism styles: they preferred individual, less organised trips 'across the border'. By preferring other travel destinations than their parents young alternative tourists increased the radius of travel.<sup>12</sup> Being labelled as 'deadbeats', 'hippies', 'travellers', 'globetrotters' or 'drifters' this touristic age group practised a 'new', alternative tourism, which they themselves stylised to be 'different' and which in return also was perceived to be 'different' by parts of the society or by other age groups in particular. In practice the demands people made of this form of tourism differed from 'standardised' tourism, for example a typical one-week-vacation on a beach or in a typical site for package tourism. The phrase 'mass tourism' seems to be a neologism of the sixties: For example the 'Spiegel' magazine never mentioned 'mass tourism' in the fifties, but in the subsequent decade the phrase was established within the context of the magazine's reporting on first touristic collateral damage in Italian and Spanish coastal resorts and was then used normatively.<sup>13</sup> Several alternative-tourism-generating criteria for the differentiation from an established form of travel have been carefully defined by tourism research: Firstly, the general differentiation from organised tourism and common beach holidays, together with a preferred individual, self-organised form of travel which relies on the idea staying as long as possible and as cheaply as possible and, secondly, a high level of interest in the visited region and its people.<sup>14</sup> The task of tourism history is not a value judgment of travel forms. However, in view of a discourse analysis or a conceptual history it should

8 For this trend see R. Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, Göttingen 2007, p. 168.

9 Cf. H. Spode, *Wie die Deutschen „Reiseweltmeister“ wurden. Eine Einführung in die Tourismusgeschichte*, Erfurt 2003, p. 53.

10 See generally for the concept of *alternative* lifestyles S. Reichardt/D. Siegfried, *Das alternative Milieu. Konturen einer Lebensform*, in: S. Reichardt/D. Siegfried (eds.), *Das alternative Milieu. Antibürgerlicher Lebensstil und linke Politik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Europa 1968–1983*, Göttingen 2010, pp. 9–24.

11 See A. Bertsch, *Alternative (in) Bewegung. Distinktion und transnationale Vergemeinschaftung im alternativen Tourismus*, in: D. Siegfried/S. Reichardt (eds.), *Das alternative Milieu. Antibürgerlicher Lebensstil und linke Politik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Europa 1968–1983*, Göttingen 2010, pp. 115–130, p. 115.

12 See R. Schönhammer, *Unabhängiger Jugendtourismus in der Nachkriegszeit*, in: H. Spode (ed.): *Goldstrand und Teutonengrill. Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte des Tourismus in Deutschland 1955–1989*, Berlin 1996, pp. 117–126 and A. Schildt, *Across the Border. West German Youth Travel to Western Europe*, in: A. Schildt/D. Siegfried (eds.): *Between Marx and Coca Cola. Youth Culture in Changing European Societies 1960–1980*, New York/Oxford 2006, pp. 149–160.

13 See for the usefulness of the phrase 'mass tourism' H. Spode, *Historische Tourismusforschung*, in: H. Hahn/J. H. Kagelmann (eds.), *Tourismuspsychologie und Tourismussoziologie. Ein Handbuch zur Tourismuswissenschaft*, München 1993, pp. 27–29.

14 See for example W. Freyer: *Tourismus. Einführung in die Fremdenverkehrsökonomie*, München 102010, p. 526 f. and A. Bertsch, *Alternative (in) Bewegung*, p. 115 (11).

be examined why, when in which way and based on what kind of arguments and terms tourism was described and reflected as alternative. Research will address as well the questions in which way the alternative travel claim was motivated and justified. Against this backdrop, this contribution refers to alternative tourism as an appreciation and not as an analytical category.

The focus of existing studies on West-German tourism in general and on alternative tourism in particular lies on trips to European countries. In light of more recent research activities, this article aims at reconstructing the history and the development of alternative tourism beyond Europe's borders. Europe with its centres of alternative culture in Amsterdam, London or Copenhagen remains essential for the expanding alternative tourism. But since the early seventies some young travellers with an alternative background started to focus on regions and countries apart from Europe. They turned their interest to less developed European tourist regions like Greece, some Eastern-European countries or the Spanish Isles like the Canaries, but also to faraway regions in particular in Africa, Asia or Latin America. Long-distance travelling<sup>15</sup> fits the alternative claim perfectly, since it was in its early phase an unpredictable adventure and the hosted countries appeared exotic and extraordinary. Alternative and long-distance tourism are different travel forms, which should be analysed separately – but they also reveal a number of intersections. The historiography of the alternative long-distance tourism can be helpful to add further analysis to the history of alternative tourism and to the history of long-distance tourism in general. The relationship and interaction between various travel styles and tourism forms with different perceptions and appreciations can be described as a basic academic void of tourism history.

The focus of this article is not on the emergence, but, rather on the development of alternative tourism. It addresses the question how alternative long-distance travel developed from its origins as an expression of a relatively 'free-spirited' lifestyle towards a more or less commercial activity. Particular attention will be paid to the long-distance travel pioneers' influence on the establishment and differentiation of an alternative travel guide industry. By analysing travel guides, which recorded and shaped the experience of individual, long-distance tourists, the initial demands for the travelling experience as well as potential tendencies for standardisation, such as professionalisation or assimilation, can be highlighted.

### **Methodological remarks: Travel guides as sources for tourism history**

The history of tourism is closely connected with the history of its media. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, different travel aids have been developed in the context of rising touristic activities,

15 'Long distance travelling' summarises travel activities beyond Europe's borders to more or less developed countries with different, less European lifestyles, habits and political structures. Trips to Egypt or Israel fall also under this category.

which might facilitated the ‘new’ and ‘unknown’ touristic practise. Travel guides, travel catalogues, travel posters or travel literature should not be reduced to pure ‘relicts’ of a growing travel industry or of a growing touristic consciousness – ‘touristic media’ rather structured and formed travel experiences.<sup>16</sup> Focussing on media that dealt with tourism is useful for tourism history in several ways: Travel guides in particular seem to be an appropriate source for a cultural and social history of tourism.<sup>17</sup> Developed as a travel aid for the real protagonist of tourism – the middle-class traveller – travel guides applied as the oldest and most important touristic media. The travel guide counts to basal touristic innovations: Besides the railways and the first organised tours, it especially helped to popularise and to consolidate touristic activities.<sup>18</sup>

It can be analysed and understood as ‘managers of perception’<sup>19</sup> or as ‘sight schools’<sup>20</sup>. They impart knowledge about a region or country but they also offer certain sights or perspectives. The medium suggests a rather specific way to travel and communicates a distinct touristic approach in a more or less obvious way. Besides this benefit for cultural history, the examination of travel guides can be a fundamental part of social history as well. Sales figures and circulation allow conclusions about the diffusiveness and the importance of the media and further about the publicity of specific travel forms and regions. The analysis of prices, mentioned in travel guides, could illustrate who was able to be part of the travel culture.

Although travel guides are an important source for tourism history, their analysis also holds challenges. The gap between diction, outlook and claim of the medium and expectations, reflections and reactions of the tourists should not be ignored – historians can hardly reconstruct if the tourist’s perception followed the guide’s suggestions. In this regard letters to the editor with complaints or commendations or ‘private’ sources, such as diaries or photo albums, could serve as a useful supplement.

Travel guides are a promising source for an investigation of an alternative travel claim in particular. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the European market for travel guides underwent significant changes and a new era of seeing ‘correctly’ dawned. Hasso Spode describes the history of the travel guides as a ‘history of wanting to be different’, or to put it in the words of Pierre Bourdieu as a history of ‘social distinction’.<sup>21</sup> Travel guides are distinguished in their narrative and visual aspects, they can contain various recommendations, differ in

16 See S. Müller, *Die Welt des Baedeker. Eine Medienkulturgeschichte des Reiseführers 1830–1945*, Frankfurt a. M./New York 2012, p. 19.

17 For the development of the travel guides as a travel aid for middle classes and its impact on tourism history see J. Palmowski, *Travels with Baedeker. The Guide Book and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian Britain*, in: R. Koshar (ed.), *Histories of Leisure*, Oxford/New York 2002, pp. 105–130; S. Müller, *Die Welt des Baedeker* (16); C. Pagenstecher, *Der Niedergang des Baedeker. Reiseführer in „Wirtschaftswunder“ und „Erlebnisgesellschaft“*, in: *Voyage 8* (2009), pp. 110–117 and U. Pretzel, *Die Literaturform Reiseführer im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen am Beispiel des Rheins*, Frankfurt a. M. 1995.

18 See for the general meaning of the medium H. Spode, *Wie die Deutschen Reiseweltmeister wurden*, p. 53 (9).

19 See S. Gorsemann, *Bildungsgut und touristische Gebrauchsanweisung. Produktion, Aufbau und Funktion von Reiseführern*, Münster 1995, p. 137.

20 See S. Müller, *Die Welt des Baedeker*, p. 28 (16).

21 H. Spode, *Reiseweltmeister*, p. 56 (9).

their repertoire of pictures, issue various daily schedules, or suggest an individual style of travel and thus appeal to different groups of tourists. In its specific orientation a travel guide ultimately 'speaks' to a group of tourists that can be distinguished from others. Thus, travel guides use the suggestions of a specific style of travel as a medium, which, according to Cord Pagenstecher, has the ability to create the experience of having an 'affiliation with a lifestyle-collective', or respectively the differentiation of various lifestyles.<sup>22</sup> Within the framework of conveying specific rules of conduct, perspectives, and points of view they can be seen as exclusive to a particular touristic environment: for example to a middle-class educational traveller, a fun-orientated package tourist or an alternative and individual traveller lusting for adventure.

### **The background: the evolution of alternative long-distance travel guides and the alternative long-distance travel-scene**

During the early seventies the first alternative travel guides on foreign regions appeared. A source for inspiration was the alternative scene in the US, which had emerged slightly earlier.<sup>23</sup> The first German alternative travel guides about faraway regions beyond Europe were written during the seventies and were initially self-published in a number of print runs much smaller than those of professional literature publishing.<sup>24</sup> After an initial period of foundation and establishment in the early seventies, there were noticeable traces of a professionalisation of alternative travel guides in the late seventies and the eighties. During the initial period authors linked up to form collectives; there was a rapid increase and extension of titles on offer. The self-publishers co-operated, had their own communal marketing, co-ordinated the titles and thus extended to a 'network'. Around 1974, established authors of alternative guides formed a collective, called 'Deutsche Zentrale für Globetrotter' (DZG). Together they produced the series 'Globetrotters writing for Globetrotters', whose volumes were still self-published. The idea of a 'network' remained a crucial element. The DZG served as a link to the alternative travelling scene – since 1974 it hosted annual meetings and published the magazine 'The Trotter'. The growing numbers of members of the DZG published in 'The Trotter' help to illustrate the rising appeal of the alternative travel scene: One year after its founding 220 members are

22 C. Pagenstecher, *Der bundesdeutsche Tourismus. Ansätze zu einer Visual History. Urlaubsprospekte, Reiseführer, Fotoalben, 1950–1990*, Hamburg 2003, p. 213.

23 A well-liked book is Arthur Frommer's travel guide "Europe on 5 Dollars a Day. America's Most Popular Money Saving Guide", which was first published in 1957. Frommer's concept of narration with its idea to save money remained essential for other guides and serials.

24 See for the development of alternative travel guides in general R. Kuntzke, *Die alternativen Reiseführer*, in: W. Isenberg/K. Lennartz (ed.), *Wegweiser in die Fremde. Reiseführer, Reiseratgeber, Reisezeitschriften*, Bensberg 1990, pp. 91–112; P. Meyer, *Selbst reisen, schreiben und verlegen. Versuch zur Geschichte der alternativen Reiseführer*, in: *Der Trotter* 90 (1998), Sonderausgabe 25 Jahre DZG, pp. 37–40; C. Pagenstecher, *Der bundesdeutsche Tourismus*, pp. 205–254 (22) and A. Bertsch, *Alternative (in) Bewegung*, pp. 120–122 (11).

listed,<sup>25</sup> in 1978 the DZG had 750 members<sup>26</sup> and in 1985 there were already 1,200 members mentioned.<sup>27</sup> The majority of DZG-members were born between 1941 and 1950. The education level of the members was above average: The majority had a general qualification for university entrance. 283 of 750 members passed a university degree; 199 members were actually enrolled as students.<sup>28</sup> The authors of the examined travel guides were born shortly before, during or shortly after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War as well and might have made their first ‘different’ travel experiences during the late fifties before they turned to long-distance travel in the sixties and particular in the seventies.

The authors of alternative travel guides had realised that distribution was a challenge and tried to boost their popularity with different kinds of advertisement in various guide-books and with an appearance at the Frankfurt book fair in 1975. A table of already published titles as well as suggestions for other alternative guides were to be found in the back of each volume of the series ‘Globetrotters writing for Globetrotters’. The more and more tightening ‘network’ became increasingly international. Thus recommendations for German authors are to be found in the works of Swiss author Robert Treichler and meanwhile it was attempted to adapt the ‘Globetrotters writing for Globetrotters’-concept as ‘Hitchhikers writing for Hitchhikers’ in Switzerland.

From the mid to the late seventies a significant trend towards commercialisation can be identified. Bernd Tesch, the author of various alternative guides, founded the ‘International Globetrotter Centre’ in Aachen, a body solely concerned with providing paid services, for example information about alternative guides as well as maps. Furthermore, the centre organised meetings with the opportunity to exchange information and to attend commercial training courses. Stores selling equipment such as backpacks, tents, and clothing also opened. Various members of the alternative travelling scene began to treat their hobby as a commercial activity in order to make a living out of it: In 1978 the DZG-survey mentioned that six of 750 members understood their travel activities as a real profession – their job was considered to be a ‘Globetrotter’.<sup>29</sup>

A rudimentary professionally functioning and structured alternative travel market emerged, consisting of various self- and small publishers, diffusing into the official travel guide market in two ways. On the one hand, the professional travel market itself changed. Due to new underlying conditions for tourism the alternative long-distance tourism became better known. At that time the already established market for travel guides began to publish ‘conventional’ guides on faraway regions while also developing some alternative series. These alternative guides by established publishers had the advantage that they could be bought just like a regular book since the print run was of a higher number and subsequently did not sell out as quickly as the leading self-published

25 See *Der Globetrotter*. DZG-Info 1 (1975) Nr. 2, p. 3, *Archiv für alternatives Schrifttum*, Duisburg, 82 III. 233.

26 See DZG-Statistik, in: *Der Trotter* 4 (1978), Nr. 16/17, p. 5 AfaS, 82 III. 233.

27 See *Info-Heft der DZG, Trotter Sonderdruck* 1 (1985) 3 AfaS, 82 III. 233.

28 See DZG-Statistik, in: *Der Trotter* 4 (1978) 16/17, 5, AfaS, 82 III. 233.

29 See *ibid.*

guidebooks. In 1976, DuMont published the first volume of the series 'Richtig reisen' (travelling correctly), whereas Rowohlt followed suit in 1980 with 'Anders reisen' (travelling differently). Additionally, the alternative authors themselves incorporated into professional literary publishing. They founded their own publishing houses, whose volumes were adapted to the professional travel guide market by committed external authors and a new layout. In the German-speaking area this led to the emergence of the well-known series 'Reise Know-How' [travel know-how], which developed from the series 'Globetrotters writing for Globetrotters', as well as the guides published by Stefan Loose. In this context the network characteristics changed and authors were pushed out of the network in accordance with the endeavours to differentiate and professionalise the market.

The alternative long-distance travel-scene distanced from the alternative travel-scene focused on European regions in the late seventies. This trend occurred in parallel with the process of professionalisation so that a process of diversification of the alternative travellers could be identified. Various issues of 'The Trotter' discussed who should or should not be part of the network and a member of the DZG. The DZG understood itself as a 'community of interests for globetrotters'<sup>30</sup>; a globetrotter was defined as an 'undemanding individualist' who 'travels on his own initiative and with passion to developing countries or to private places'.<sup>31</sup> This definition excluded 'conventional' long-distance tourists as well as alternative tourists travelling inside Europe. In the 'globetrotter's' eyes two separated alternative travel scenes existed – in ambition to conserve the network's authenticity 'globetrotters' sealed themselves off from other travel scenes. The postulated difference between alternative long-distance travelling and alternative travelling inside Europe justifies the focus on operating modes, characteristics and remains of the alternative long-distance network as a specific travel scene with own 'rules'.

### **Empirical evidence: travel guides as key indicators for alternative tourism**

The following part of the study presents the results of an analysis of 37 guides, which were categorised as alternative in different views. All of these travel guides were firstly published outside the regular book market. The study of these most obvious and accessible remains of early long-distance travels is designed to describe and assess the professionalisation and diversification of alternative travel guides from the seventies until the eighties.

#### **1. Format**

Categories such as clear arrangement, manageability and durability have defined the formal features contributing to the usefulness of the medium travel guide since it first

30 See Info-Heft, Deutsche Zentrale für Globetrotter, Trotter-Sonderdruck 1 (1985), p. 3, AfaS, 82 III. 233.

31 See the article 'Who is a Globetrotter?' in: Der Trotter 5 (1977) 13, p. 4, AfaS, 82 III. 233.



emerged.<sup>32</sup> In the case of the alternative travel guides they, too, were the attributes defining how the medium ought to be structured. However, the self-publishing far off from commercial literary publishing caused the quality of alternative travel guides to be alternative as well. Nevertheless, the fundamental format of the first alternative long-distance guides in the early seventies was already modelled after those series that had been printed by established publishers and thus seemed quite standardised already. This is hardly a surprise: Since travel guides are required to be of a certain utility value, the arrangement of the format is already given by the aforementioned categories. Large scales are seldom to be found in the first print run of alternative guides, and they were mostly replaced by a more useful paperback format during the second print. Structural aids, such as a table of contents and an index, guaranteed a clear layout. These elements were improved further during the development of the guides. Occasionally, evaluation scales such as the one in Lössel's guide to Peru are to be found, subjecting the foreign places into a strict pattern of evaluation.<sup>33</sup>

Meanwhile, changes and tendencies for professionalisation in the alternative travel guides are demonstrated through a permanent mediation of the format. Although an informal 'standard format' existed from the beginning, the format developed from 'early' guides in the seventies into 'late' guides in the eighties and nineties. A second print run does not only indicate a certain demand and an existing readership that is waiting for updated information, but also contained formal changes, which were mainly aimed at improving the aforementioned criteria. Options to design the guides in a more professional way were discussed intensely in the 'Trotter'. A hand-out for future authors codifies the regular format for the series 'Globetrotters writing for Globetrotters' to be A4 and the colour of the binding to be 'baedeker-red'.<sup>34</sup>

## 2. Titles

The titles of the examined guides were usually more exact and precise than that of those guides published by Baedeker or Polyglott, which thanks to much more intensive marketing did not need a precise title and caption; the readers simply knew what to expect from those guides. In the alternative travel guides, however, the title was a short summary – a specific audience would consciously be attracted by a longer and meaningful subheading and several expectations would come with this title. Due to the fact that the authors of the alternative guides initially lacked the marketing strategies of the established publishers and that potential buyers were unable to get hold of a copy in a bookstore, train- or gas-station in order to have a look insight the book and to read excerpts, a precise title with exact information was vital.

32 See for this formal categories S. Gorsemann, *Bildungsgut* (19) and S. Müller, *Die Welt des Baedeker*, pp. 26-28 (16).

33 See R. Lössel, *Peru, Bolivien. Reisehandbuch*, München 1982 (*Globetrotter schreiben für Globetrotter*, Bd. 8), p. 8.

34 Already the first travel guide had red color. See for guidance in a formal dimension *Der Trotter* 4 (1978) Nr. 16/17, p. 79, Afas 82 III 233.

Furthermore, alternative travel guides differed from their established counterparts since their title never announced an actual travel guide. Instead they were fashioned and sold as travel manuals or travel companions. The 'reserved' title might discourage possible expectations that the book would deliver a comprehensive introduction to the travelled region. The title clearly highlighted the search for distinction: The books were no 'common' travel guides and they were not written for everyone. According to the title they were aimed at a target group not interested in tourism – so the books were meant for 'globetrotters', 'discoverers', 'self-drivers' or 'individual tourists', but not for 'crude tourists'. In the course of time this attitude slightly changed indicating a process of partial professionalisation.

### 3. Prefaces

The prefaces of the volumes enable the readers to discover the essence of their demands for travelling that the alternative long-distance travel guide is based on. An analysis of the preface allows drawing conclusions on the production processes and conditions of alternative travel guides as well as the general process of alternative travels. The majority of alternative travel guides utilised the preface in order to provide the reader with an introduction to the travel guide and its understanding of travelling 'correctly'. This is a major distinction from established travel guides such as the Baedeker, where the preface lost its importance on grounds of the rationalisation of narration. In many cases it was increasingly shortened or it even was left out.<sup>35</sup> The examined alternative travel guides presented themselves less standardised; later editions still contained prefaces that were based on formal changes and were rather increased in length than being shortened.

The prefaces indicate that the researched travel guides were in fact by-products of the travels themselves. The unprepared position and a successfully completed tour were fashioned to be achievements by the authors and confirmations for alternative styles of travel. This travelling attitude shown by the authors, whose actual appeal was the unforeseeable, unpredictable and the individual exploration, challenged the idea of a travel guide that is the best possible preparation for travellers. Meanwhile, the authors did not fail to acknowledge the tensions that arose between their own individual style of travel and their occupation as an author. As mentioned in the prefaces of the alternative travel guides, the motivation to write such a travel guide arose out of the desire to reduce possible strain and pressure on future travellers. Two traditional aspects are quoted as justification and motivation for writing an alternative travel guide: saving time and money. The Baedeker's promise to save time and money was important for the (male) middle-class traveller in the 19<sup>th</sup> century – his environment, his profession, his limited budget and his sense of duty led travel activities to be temporary and not too expensive. The Baedeker helped to structure and to organise the daily routine on a trip. 'Time' and 'money' were equal partners in narration patterns. It is not astonishing that early aims and intentions

35 See for the development and rationalisation of the Baedeker U. Pretzel, *Literaturform Reiseführer*, p. 75 f (17).

of the medium travel guide stayed relevant for alternative long-distance guides as facets or fragments of the medium as well. The authors separated themselves in several ways from ancestors like the Baedeker but they could not neglect the fundamental demand of the medium itself: The reader's and future traveller's benefit was and is the travel guide's right to exist. The reader's expected practical value of the medium shaped its layout but also its general purpose. Nevertheless, alternative authors tried to re-establish those traditional motives. Instead of suggesting exact daily schedules, the alternative guides' focus lied on options to travel at a low cost. The promise to communicate ways to travel as cheap as possible underlined the author's claim to appear as 'insiders' or 'trendsetters'. The 'cheapest trip'<sup>36</sup> was essential for a long-lasting and intensive alternative travel adventure. The aim to save money served as requirement for a journey that could count as alternative. Besides Kopper's argumentation that especially the tour operator Necker-mann reinforced its reputation as a 'democratising force' of formerly exclusive and highly prestigious consumer goods by selling some of its intercontinental vacations below the psychological 'sound barrier' of 1,000 DM,<sup>37</sup> it can be pointed out that also alternative travel guides had at least the potential to spread long distance tourism. By preparing their readers with tips for a 'cheap' journey and by preferring a 'work and travel'-idea, the authors tried to demonstrate that a long-distance tour was also practicable with a low and shrinking budget. Despite this possible 'achievement' of the medium, it cannot be ignored that the authors often introduced themselves as academics that saved money for years. In fact, the promise to save money by travelling with the guide was broken by the price of the media. The individual and complex production process was responsible that alternative travel guides were more expensive than the 'cheap' Polyglott. The alternative guides' prices deviated because of their different length and layout. Among the examined guides the 'typical' alternative long-distance travel guide was 287 pages long and cost 19,33 DM – a price rather similar to other averaged travel guides.

Furthermore, the analysis of the prefaces allows for drawing conclusions on the alternative travel guides' attempt to set themselves apart. How did the authors want their audiences to perceive and understand them? In the prefaces the authors differentiated themselves from the services provided by the original medium by claiming to dissolve the strict selection and focus on places of interest as a core ingredient of the medium. Considering criticism on the 'normed view' of travel guides<sup>38</sup> the authors promised not to define a new 'canon of things worth seeing'.<sup>39</sup> As the titles of the examined guides already

36 See R. Treichler, *Der billigste Trip nach Indien, Afghanistan & Nepal*, Langnau a. A. 31977.

37 See Kopper, *Die Reise als Ware*, paragraph 15 (5).

38 Enzensberger's interpretation of the role of travel guides had a high impact. He understood tourism as a result of the general desire to escape from the modern societies and lifestyles. But the escape by means of tourism is not a real escape – tourism is fundamental part of the modern society and of the industrialised way of life, which the tourist wants to leave behind. In the eyes of Enzensberger the tourist's voluntary obedience of the gaze and the diction of the travel guide illustrates that his desired escape and longing for freedom remains an illusion. Cf. H. M. Enzensberger, *Eine Theorie des Tourismus*, in: Id., *Enzensberger, Einzelheiten I*, Frankfurt a. M. 1962, pp. 147-168.

39 Pagenstecher, *Der bundesdeutsche Tourismus*, p. 217 (22).

implied, the prefaces proclaimed that the reader's point of view and perception shall not be influenced by the guide. Practical information for the travellers should function as a prerequisite for experiences with the location. In fact, the intention of less influence in favour of allowing and supporting an own alternative adventure for the future traveller was broken by the strong focus on 'correct' travel modes. Although Meyer mentioned that alternative did not mean a 'correct' style of travel in a fair and more environmentally friendly way,<sup>40</sup> debates about an adequate travel style and behaviour were apparent in large parts of the guides as in the 'Trotter'. There are some travel guides that truly focused on practical information; but those guides were seldom and they also presented – for instance by using photos – a specific interpretation of travel. This concentration on the appropriate travel styles is hardly a surprise – following an alternative comprehension only an appropriate travel style allowed a lasting travel impression. Accordingly authors asked their readers to travel correctly, sometimes those encouragements included a hidden warning: 'If you travel the Philippines correctly, than you will experience a lot and have an unforgettable trip.'<sup>41</sup>

Especially a differentiation from the historical-romantic point of view to be found in the Baedeker became apparent, focussing on traditional attractions of high culture such as churches and monuments. The authors mainly questioned the lack of application to contemporary times in those 'conventional' travel guides, whose narratives would neglect real lifestyles of people. Alternative authors promised a less superficial point of view that is focussed on contemporary times, the people, their lifestyles and the political situation in the country of destination. This differentiation from special travel guide series went hand in hand with a general differentiation from certain styles of travel. This means that, if the Polyglott was deemed to be the travel guide for package tourists by alternative authors, then it was also a differentiation from the one-dimensional picture drawn of package tourism. In the travel guides that were examined all-inclusive and package tourism were used synonymously to the normative concept of 'mass tourism' and were condemned as inauthentic, superficial modes of travel:

*This travel guide is written for tourists, who do not want to be bound by the rules of a package tour. Responsible for the writing of those travel tips are the established publishers, because they do not deliver real important information [...]. The slogan 'Globetrott with Polyglott' seems just to be a clever marketing strategy.<sup>42</sup>*

The touristic radius was widened by the 'escape from mass tourism', and new destinations such as Madagascar or the Indonesian island of Lombok caught the attention of alternative travellers who write as expert's guides on specific regions in order to secure a niche for themselves in the times of growing rivalry and a rather tightening network.

40 See P. Meyer, *Selbst reisen*, p. 38 (24).

41 Cf. J. Peters, *Philippinen. Paradies für Globetrotter. Reise-Handbuch*, Berlin <sup>9</sup>1984 (*Globetrotter schreiben für Globetrotter*, Bd. 13), p. 1.

42 See the explanation by L. Tüting, *Von Alaska bis Feuerland. Die Traumstrasse der Welt. Handbuch für Globetrotter*, Berlin <sup>2</sup>1977 (*Globetrotter schreiben für Globetrotter*, Bd. 4), p. 3.

Similar to tourism criticism the authors complained about the rising tourism and its consequences in the foreign regions. Responsible for the ‘touristy’ development of the foreign region were not the alternative tourists, who might follow the guide’s suggestions, but the ‘all-inclusive-organisers’ because they launched into this wilderness and virgin soil.<sup>43</sup> This normative cleavage between ‘mass’ and alternative tourism is apparent throughout the majority of the guides.

#### 4. Narration and visual conception

Anja Bertsch and Cord Pagenstecher refer in their studies to the colloquial and informal tone of alternative guides even including spelling and punctuation errors.<sup>44</sup> This observation can also be attributed to the guides under observation. In the late 1970s and in the 1980s, as part of the professionalisation and standardisation of ‘The Trotter’ and other alternative travel guides, the number of errors was reduced by professional editorial work. The basic alternative sound, however, remained intact.

The travel guides deriving from the alternative milieu were following two ‘old’ traditions. On the one hand, the intensive discussion of appropriate travelling reminded of the *Ars Apodemica*, a genre of literature between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century that voiced approaches to method, meaning and purpose of travelling.<sup>45</sup> Because of technical and infrastructural developments travel activities became less complex and time-consuming in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. A touristic consciousness arose and consolidated; ‘sterile’ travel activities were established as an own value. In this framework it became important to communicate and to spread practical knowledge which the tourist could use for his future travel activities – the medium travel guide did not emerge accidentally, it was a result of social developments. Extensive explanations about the meaning and function of travel activities in general seemed to be more and more needless and were replaced by practical ‘tips and tricks’: On the other hand, the important role of the natives and their lifestyles in alternative narration patterns allows associations with working-class travel guides. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century – during the diffusion of touristic activities and the stabilisation of a touristic consciousness – special travel guides for proletarian tourists have been developed. Referring to the category ‘social watching’ those travel guides shed light on local lifestyles and habits of native proletarians.<sup>46</sup> Despite this perspective the proletarian guides oriented themselves on the Baedeker’s selection results. Hence, alternative travel guides presented themselves as small Apodemics and as real protagonists of the ‘social watching’ idea.

43 R. Schettler/M. Schettler, *Kaschmir + Ladakh. Globetrotter Ziele beiderseits des Himalayas*, Hattorf 1977 (*Globetrotter schreiben für Globetrotter*, Bd. 8), p. 2.

44 See C. Pagenstecher, *Der bundesdeutsche Tourismus*, p. 221 (22) and A. Bertsch, *Alternative (in) Bewegung*. (11)

45 See for a focus on the *Apodemica* W. Günter, *Der Nutzen des Reisens. Die frühneuzeitliche Apodemik als Theorie der Erfahrung*, in: H. Spode (ed.), *Zur Sonne, zur Freiheit! Beiträge zur Tourismusgeschichte*, Berlin 1991, pp. 15-20 and Gorsemann, *Bildungsgut*, pp. 60-66 (19).

46 See for the development of working-class-guides C. Keitz, *Reisen zwischen Kultur und Gegenkultur – „Baedeker“ und die ersten Arbeitertouristen in der Weimarer Republik*, in: H. Spode (ed.), *Zur Sonne, zur Freiheit! Beiträge zur Tourismusgeschichte*, Berlin 1991, pp. 47-57 and C. Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild. Die Entstehung des modernen Massentourismus in Deutschland*, München 1997.

Although title and preface of the alternative guides refused to generate the impression of a comprehensive travel guide, narrative emphasis included both practical travel information and detailed information about conventions, traditions, lifestyles, characteristics or places of interests of the hosted country. The focus was on practical information as the title promised and on ‘lifeseeing’ rather than ‘sightseeing’. Against this backdrop, Pagenstecher’s interpretation that the alternative travel guides provided tourism with its own postmodern staging, separating the touristy ‘front stage’ area from the authentic ‘backstage’ area, gains relevance.<sup>47</sup> The narration of the examined travel guides should enable a glimpse behind the scenes.<sup>48</sup>

Nevertheless, the guides indicate a gap between the demands set by travellers as laid out in the preface and the actual narration. It becomes apparent that the travel guides did not completely realise the idea of ‘life seeing’. Thus, historical and cultural sights like museums, temples, churches and natural panoramas were deemed worthwhile in all the travel guides examined. Local people, too, were mainly included when they seemed ‘historical’, for example by wearing a folkloric dress and face paint or were obviously practising a lifestyle which could interpret as ‘traditional’ or ‘original’. This gap becomes especially evident when looking at the visual layout of the guides. On the covers of the early travel guides in the seventies photographs were a seldom occurrence, but subsequently photos took the place of drawings or maps, which also had the ability to construct visual imagery. The photo conveyed objectivity and communicated specific emotions – so it became a norm on the covers of alternative travel guides. The visual layout on the cover and the content of the travel guides can be separated into different kinds of imagery, which allow for a conclusion about the direction and focus of the alternative travel guide itself. In the meantime a relatively narrow selection of pictures was used on covers and within the visual layout of the travel guides, supposedly documenting an explorer’s attitude and offering a view on a seemingly ‘authentic’ and ‘original’ way of life. Photos of locals were shot, who were supposed to represent a ‘foreign’ and ‘authentic’ way of life. Alongside the native and his way of life as a proof for exotic and adventure, the author – standing next to his car parked in the middle of nowhere – remained a common motif that is found on numerous covers and has been reinvented several times. But both images could also merge: the ‘native’ being photographed next to the author and his car as ‘double’ proof for the foreign and exotic environment. The perspective offered could also conclude in a private, voyeuristic perspective – for example when the cover shows an intimate, yet assumed authentic scene of native way of life, which was a hidden shot behind a tree or from a hill.<sup>49</sup> In the leaflets of the big travel companies this outlook on the natives usually remained a core element for the advertisement of long-distance tourism. Authentic-

47 Cf. C. Pagenstecher, *Der bundesdeutsche Tourismus*, p. 243 (22).

48 See L. Tütting, *Von Alaska bis Feuerland*, p. 10 (42).

49 See for example the cover of M. Velbinger, *Griechenland. Reisetips, die nicht jeder kennt*, München 1978 and A., Wodtcke/W. Därr, *Madagaskar, Seychellen, Mauritius, La Réunion. Handbuch für Fernreisende*, München 1981 (*Globetrotter schreiben für Globetrotter*, Bd. 18).

ity and originality became key phrases of long-distance tourism – so alternative claims, phrases and perspectives remained relevant in long-distance tourism in general.

## Conclusions

The travel guides under examination clearly demonstrate the demand for an alternative style of travel, which is shaped by the self-reliant, individual style of travel and the promise of a different perspective on the destination, opposing all-inclusive and package tourism or beach vacations, which are perceived to be specific kinds of ‘mass tourism’. During their transformation to professional guidebooks the alternative travel guides assimilated each other not only in their objectives. In the course of moving into the travel guide market the volumes were at least partly professionalised – a standardisation of format, narration and visualisation emerged. The standard format in size, a hard cover, a photograph on the cover and a common colour scheme were linked with an ongoing ‘assimilation’ of contents and an increasing professional editorial work. The titles of the examined guides primarily announced practical information, but in fact patterns of narration emerged delivering not only practical but also country specific information, corresponding with Enzensberger’s category of ‘lifeseeing’, and ways to travel ‘fairly’, ‘correctly’, ‘sustainably’ and also ‘individually’.

The idea that travel guides should represent the holistic approach to travelling introduced by the *Ars Apodemica* and the idea of ‘social watching’ of the working class guidebooks were limited by the fact that the guides’ narratives and visual layouts were more or less shaped by a historical-romantic perspective of the middle-class Baedeker. The majority of authors of alternative guides resolutely claimed to represent an ‘untouristic’ travel style and behaviour. Nevertheless, the examined guides provided a touristic orientation and recommendations for consumption, western food and touristic activities (like souvenir shopping, folklore or beaches), which were in fact already to be found in the early travel guides of the seventies, but did indeed increase continuously over time. This view was reinforced by an increasing number of photographs picturing a beach vacation, signifying a supposedly sociable experience, on the covers of later volumes.<sup>50</sup>

In the seventies alternative long-distance tourism itself became the focus of the ever-intensifying criticism on tourism. Thus, the weekly ‘Die Zeit’ mentioned a downfall and increasing ‘banality’ of alternative tourism in the late seventies: ‘Coming to terms with the people and their culture has become sporadic – generally getting high on nature, drugs and easy American girls are the priority. Alongside the worn out trail the communication between the travellers has been reduced to passing around the menu. Ham sandwiches, chips, pancakes with honey, Nescafé, coke. What the fishermen are having in the shack restaurants next door is no more of interest.’<sup>51</sup> The ‘Spiegel’ magazine ex-

50 For example P. Meyer/B. Rausch, *Jugoslawien. Reisehandbuch für Autofahrer und Rucksackreisende*, Fulda 1987.

51 Cf. C. Marwitz, *Haschisch, Morphium oder Money Change?*, in: *Die Zeit*, 28.09.1978.

pressed similar claims. The ethnologist Eric Cohen, who in the early eighties still believed in a desire for alternative travel among the first globetrotters, recognised that the initial demands for a tour were falling apart so that alternative tourism seemed to be ‘mass alternative’ tourism: ‘As the mass-tourist, the mass-drifter also gets a biased picture of the host society: the latter’s perspective is diametrically opposed to that of the former: the one looks at the host country from the lofty heights of an air-conditioned hotel room, the other from the depths of the dust-bin.’<sup>52</sup> This narrative, which explains the similar operating mode of both ways of travelling, can be considered as useful for the historiography of tourism. Interactions between different travel forms and travel-scenes are important fields of research for historians. It also has to be highlighted, that the alternative travel guides communicated – voluntary or accidentally – a more fun-orientated, quite ‘touristic’ perspective. But they also preferred, established and defended a new ethnological claim and perspective, which remained characteristic for long-distance tourism in general – alternative as well as organised or ‘conventional’.

52 See E. Cohen, *Nomads from Affluence. Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter Tourism*, in: *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 14 (1983), pp. 89-103, here p. 95.