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GLOBAL LIFESTYLES

Constructions of Places and Identities
in Travel Journalism



Emilia Ljungberg

MAKADAM

Global Lifestyles



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Makadam

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Doctoral dissertation in Media History at the Department of Communication
and Media, Lund University, to be publicly defended on September 29, 2012

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It has become somewhat of a cliché to begin the preface of a PhD dissertation by stating that the project one has just finished is like a journey. Needless to say, this is especially popular when the topic of the thesis is travel. However, there are many ways in which writing a thesis is not like traveling, especially if one imagines the kinds of trips that are presented in the glossy pages of lifestyle magazines. Writing this thesis turned out to be not quite like spending a week or, for that matter, five years at a luxurious spa resort in Southeast Asia.

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INTRODUCTION:

Narrating a global world

Travel narratives offer stories about the world while at the same time presenting places as products of the tourism industry. By means of travel narratives in all their different forms, people encounter the foreign even before they leave their homes. The narratives inform the tourist about where to go, what to see and what to do at a destination. They are co-producers of the myths that surround places. But they also say something about home; they create myths about the readers' place in the world. Hence, the genre lends itself well to cultural analysis. Since the late twentieth century, globalization has become the dominant narrative about the world. This thesis analyzes how globalization discourses are used in contemporary travel magazines, through the construction of identities and places, in order to understand them as expressions of privilege.

Travel writing is a genre that is simultaneously both highly criticized and very popular. Developments in tourism have led to numerous new subgenres while the genre has found new media outlets. Travel narratives are as popular as ever, whether it is in the form of published books, TV-programs, guidebooks, or travel supplements in newspapers and glossy magazines. Travel writing on the Internet has become widespread and facilitated the rise of the amateur travel writer, not least through travel blogs. A popular subgenre of travel writing in which questions of identity are particularly salient is the travel magazine, since a defining characteristic of the magazines is their closeness to the readers.¹ It is with

1. Tim Holmes, "Mapping the Magazine: An Introduction," in Tim Holmes (ed.), *Mapping the*

this in mind that I have chosen travel magazines as the object of my study. The main material consists of two publications: the Swedish magazine *RES* and the international magazine *Business Traveller Asia/Pacific* (in the following referred to as *Business Traveller A/P*).

In her seminal study of the affinities between travel writing and imperial conquest, Mary-Louise Pratt concludes that the writers of her study constructed European “ways of knowing the world, and being in it.”² Likewise, in her dissertation on Swedish travel narratives about the United States during the mid twentieth century, Amanda Lagerkvist writes that tourism presents us with an ordered world.³ More than simply offering descriptions of various places, travel writing provides the reader with an overall grasp of the world. To create stories about the world and one’s place in it becomes more urgent in times of rapid change. The writers of Pratt’s study grappled with a European identity in relation to imperial conquests, while contemporary writers deal with the definition of identities and relations in a supposedly globalized world. Scholars of colonialism have explained how much travel writing during the colonial era was a vital part of the imperial project, both explaining and defending imperial ambitions for the European home audience.⁴ Since the late twentieth century, the concept of globalization has become the dominant way of describing the world.⁵ In contemporary texts, globalization becomes a topic, both explicitly and implicitly. The question is how tourism and travel writing create order in a contemporary global world.

Globalization is said to reshape and redefine established perceptions of places, one such redefinition being the changing role of the nation and the increasing importance of the region. Identities are also thought to be redefined, not least in travel narratives that discuss the existence of new identities in terms of cosmo-

Magazine: Comparative Studies in Magazine Journalism, London; New York: Routledge, 2008, p. xii.

2. Mary-Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London: Routledge, 1992, p. 29.

3. Amanda Lagerkvist, *Amerikafantasier: Kön, medier och visualitet i svenska reseskildringar från USA 1945–63*, Stockholm: Univ., Diss. Stockholm, 2005, p. 95.

4. Pratt 1992, p. 4.

5. Arif Dirlik, *Global Modernity: Modernity in the Age of Global Capitalism*, Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2007, p. 66.

politanism. The stories and identity constructions produced in travel writing are, of course, not neutral or innocent; they are both expressions of and claims to power and privilege. It is this construction of privilege, through definitions of identities and places in which globalization discourses are utilized, that is the object of my analysis. This thesis presents a multidimensional research project, touching upon issues relating to globalization and lifestyle, popular constructions of identities, places, and authenticities, as well as postcolonial analysis and travel writing studies.

Identities and places in a global world

Globalization is a set of powerful discourses that shape perceptions about the contemporary world, and the media are essential in creating the experience of the world as global. This has arguably been the case for news media that present the readers and audience with images of faraway places, but it is equally true of travel writing that offers the reader a world available for tourism consumption.⁶ To study globalization discourses in travel writing, I have chosen to focus on two key topics, one being the question of identities and the other the question of places, as these are often central in discussions about the cultural aspects of globalization. This choice is furthermore based on my interest in the genre of travel writing, and more specifically travel magazines, in which these issues are fundamental. Issues relating to place and identity are also inherently connected. Thus, concepts of place and identity are studied together to see how a geographical order is constructed to serve imagined identities and lifestyles.

Questions of identities are also a main concern in my analysis because of their centrality in the genre of lifestyle media. The magazines of my study change from being travel magazines into lifestyle magazines during the period from 1982 to 2008. This transformation evokes questions of how the tourist is given an identity as a consumer and how different tourist spaces and destinations are used in this identity construction. Magazines are closer to their readers than other forms of journalism, for example, newspaper journalism, even though newspapers are to a

6. See, for example, Simon Cottle, *Global Crisis Reporting: Journalism in the Global Age*, Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2009.

larger extent than before mimicking the format of the magazine, with increasing space being given to various types of supplements and lifestyle journalism. Magazines are closer in that they engage with the intimate life of the readers. Helping the reader to make sense of their world and of their place in it is one of the main functions of a magazine. Thus, it is necessary to have an idea of who the reader is and what the reader is interested in. This closeness to the readers makes magazines an appealing object for a study of how identities are constructed in specific communities.⁷

According to the sociologist Saskia Sassen, it is impossible to analyze globalization without studying how it is played out in specific places or, in her words, how it is localized.⁸ In travel magazines, globalization is localized through the textual representation of various tourism destinations. In my analysis of places in travel magazines, I have chosen to focus on two more specific localities: the global metropolis and the spa retreat as a constructed local place for relaxation and harmony.

Travel writing has often been studied as an expression of colonial discourses and as a nostalgic longing for a colonial past.⁹ I will develop, but also challenge, that research tradition by placing the magazines in the context of globalization discourses to analyze how ideas about globalization are used in the construction of tourist identities and the use of places in tourism. Globalization discourses challenge some of the older traditions of the travel-writing genre but they also reconfirm parts of that tradition. I argue that globalization discourses are utilized in the construction of the so-called implied reader of travel narratives and that it is used to shape identities on a cultural level, for example, when traditional divisions of East and West are put into question. In order to describe how this

7. Holmes 2009, p. xii.

8. Saskia Sassen, *Cities in a World Economy*, Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Pine Forge Press, 3rd ed., 2006, p. 198.

9. See, for example, Beverley Ann Simmons, "Saying the Same Old Things: A Contemporary Travel Discourse and the Popular Magazine Text," in Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker (eds.), *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*, London: Routledge, 2004; Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000[1998]; Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

is expressed in travel narratives, I analyze texts about East and Southeast Asian metropolises (to simplify I will write South/East Asia when I refer to the two regions). The decision to focus more specifically on South/East Asia comes from an examination of the material; it is in texts about these regions of Asia that the travel writers of my study use globalization discourses the most, and that these discourses are activated to describe the foreign (and implicitly the self).

The relation between the West and Asia has differed from that between an imperial West and Africa or the Orient studied in Edward Said's influential postcolonial study *Orientalism*.¹⁰ Asian countries such as China and Japan were never formally colonized by any European power, and were colonial powers in their own right. Tokyo was the largest city in the world between 1600 and 1800.¹¹ However, both countries were forced to modernize along European lines in the nineteenth century. The relation between the West and Asia is equally ambivalent now, and a significant aspect of globalization in the late twentieth century is the changing relations between East and West. The economic success of a few Asian countries has intensified the crisis of Europe or the West.¹² The rise of Asian countries in the world economy has not completely undermined the dominance of the U.S. The Pacific Rim, as the central region of the contemporary world, has been discussed increasingly since the late twentieth century.¹³ This includes Asian countries such as Hong Kong, Singapore, China, and Japan as well as Western countries such as Australia and the U.S.

My focus on South/East Asia, and the relation between South/East Asia and Europe, is intended as a case study, the purpose of which is to further illuminate the concept of globalization through the example of a specific region. However, I do not wish to make an exclusive study of the Swedish or Western perception of a

10. Steve Clark, "Introduction," in Steve Clark and Paul Smethurst (eds.), *Asian Crossings: Travel Writing on China, Japan and Southeast Asia*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008, p. 1; see also David Morley and Kevin Robins, *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries*, London: Routledge, 2004, p. 161.

11. Clark 2008, p. 3.

12. Morley and Robins 2004, p. 173.

13. Mark Berger and Douglas Borer, "Introduction: The Rise of East Asia: Critical Visions of the Pacific Century," in Mark Berger and Douglas Borer (eds.), *The Rise of East Asia: Critical Visions of the Pacific Century*, London: Routledge, 1997, p. 1.

particular region, which is otherwise a common method of analysis.¹⁴ It is instead the discourses of globalization and the narratives of travel magazines in general that will remain the center of attention in the thesis as a whole.

Since I am interested in how globalization discourses are used to create power and privilege, I will study how globalization can be used as what Crispin Thurlow and Adam Jaworski call an “identity resource.”¹⁵ The identity constructions I am studying are played out on various levels concurrently. I study the creation of individual identities and group identities, as well as national and supranational identities. These different levels of identity are often fluid and difficult to separate. In the magazines, identities are constructed in relation to exotic Others, but different identities are also created in relation to globalization, as a way to make sense of one’s place in a global world. Identities in magazines are also connected to the concept of lifestyle and ultimately to issues of class, and here it is useful to make reference to Pierre Bourdieu’s theories about taste and lifestyle. The study is concerned with how an imagined elite identity is created for the implied readers, i.e. the readers constructed in the magazines, and not the identity of the actual readership.

It should be made clear that the elite identity offered in high-end travel magazines is an imagined elite identity. To travel provides a chance to take a break from one’s ordinary, mundane existence and to create an imagined existence. Travel magazines, just like advertisements, produce dreams and fantasies. The holidays that they are presenting are not necessarily something that the readers would be able to afford. It is rather a question of the reader being an armchair traveler as well as a so-called aspirational consumer. In an article in one of the magazines of my study, *Business Traveller A/P*, the writer even uses the expression “aspirational experiences” to describe the kind of luxury travel that the consumer can only afford once, if ever (January/February 2009). As the texts and images in travel magazines moved closer to the style of advertising in the late twentieth century, there was an increased emphasis on the creation of the ideal and on travel

14. See, for example, Margareta Petersson, *Indien i svenska reseskildringar 1950–75*, Lund: Lund University Press, Diss. Lund, 1988.

15. Crispin Thurlow and Adam Jaworski, “Communicating a Global Reach: Inflight Magazines as a Globalizing Genre in Tourism,” *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7/4, 2003, pp. 579–606, p. 602.

as fantasy. In tourism studies, the identity of the tourist is often seen as being something outside of the ordinary, everyday life. The individual that leaves his or her home for a tourist destination can also leave his/her normal identity to take up a temporary tourist identity.¹⁶ In the context of a lifestyle magazine, however, the lifestyle and identities that are presented in relation to various tourist destinations are also a part of a more permanent, imagined elite lifestyle.

Through her work on global metropolises, referred to above, Sassen gives a thorough description of the contemporary global economy and its impact on structures of power and privilege. In my thesis, I am interested in the same developments and tendencies, but instead of describing the economic and geographical facts I seek to understand the ideology that is attached to it, via an analysis of the texts that make use of this ideology as well as create and justify it. All societal structures must be explained and justified through discourses. To the extent that what Sassen, among others, analyzes is a new economic and social order, it follows that there are changes in the way it is presented, as well as how identities are constructed and inequalities justified. This is similar to Pratt's claim that colonialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gave rise to a need to define a European identity and relation to the world.¹⁷

Ultimately, these narratives are more about constructing stories of the self and one's worldview, whether Swedish, European, or Western, as belonging to certain privileged groups at a certain time in history, than they are about the specific act of traveling, although travel plays an essential role in this definition. In texts about travel, definitions of privilege are played out in various ways. Travel is a fertile ground for these definitions and negotiations in a global world because it is associated with status, and it involves an encounter with something foreign and exotic, whether the destination is a neighboring city or somewhere across the other side of the world. Travel is a significant part of the contemporary lifestyle project. Tourism has been described as "a cultural template that structures our ways of viewing and understanding the world, as a whole."¹⁸ In other words, it has

16. Crispin Thurlow, Adam Jaworski, and Virpi Ylännö, *Tourism Discourse: Language and Global Mobility*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p. 97.

17. Pratt 1992, p. 29.

18. Szilvia Gyimothy, "Medier og turisme," *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 10/4, 2010, pp. 492–494, p. 492.

a meaning beyond the act of traveling. The underlying reason for my interest in popular constructions of globalization is their role as contemporary expressions of power and privilege.

The magazines were from the start more than just travel magazines in that they also included material on more general topics, and as a part of their transformation into lifestyle magazines the topics broadened to include more general material pertaining to the lifestyle project, such as articles on shopping and exercise. *RES*, for instance, moved toward this broader lifestyle project when articles about design hotels, and hotels in general, became more central and the locations of the hotels less so.

With my dissertation I am contributing to the understanding of the concept of globalization as it is used in travel narratives. I am also contributing to the study of travel writing with my analysis of a kind of material that has not been widely studied before, contemporary travel magazines, and a perspective on globalization discourses and lifestyle that has not traditionally been used to study these texts. To some extent, a new perspective is needed to study contemporary texts, because globalization carries its own myths and ideals that are played out and produced in travel writing, among other genres, and globalization discourses in travel writing differ somewhat from traditional colonial discourses.

As I have mentioned, the choice of studying constructions of places and identities comes from the centrality of these concepts in globalization theory, which I will explore in further depth later, as well as their central role in travel magazines. The main articles of any travel magazine are longer texts with plenty of images describing specific places. Place and identity are where the main concerns of globalization theories intersect with the main themes of the travel magazine. The choice of identity and place as the overarching analytical themes is also relevant because it was the construction of identities and places that changed decisively in the material during the time period of the study. This choice is, therefore, also formed by how the magazines altered.

To clarify, the main purpose of this study is to analyze how globalization discourses are utilized in travel magazines to express and justify power and privilege. Power in this context should be understood primarily as the power to define one's world and one's place in it. In order to study this, I have chosen to explore a few themes that can be formulated as a set of questions:

- What kinds of identities are constructed in the magazines? What identity resources are used to create an ideal identity for the implied reader, based on definitions of taste and desired lifestyles? How is the identity of the traveler gendered? How does this change over the period studied?
- How are local and global places constructed and given meaning in the tourism geography of the magazines? How is the concept of authenticity utilized in the construction of places? How does this change over the period studied?
- How do the magazines write about South/East Asian destinations, and how does the relation to South/East Asia change over the period studied? Is the dichotomy of East and West challenged? This third theme, the case study of the depiction of South/East Asian destinations, also makes use of the questions formulated above.

Choosing to study *Business Traveller A/P* and *RES*

My main material consists of two travel magazines: a Swedish travel magazine called *RES (Travel)* and the Asia/Pacific edition of the international magazine *Business Traveller*.¹⁹ *RES* was started in 1981 under the name of *Resguide (Travel Guide)* by Eva and Magnus Rosenqvist and changed its name to *RES* in 1994. It is published by RES Travel Magazine and currently produces six issues per year. The main Swedish audit bureau of circulation lacks information on the publication of *RES*, but according to the magazine itself they have a circulation of 25,000 and a readership of 86,000.²⁰

Business Traveller was started in the U.K. in 1976 and has ten editions (including the U.K., U.S., Asia/Pacific, Middle East, China, Germany, Denmark, Hungary, Africa, and Poland). The Asia/Pacific edition was launched in 1982. This edition was first published in a joint venture between *Business Traveller Europe* and Interasia Publications Ltd. It is now published by Panacea Publishing. The magazine has

19. In the following, when quotations and article titles from *RES* are in English, it is my own translations. This also includes quotations from other Swedish magazines.

20. Email correspondence with Nils Norberg, CEO of RES Travel Magazine. See also dagensmedia.se, <http://www.dagensmedia.se/jobb/article3459776.ece>, accessed April 25, 2012

a circulation of 33,000.²¹ The destinations visited in the Asia/Pacific edition of the magazine are located all over the world, while the material centers on the Asia-Pacific region. The main focus of my study is on the printed editions of the magazines, but in the analysis of *RES* I will occasionally refer to the use of web pages, not least because the magazine publishes blogs written by both writers and readers.

The reason why I have chosen to study *RES* is that it is the first Swedish travel magazine of its kind, and since it has been published for so long it is possible to see the transformation of the magazine over the years. In *RES*, the emphasis on lifestyle is more explicit than in the magazine *Vagabond*, the only other Swedish magazine that has been in publication since the 1980s. *RES* has had an emphasis on design, taste, and lifestyle to a higher degree than most other travel magazines. In that regard, it has differed from what is common in the genre. However, *Vagabond* has increasingly shifted from targeting backpackers to aiming at a more affluent readership, which has made it more similar to *RES*. The most popular Swedish magazine, *Allt om Resor*, has recently changed in the same direction by choosing to reconstruct the magazine so that it will “look better and more luxurious.”²² Hence, *RES* is a part of a larger trend toward lifestyle media. *RES* is representative, since other magazines are developing in the same direction, while also being different by having more of an emphasis on lifestyle and taste than is usual for the genre.

Studying *Business Traveller A/P*, an international travel magazine that for a long time mostly targeted an expat business community in Asia, and *RES*, a Swedish publication for leisure travel, makes it clear that these, in many ways very different, types of magazines have gone through the same transformations, with the result that they were much more similar in the 2000s. By comparing them, I have been able to clarify how the lifestyle format becomes the overriding way of writing about and understanding travel. The genre of the lifestyle magazine looked the same despite the fact that the magazines were published in geographically distant parts of the world.

21. Email correspondence with Panacea Publishing. See also Adaline Lau, “Niche Travel Mag Strengthens Online Offering,” marketing-interactive, <http://marketing-interactive.com/news/11108>, accessed April 25, 2012.

22. Erik Strömberg, “Allt om resor halverar utgivningen,” [dagensmedia.se](http://www.dagensmedia.se/nyheter/print/tidskrifter/article335237.ece), <http://www.dagensmedia.se/nyheter/print/tidskrifter/article335237.ece>, accessed November 24, 2011.

However, the two magazines also expressed different perspectives; *RES* is a small publication with a specific national audience, while *Business Traveller A/P* is an international magazine with a Western outlook and readers from all over the world. Choosing *RES* as the object of analysis made it possible to study a narrow national perspective, a specific national gaze, which I do mostly in Chapter 5. *RES* was also selected because of its emphasis on lifestyle and taste that I described above. I specifically picked the Asia/Pacific edition of *Business Traveller* because, as I mentioned before, I found that it was in travel writing about this region that the discourses of globalization were most often used. The two magazines are also similar in that they are both up-market publications; *Business Traveller A/P* from the very beginning and *RES* increasingly over the period studied. I will also make comparisons with a few other magazines, such as *Travel+Leisure*, *Wanderlust*, and the U.K. edition of *Business Traveller*, when this is relevant.

I have chosen to study *Business Traveller A/P* from the time the magazine was first published and *RES* from when the magazine was renamed and came to focus less on guide material. Both magazines are studied up until 2008. I will also occasionally make reference to later issues of the magazines that have been available to me. By studying the magazines from when they were first launched in the early 1980s and 1990s up until the late 2000s, it is possible to analyze their transformation into lifestyle magazines. The historical comparison makes the contemporary style of the magazines conspicuous when it is contrasted to that which preceded it. Through my analysis, I describe what it meant for the magazines of my study that they transformed into lifestyle magazines, and by analyzing these processes I contribute to the study of magazine journalism.

Business Traveller A/P has not been as readily available to me as *RES*; I have not had access to all of the years after 1998. After this year, I have chosen to study every other year and only one longer article per issue. I have also had access to the list of contents for these issues. Because of this difference in availability, *RES* will inevitably take up more space in the analysis chapters.

The articles singled out for analysis are mainly articles about South/East Asian metropolises, articles about lifestyle, for example, texts about design hotels, and local places such as villages and remote spa resorts. While the articles about South/East Asian cities have been selected because it is in these articles that issues of globalization are most explicitly played out and the writers make use of

discourses around globalization, the articles about local places have been chosen because they illustrate the opposite; they show how the writers express ideas about the traditional and natural as a necessary contrast to the global metropolis. I have deliberately picked out texts in which the general discourse differs from what postcolonial scholars have described as typical for travel journalism and travel writing by, for example, choosing to look at articles about South/East Asian metropolises, rather than texts about rural Africa that might more readily use a colonial discourse. In selecting the articles for analysis, I have examined the entire material (*RES* from 1994 to 2008 and *Business Traveller A/P* from 1982 to 2008). Despite having chosen specific articles for analysis as opposed to the magazines in their entirety, the fact that I am familiar with the whole material (except for several years of *Business Traveller A/P*) makes the information of my study representative of the whole material.

The focus of the analysis is, for the most part, on the magazines themselves and not on the writers, even though the writers took a more central position in *RES* around the late 1990s and onwards, for example, through blogs. In the early years of publication, the writers of *Business Traveller A/P* were sometimes anonymous. The one person that became increasingly visible over time was the respective editor of each of the magazines. Both magazines featured a few high-profile writers. For *Business Traveller A/P*, the character that stood out the most was Auberon Waugh, son of the writer Evelyn Waugh. This was especially so during the early 1980s when the magazine did not have a very visible editor. *RES* engaged writers in the 1990s that were also working as foreign correspondents and authors. Many of the writers will, however, remain anonymous in my study. The few exceptions to this rule are mentioned because their identities are relevant to the study of the magazine.

The magazines usually contain a few longer travel stories in each issue, and a large number of shorter texts, for example, in the form of personal chronicles or information about new hotels, restaurants, art galleries, etc. The longer travel stories, which are my primary material, are about five to ten pages in total and combine the text with large images. These texts are typically credited to an individual journalist. The analysis focuses mainly on the texts, but a study of travel journalism that did not take into consideration the photographic images would be incomplete, since in the contemporary travel magazine the photographs are at

least as important as the written work. The first image that the reader sees is the cover picture that presents the reader with the world of that particular magazine and issue. Each longer article is then typically presented by one or two large images that fill up a whole spread. The text is illustrated by smaller images further into the article, but it is the first pictures that set the tone for the article. They can even precede the text.

Scholars that have studied photography in travel magazines have typically questioned how foreign people are depicted by looking at whether the persons in the photographs meet the gaze of the beholder or not, whether they are active or not, what angle was used as well as who is depicted in terms of gender, age, and skin color.²³ In contrast, my study will focus more on the depiction of places and the photographic aesthetic than on foreign people as objects of the photographic gaze. This is another way in which my study differs from how travel magazines are usually studied. Again, this is in part because of the material. *RES* especially went from using a photographic gaze that focused on people to publishing photos emptied of people.

Since I have chosen to study the construction of privileges and imagined elite identities, I will also examine photographic representations of luxury that are not necessarily connected to a foreign destination as such, but are rather images of the good life in general. In their article about elite tourism, Crispin Thurlow and Adam Jaworski comment on the prevalent images of empty beaches as signs of exclusivity, something they argue belongs to a neocolonial fantasy.²⁴ In the magazines of my study, emptiness, understood chiefly as an absence of people, is not restricted to tropical beaches. It is somewhat a commonly used representational practice that will be studied further.

Besides looking closer at the individual texts and the photographic representations, I also study the general layout of the magazines, such as the use of maps and other illustrations, the use of empty space, the logo design of the magazines,

23. Lisa Killander-Braun, *På resa med Vagabond 1998 och 2001*, Stockholm: Institutionen för journalistik, medier och kommunikation, Univ., 2006, p. 29; Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993, p. 155.

24. Crispin Thurlow and Adam Jaworski, "Silence is Golden: Elitism, Linguascaping and 'Anti-communication' in Luxury Tourism," in Crispin Thurlow and Adam Jaworski (eds.), *Semiotic Landscapes: Language, Image, Space*, London: Continuum, 2010, p. 204.

and the placing of the cover lines. Also of interest is the relation between texts and images in terms of size, since this can vary over time. Furthermore, the magazines can be analyzed as material items with a view to the quality of the paper, the format of the magazines, and not least the increasing glossiness of the covers (a quality that is filled with connotations). All of these aspects of the magazines, together with the articles and images, communicate a sense of the role of travel, places, and identities in a global world. Even though it is not the main material for the analysis, I will also make use of advertising published in the magazines. I have found that advertisements often expressed the same ideas as the editorial material of the magazines, but that they did so in a more direct manner.

I have chosen not to analyze the actual readers or to do interviews with readers, which is otherwise common in the study of magazines.²⁵ In my analysis of the magazines, I do not draw conclusions about how the reader might react or appropriate the material. This is not to deny that the readers matter as consumers of the magazine; neither is it to argue that they do not make an active interpretation. Other studies have shown how the readers are able to make critical appraisals of magazines, and needless to say this would also be applicable to my material. However, my study concerns the magazines as cultural texts in themselves. It is quite possible to study this material without investigating the actual readers and their interpretations. One way that I do approach the readers is through the letters pages, especially in *Business Traveller A/P*. The readers that wrote to the magazines formed a particular group of active readers that chose to engage with the magazines in this way. Of course, a majority of the readers never wrote to the magazine. Furthermore, the letters were selected and sometimes edited by the staff of the magazines. Studying readers' letters is, therefore, not a substitute for interviewing actual readers, but I make use of them when I find it appropriate for the analysis.

25. See, for example, Peter Jackson, Nick Stevenson, and Kate Brooks, *Making Sense of Men's Magazines*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001; Lutz and Collins 1993; Lorna Stevens and Pauline Maclaran, "Exploring the 'Shopping Imaginary': The Dream World of Women's Magazines," *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, 4/4, June 2005, pp. 282–292.

Discourse analysis as method

In my examination of the longer articles, I approach the texts through close reading with a focus on the narrative style of the magazines. Close reading is a method of analysis that is borrowed from the study of literature, and the purpose of the method is to find recurrent tropes and themes in the texts but also to study the use of metaphors, the position of the writer, and the implied reader. I will go further into how I study the implied reader in the third chapter. My analysis is partly rooted in literary studies, both because media studies in the humanities borrows from a tradition of studying literary texts and because of my own previous studies. To analyze the magazines' discourses around globalization, I will study how the word is employed and discussed explicitly by the writers, as it is increasingly in the 1990s and onwards, but primarily how it is constructed implicitly through ideas about cosmopolitan elite identities, and local and global places.

The analysis is furthermore based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to show how globalization is utilized and constructed as a set of discourses, and how these might differ from a colonial discourse. For the purpose of my study, I define the notion of discourse in quite broad terms as being frames that structure perceptions and ways of writing and talking about specific subjects. The various discourses expressed in the texts of my study are revealed through the recurrent tropes and metaphors that function as ways to structure the experience of travel. The globalization discourses referred to in my study are both something created by the magazines and wider cultural discourses that the magazines utilized.

I have chosen to draw on the CDA tradition without necessarily adhering to any other specific methods or theories developed within that tradition. Discourse analysis is an umbrella term that contains many different kinds of methods and theories.²⁶ Inherent in much discourse analysis, however, is a reliance on a Foucauldian tradition highlighting power relations and how power is constituted through language. Edward Said based his exploration of an Oriental discourse on Foucault's theories and through his book *Orientalism* made popular the use of discourse analysis in postcolonial studies. This emphasis on power relations is also of central importance in my study in which the overarching question is the

26. Jannike Andersson, "Diskurs," in Josefine Syssner (ed.), *Perspektiv på turism och resande: Begrepp för en kritisk turismanalys*, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2011, p. 37.

production of privilege in the magazines. A basic premise in my use of discourse analysis is that discourses are constantly changing rather than remaining static. That is one of the reasons why I question the use of a colonial discourse theory for the analysis of material from the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. This will be described further in the section about the study of tourism and travel writing.

A useful concept borrowed from discourse analysis is interdiscursivity, the relation between different discourses. Travel magazines draw extensively on all sorts of sources, for example, pop culture and history. With their constant interest in trends, magazines are particularly good at picking up on, interpreting, and making use of more general discourses that are circulating in a culture at a certain time. To mention one example, the preoccupation with spa and resort tourism in the magazines is a response to a general cultural trend of taking an interest in the beauty and well-being of the body. In the empirical chapters, I analyze how the magazines discussed changing gender roles (mostly in *Business Traveller A/P*), the changing relation between the West and Asia, and the existence of homogenous global places, to mention a few of the themes in the magazines that point to larger cultural trends. In my analysis, I refer to these larger trends that were utilized by the magazines.

Travel journalism, lifestyle magazines, and similar genres

Studies of travel writing have often looked at literary texts and longer texts published in books while travel journalism was for a long time ignored. Media studies, on the other hand, have also ignored travel narratives and mostly focused on news journalism.²⁷ Travel journalism was thus for a considerable time doubly overlooked despite (or perhaps because of) the popularity of the genre. The genre has recently become the object of analysis, one example being Jakob Linaa Jensen and Anne Marit Waade's book about media and tourism, in which they analyze newspaper supplements about travel and travel programs on TV, among other

27. Elfriede Fürsich and Anandam Kavoori, "Mapping a Critical Framework for the Study of Travel Journalism," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 4/2, 2001, pp. 149–171, p. 150.

media products about tourism.²⁸ Travel writing published in newspapers is also the object of analysis in Kristina Lindström's dissertation in cultural geography from 2011, in which she studies the representation of Mallorca in Swedish newspapers from 1950 to 2000.

A Swedish study using material that is similar to the magazines I analyze is Lisa Killander-Braun's licentiate thesis about the popular Swedish travel magazine *Vagabond*. When *Vagabond* was first published in 1987, it targeted backpackers but through time it has become more exclusive, and hence more similar to *RES*.²⁹ Killander-Braun studies issues of the magazine from 1998 and 2001 and is mainly interested in the representation of the local population in Asia, Africa, and Latin America in comparison to the representation of people in Australia, Western Europe, and the U.S. Her perspective is that of postcolonial theory and its analysis of racist representations of the Other. The material and period studied by Killander-Braun make her study similar to my own but there are also important differences. Killander-Braun sets out to study whether the image of the postcolonial Other is accurate or not, while in my study I presume that the image provided of foreign cultures is flawed and prejudiced.

The differences between the two studies are also due to differences between the two magazines. *Vagabond* has explicitly had the purpose of enabling its readers to encounter foreign peoples and their cultures beyond tourism spaces.³⁰ It has targeted backpackers, a group of travelers that often define themselves as being more ethical than other types of tourists. *Vagabond* furthermore has a circulation that is significantly larger than that of *RES*.³¹ Killander-Braun writes that the magazine is held in high esteem and has a radical image, which is the reason why she chose to study it.

Another study with somewhat similar material and approach as Killander-

28. Jakob Linaa Jensen and Anne Marit Waade, *Medier og Turisme*, Århus: Academica, 2009.

29. Killander-Braun 2006, p. 29.

30. Killander-Braun 2006, p. 6.

31. Mats Wingborg, "Glitter och glamour – turismen i resejournalistiken: En granskning av Allt om resor, Vagabond, RES, DN Resor, Aftonbladet och Svenska Dagbladet", Report for the network Schyst resande, 2012, p. 11. The network Schyst resande (Fair Travel) unites organizations, such as ECPAT, the hotel and restaurant union, and the Church of Sweden, with an interest in sustainable tourism and human rights. <http://www.schystresande.se/default.asp>, accessed April 3, 2012.

Braun's analysis is a study from 1993 conducted by the anthropologists Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins. The object of their study is the world-renowned American magazine *National Geographic* and, just like Killander-Braun, they are interested in how the magazine constructs an image of foreign peoples and cultures but also how this image is understood by the readers. Lutz and Collins' foremost object of analysis is the photographic representation of non-Western peoples and how the readers interpret them.

Besides the work of Killander-Braun and Lutz and Collins, not many lengthy studies have been conducted on travel magazines. Crispin Thurlow and Adam Jaworski have written extensively on tourism and globalization from a socio-linguistic perspective and in 2010 published the book *Tourism Discourse: Language and Global Mobility*, together with Virpi Ylännä.³² The material for their studies has included postcards, business cards, newspaper travelogues, inflight magazines, advertisements, and many other tourism genres. The travel magazine is one genre that they have not studied. They have, however, written about the related genre of inflight magazines. Their perspectives on globalization in the article "Communicating a Global Reach: Inflight Magazines as a Globalizing Genre in Tourism" are pertinent to a study of globalization discourses in travel magazines.³³ In their analysis of inflight magazines and in their later work on the advertising of elite tourism, Thurlow and Jaworski look at globalization not just as a discursive construction but also as an identity resource or, as they also refer to it in their study of advertising, a "sales pitch".

Studies of magazines have, to a large extent, focused on issues of gender, constructions of femininity and, in later studies, masculinity and how it might affect the readers, especially for magazines aimed at a young audience. One example of such studies focusing on gender issues is Peter Jackson, Nick Stevenson, and Kate Brooks' *Making Sense of Men's Magazines*, in which they study the construction of the so-called "new lad" as a specific type of masculinity in the 1990s. Another concern has been the commercial nature of the magazines. Two studies that discuss the role of the magazines in teaching consumerism in post-communist countries are Perry Johansson's *Chinese Women and Consumer Culture: Discourses on*

32. Thurlow, Jaworski, and Ylännä 2010.

33. Thurlow and Jaworski 2003.

Beauty and Identity in Advertising and Women's Magazines 1985–1995, discussing the role of women's magazines in China after the economic reforms of 1979, and Sian Stephenson's analysis of women's magazines in Russia after the fall of the Soviet empire, the latter published in the essay collection *Mapping the Magazine: Critical Studies in Magazine Journalism*. I will return to the latter study in subsequent chapters.

In their analysis of men's magazines, Jackson, Stevenson, and Brooks argue that magazines are part of a wider social context that provides means of handling social contradictions and unconscious motivations.³⁴ In the words of the authors, the magazines are not ideological prisons, but neither are they just fun. Magazines have to be good at recognizing trends that matter for their readers. They make use of, while also creating, those cultural identities that are available. They express ideas about class and gender in a playful and indirect manner. When the Swedish comedians Fredrik Lindström and Henrik Schyffert decided to stage a show about the Swedes' obsession with interior design, they read interior design magazines to study what they wrote about the latest trends and the kind of language they use.³⁵ A similar role was given to magazines in *Business Traveller A/P*, in an article about Shanghai from September 1985, soon after the economic reforms. To describe what the new economic policy has meant for the citizens, the writer claimed: "magazine kiosks are a good guide to their preoccupations; there seems to be a lot of interest in disco-dancing, make-up, and – believe it or not – interior decoration." It was assumed that the new consumerist interests of the Shanghaiese were chronicled and encouraged by magazines. A more surprising example of how magazines are used as valuable expressions of wider cultural trends is that the Swedish right-wing party, Moderaterna, found inspiration in magazines, on every topic "from fishing to beauty" for their rebranding of the party.³⁶

The travel magazine as a specific subgenre of travel narratives was established at a certain point in tourism history. Most magazines were first published in the late twentieth century. *Resguide* (which later became *RES*) and *Vagabond* began

34. Jackson, Stevenson, and Brooks 2001, p. 105.

35. Amelia Adamo, "Amelia Adamo möter Henrik Schyffert och Fredrik Lindström. Hej grabbar – finns jag?", *M-magasin* 15, 2010.

36. Matilda Gustavsson, "(M)ake over som gav makten," *Sydsvenskan*, April 26, 2012,

publication in the early and late 1980s respectively, as I have mentioned. The popular American magazines *Condé Nast Traveler* and *Travel+Leisure* were first published in the U.S. in 1986 and 1971 respectively, and the British magazine *Wanderlust* in 1993. *National Geographic*, as the publication of the National Geographic Society, was introduced in 1888,³⁷ but the magazine *National Geographic Traveler* was first published in 1984. The American *Outside Magazine*, with an emphasis on adventure travel, was launched in 1977. Travel magazines are a product of the tourism industry that developed a few decades after mass tourism democratized international travel, when there was a fully established and diversified market for mass tourism. Some magazines had a defined readership from the start, for example, the Swedish *Vagabond* that targeted backpackers when it was first published. A general trend in the market for travel magazines is increased specialization. Examples of magazines with a more specific target group are the American magazine *Pathfinders Travel Magazine* with an African-American readership, first published in 1997 and the Swedish magazine *Äventyr* (*Adventure*, first titled *Adventurous Families*) launched in 2004 and targeting adventurous travelers with children. Other examples are magazines that have a specific emphasis, such as the British magazine *Food and Travel* from 1997, and magazines that focus on a particular geographical region. *Travel+Leisure* has branched out with eight international editions, including *Travel+Leisure China* (2005) and *Travel+Leisure India* (2008).

The genre of travel narratives is ambivalently situated between fact and fiction; their images and representations are based on reality while they also rely heavily on the imagination of the travel writer. Travel magazines increasingly focus on the personal experiences of the travel writer but at the same time the magazines emphasize their objectivity and the truthfulness of their accounts (see Chapter 2 for examples of this). The demand for accuracy is different in travel journalism in comparison to, for instance, news journalism. The claim to honesty in magazine journalism lies on another level.³⁸ To use an example that I will return to later in my analysis, the image of Tokyo has for much of the late twentieth century been that of extreme economic success, even during the 1990s when the actual

37. Lutz and Collins 1993, p. 17.

38. Anja Hirdman, *Tilltalande bilder: Genus, sexualitet och publiksyn i Veckorevyn och Fib aktuellt*, Stockholm: Atlas, 2001; Diss. Stockholm, 2002, p. 16.

economic situation of the city was in decline. The representation of Tokyo is not so much dependent on facts about the city but on a general image of the city that has been shaped by innumerable travel narratives. Even in *Business Traveller A/P*, where the writers often provided a detailed description of the economic life of a destination, facts about the decline of the Japanese economy were repeatedly trivialized by pointing out that the citizens still liked to shop for luxury items. The image of Japan as successful, which was common in the magazines during a time when the Japanese economy was undergoing a steady downturn, is premised on a type of narrative based on the experience of the travel writer and on wider cultural trends, as opposed to one based on economic figures.

Furthermore, travel narratives are ambivalent in that they provide images of the exotic “host country” while they also implicitly say something about the home culture of the writer. In this way, the object of the narrative is always dual even though it is rarely acknowledged in the texts. Klas Grinell has explored this duality in his dissertation in which he analyzes Swedish travel brochures and how they have marketed the world. In the images of the world lie implicit ideas about Swedish modernity.³⁹ Another ambivalent aspect of the genre is the relation to change and continuity. It is a genre that relies heavily on history and traditions, not least the history of colonialism, which is often revoked in contemporary texts. Due to this, it has often been described as a conservative genre but, as I show through my analysis, its reliance on colonial nostalgia and historical power relations is mixed up with a focus on contemporary events, discourses, trends, and lifestyles.

Disposition

After having discussed the basic premises of my study and placed them in a context of the study of tourism, travel writing, and magazines, I will now present some of the main themes and discussions that I engage with through my study, as well as the cultural context and theoretical strands. In this first chapter, I start with my critique of postcolonial studies and tourism studies, before writing about life-

39. Klas Grinell, *Att sälja världen: Omvärldsbilder i svensk utlandsturism*, Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, Diss. Göteborg, 2004, p. 33.

style, class, and gender aspects. I then place the texts I study in a wider context by describing central cultural and economic developments during the late twentieth and early twenty-first century and how these have been theorized by leading scholars in the humanities and social sciences.

In the second chapter, I concentrate on an initial presentation of the travel magazines *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P*. Firstly, I explore further the genre of my material and describe the specific style of travel journalism published in magazines and how it compares to other similar media genres concerned with travel and lifestyle. I will then describe the transformation that both magazines have gone through from being more general travel and business travel publications to becoming lifestyle magazines over the course of the late twentieth century and how this has affected the style, layout, and content of the magazines.

In the three following chapters, I will analyze the changes both magazines went through during the approximately thirty years from the late twentieth century to the early twenty-first century. I will do so in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, by focusing on identities and places because these aspects are central both to globalization theories and discourses, and to the genre of travel magazines, as I mentioned. The issue of how identity is constructed through consumption is also a key aspect in the broader genre of lifestyle media. In the third chapter, I discuss how the magazines constructed imagined identities for the implied reader and how globalization discourses and ideas of cosmopolitanism were utilized in this construction. I also examine further issues relating to class, lifestyle, and luxury, as well as gender aspects of the traveler's identity. The fourth chapter describes how the magazines constructed local places as locations of relaxation and refuge from the global. In this chapter, I also describe how nature was used in the construction of local places, and how conventional definitions of authenticity in travel writing were challenged.

In Chapter 5, I then detail the changing relation to South/East Asia as a specific case study that further highlights the relation between the transformations of the magazines and broader cultural changes. Here, I will investigate further the image of South/East Asian metropolises as global cities and the relation between Asia and the West as an example of changed perceptions of place. In this fifth chapter, I will focus specifically on *RES* as providing a Swedish perception of the Asian metropolis, while my reading of *Business Traveller A/P* in this chapter focuses on

the relation between the Western businessman and Asian females. In Chapter 5 the purpose is to analyze how the texts construct an image of a specific region. However, as I have pointed out, it is the depiction of globalization that is central. The fourth and fifth chapters describe the two opposites of local and global places respectively. In the third, fourth, and fifth chapters, I present my analysis and detail the transformation of travel discourses and representations during the time period studied. I have chosen to organize the chapters according to the main theme developed in each chapter, but issues relating to the themes of identities, places, and the relation between East and West are explored repeatedly through all of the chapters. The very last chapter is where I conclude the study by discussing the results of the analysis by focusing on the main themes and how these can be understood as a part of a larger cultural context.

I. SITUATING THE LIFESTYLE MAGAZINES:

Cultural contexts and theoretical concepts

Travel writing and colonial discourse analysis:
Still saying the same old things?

I started my study of contemporary travel narratives with the idea that discourses in the late twentieth century and onwards, and most of all globalization discourses, replaced the use of older texts and colonial discourses in travel writing. Is it true, as Beverley Ann Simmons concludes in her study of travel magazines, that they are still “saying the same old things”?⁴⁰ There is a strong tradition of studying travel writing in the context of colonialism, notably because the academic study of travel writing (at least in the Anglo-American context) coincided with the emergence of postcolonial studies.⁴¹ In postcolonial theory, the genre is seen as being inscribed with the power relations between an imperial center and its peripheries and as giving expression to colonial discourses and a colonial gaze. Even when texts from the colonial era have been the prime object of study, the conclusions that have come out of those studies have also been applied to later texts. Both Ali Behdad and Mary-Louise Pratt end their influential studies of colonial travel writing from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with brief excursions into the late twentieth century to argue that nothing has changed.⁴² A common thesis is that even though the age of European imperialism is long gone, it lives on as a

40. Beverley Ann Simmons, “Saying the Same Old Things: A Contemporary Travel Discourse and the Popular Magazine Text”, in Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker (eds.), *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*, London: Routledge, 2004, p. 43.

41. Clark 2008, p. 1.

42. Pratt 1992, and Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1994.

discursive construction. The global world is seen as being premised on a history of colonial rule and Western imperialism. Simmons, for example, in her aforementioned study, argues that the tourist is caught in a colonial fantasy world that cancels out contemporary reality.⁴³ In her 2006 dissertation *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*, Debbie Lisle argues that the travel-writing genre is still fraught with the superior attitudes of colonial travelers. According to Lisle, even those travelers that celebrate a new cosmopolitan sensitivity to and respect for other cultures are perpetuating colonial power relations.⁴⁴

The word “postcolonialism” points to a critical perspective on colonialism. It also describes a period that follows colonialism but that is nonetheless still formed by it.⁴⁵ The contemporary world is in many ways based on a colonial heritage that continues to structure the relation between different parts of the world. Postcolonial theories acknowledge the colonial history of tourism, often developed in the tracks of colonial expansion and exploitation. The historical bond between tourism and colonialism is sometimes manifested in concrete ways. In his study of tourism at the Taj Mahal, Tim Edensor writes about how the buildings that were constructed for colonial officials are now used by the tourism industry.⁴⁶ Furthermore, in poor countries the tourism industry is often operated and owned by foreign companies, reminiscent of the colonial era when “the profits always flowed back into the so-called ‘mother country.’”⁴⁷

A main argument for postcolonial theory is that colonialism has made a mark not only on the former colonies but also on those Western societies and cultures that ruled the colonies.⁴⁸ This is not least visible in travel writing. The magazines of my study made use of colonialism as a cultural reference among others, and this is especially so in *Business Traveller A/P*, in which colonialism was used extensively to understand a Western relation to Asia, as I will describe in my fifth chapter. But I have also found that many parts of my material resist a conventional post-

43. Simmons 2004, p. 51.

44. Lisle 2006, p. 261.

45. Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, London: Routledge, 2nd ed., 2005 [1998], p. 16.

46. Tim Edensor, *Tourists at the Taj: Performance and Meaning at a Symbolic Site*, London: Routledge, 1998, p. 152.

47. Loomba 2005 [1998], p. 8.

48. Edward W. Said, *Kultur och imperialism*, Stockholm: Ordfront, 1995, p. 42.

colonial analysis. In the following, I will examine further a critical account of postcolonial analysis.

Much postcolonial analysis has been inspired by Edward Said's book *Orientalism* from 1978, and his claim that colonialism was supported and justified by a discursive construction.⁴⁹ To use Said's thesis in *Orientalism* to study contemporary tourism and travel writing is problematic in many ways. Said's material consists mostly of scholarly and literary texts; he studies travelogues but makes no reference to tourism.⁵⁰ Furthermore, since the publication of *Orientalism* in 1978, there have been, in the words of Monica Amor, "extraordinary worldwide political, economic and social realignments."⁵¹ Said's methods and conclusions in *Orientalism* have of course been criticized before, for example, for being too rigid but they remain nevertheless influential.⁵²

In Said's description of the Orientalist discourse, one of the main aspects is the absolute separation and distance between "us" and "them," or between the self and the Other, to use postcolonial terminology. In postcolonial theory, the Other is the ultimate opposite of the self. The colonial Other is weak, irrational, and feminine, while the Western self is strong, rational, and masculine.⁵³ The self and the Other are placed in different times; the foreign culture is seen as timeless or frozen in a time that the Western self has left behind. The foreign other is passive while the Western subject is active. The exoticism of the Other can be interpreted as deplorable or desirable, but the difference remains. The clear distinctions between the self and the Other, West and East, as described by Said, have been criticized by scholars that have pointed to the existence of historical nuances in this relation, for example, the differences between how various groups of non-Europeans were

49. Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, and Margaret Iversen (eds.), *Colonial Discourse/Postcolonial Theory*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994, p. 1.

50. Richard White and Jane Taylor, "A Passage through India: Interpreting Another," Unpublished paper, International Conference on Travel Literature and India, Satyawati College, University of Delhi, India, 20–21 February 2007, p. 2.

51. Peter M. Burns and Marina Novelli, "Tourism and Social Identities: Introduction," in Peter M. Burns and Marina Novelli (eds.), *Tourism and Social Identities: Global Frameworks and Local Realities*, Oxford: Elsevier, 2006, p. 15.

52. See, for example, Grinnell 2004, p. 54 and Clark 2008, p. 3.

53. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, Stockholm: Ordfront, 1995 [1978], p. 42.

perceived.⁵⁴ I have already mentioned that the Western relation to East Asia differed from the relation to the Orient described in Said's *Orientalism*.

One might also question whether such definite distinctions are possible in a global world. Postmodernity and globalization are thought to break down clear distinctions. This makes it problematic to apply these dichotomies to study contemporary travel writing. Needless to say, travel narratives still make distinctions but they may be more ambivalent in comparison to the colonial discourse described by Said. By placing travel writing and tourism into a context of globalization discourses and lifestyle, my study has come to challenge some of the conventional assumptions of postcolonial analysis.

However, if one were to replace an analysis of colonial discourses with a focus on the concept of globalization, there is a risk that the exposure of power structures and privileges that is central to postcolonial theory would disappear. Globalization discourses are often used to hide new forms of inequality, for instance, the inequality associated with the restructuring of the global city.⁵⁵ There is also the risk of agency being hidden, as globalization is often interpreted as something that happens by itself, as an inevitable development that is unstoppable. Ideas about globalization as a kind of absolution from a problematic history of colonial oppression have been used, for example, in the travel writing of the British-born novelist Pico Iyer.⁵⁶ It needs to be pointed out that my critique of colonial discourse analysis is not an attempt to remove tourism from an analysis of power relations but, on the contrary, to place it in a context of contemporary relations of power and privilege.

The consequence of applying the concept of colonial discourses exclusively to all contemporary travel writing is that other potential contexts that might also be relevant in trying to explain contemporary tourism and its structures of power remain unexplored. To infuse the analysis of popular travel writing with

54. Loomba 2005 [1998], p. 46.

55. Tsung-Yi Michelle Huang, *Amidst Slums and Skyscrapers: The Politics of Walking and the Ideology of Open Space in East Asian Global Cities*, Ph.D. dissertation, Stony Brook: SUNY at Stony Brook, 2001, p. 4.

56. Pico Iyer, *The Global Soul: Jet Lag, Shopping Malls, and the Search for Home*, New York: Knopf, 1st ed., 2000, p. 258, see also Debbie Lisle's critique of Iyer in Lisle 2006, p. 115–120.

perspectives on globalization and lifestyle is more pertinent than to only see it as an expression of colonial desires. Furthermore, as Richard White and Jane Taylor argue, to use the colonial gaze “as a kind of default model for analyzing all travel writing” undermines the concept.⁵⁷ When texts or images in postcolonial analysis are described as being colonial, what this concept implies is not always explained. Is colonial another word for the desire for mastery over space and if so then what is not colonial? When no definition is given, the meaning of the word is supposed to be self-evident, and the concept remains under-theorized.

My own interest in travel writing began with a curiosity about postcolonial theories within the study of literature, and I am aware that my analysis is in many ways indebted to the work of postcolonial scholars. Much of my critique of postcolonial discourse analysis, and the results it yields, is aimed at the indiscriminate use of these theories. Although I find the perspective of postcolonial discourse analysis of limited use when studying some parts of my material, it is practically unavoidable in an analysis of *Business Traveller A/P* in the magazine’s early years of publication, when the identity of the implied reader was heavily dependent on a position of superiority over South/East Asia, in which nostalgic longings for a colonial era were abundant.

On the other hand, *Business Traveller A/P* also put into question the dichotomy of us and them that is central to postcolonial theory, since the magazine had both Western and non-Western readers. Even though it is impossible to know the ethnicity of the readers, readers with Asian names wrote to the letters pages, sometimes to complain about racism. Despite the decidedly Western perspective expressed in *Business Traveller A/P* in the 1980s, the magazine was not a straightforward Western representation of the exotic Other consumed by a Western readership, in the way that *RES* was a Swedish representation of the exotic Other created for a Swedish readership.

I have touched briefly on the question of ethics in my discussion of previous research on travel magazines. When travel writing is analyzed to see whether contemporary texts are still expressions of colonial desires, the analysis is often explicitly involved in questions of ethics. According to Lisle, in the above-mentioned study, she is “concerned with the absence of both political reflexivity

57. White and Taylor 2007, p. 2.

and critical thought in contemporary travel writing.”⁵⁸ Likewise, Killander-Braun sets out to discover whether or not the object of her analysis presents a racist and prejudiced image of the world. In their study of travel books from the latter part of the twentieth century, Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan make “a pitch for the ethical value of travel writing” even as their analysis demonstrates that “travel narratives are unreliable in the extreme.”⁵⁹ In the criticism of, for example, Killander-Braun, Lisle, and Holland and Huggan, it is often implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, stated that the genre should be able to give an accurate image of foreign countries as well as a critical perspective. There is a disappointment over the fact that travel writing is not what it could have been. The genre is seen as having the potential of representing the world to the readers in a way that would make the reader better able to understand the foreign, to gain knowledge of the exotic Other, but instead it is argued that travel writing is being held hostage by commercialism and a heritage of colonial discourses. Again, my purpose is not to see if travel writing provides the reader with an accurate image of the foreign destinations or not. Instead, the notion that these texts give a distorted view of the world from a privileged perspective is taken for granted. My analysis is more concerned with how that privilege is created and defended through discourses around globalization.

This is, of course, not an attempt to exempt travel writing from discussions about the ethics of cultural production and consumption or to argue that these issues are irrelevant. It is rather to argue that it is possible to study these texts with other, wider perspectives than whether or not they provide accurate representations. Instead of lamenting the critical potential of the genre, I acknowledge that travel journalism fits perfectly into the lifestyle concept and the demand of advertisers for editorial content that reflects their products. Ethical considerations are implicitly present in my critical study of the texts, even if I take a more pessimistic view of the genre than, for instance, Lisle. Travel magazines encourage and celebrate participation in a global consumer culture that is often elitist, exclusionary, and even racist, but in which the categories of self and Other might be organized differently than in a colonial discourse. Again, to question the colonial discourse

58. Lisle 2006, p. 265.

59. Holland and Huggan 2000[1998], p. xiii.

paradigm is not to question that travel narratives are expressions of power and privilege. To construct the world discursively is always an expression of as well as a struggle for power, as Said pointed out.⁶⁰

Even though I maintain that the transformation of the magazines into lifestyle magazines rather than travel magazines meant that they left the world behind to retreat further into a fantasy world of luxury and relaxation, I do not mean that the magazines provided a more accurate image of the world during the early years of publication. In *RES* during the early 1990s, there was a linguistic and visual style of expression that mimicked that of foreign news reporting or anthropological studies, but the magazine was at this time just as much of a commercial publication intent on presenting destinations as products of the tourism industry, as was the lifestyle magazine in the early years of the twenty-first century.

My final objection to using a conventional perspective of postcolonial discourse analysis to study the texts I have chosen is that such a study would be too much of a repetition of earlier research, such as Killander-Braun's study of *Vagabond*, using material that is similar to *RES*. There are other aspects of the magazines that should be analyzed that have not been so extensively explored before. By choosing to study up-market travel magazines and articles about South/East Asia, as well as using theories about lifestyle and globalization, I have reached conclusions that sometimes contradict the conventional results of a postcolonial discourse analysis, such as the idea of an absolute dichotomy of self and Other and the denial of coevalness, as Grinell puts it by drawing on Johannes Fabian, that is to say, travel writing situates the Other in an earlier historic time.⁶¹

However, I have made use of the perspectives on power and privilege that are foregrounded in postcolonial theory. Hence, rather than discarding postcolonial theory, I am developing it further in the context of travel writing by studying texts and themes that have not been widely studied before. Just as I criticize some of the common conclusions of postcolonial theory, I also question some of the conventional conclusions of tourism studies such as the construction of the real traveler as opposed to the tourist and the construction of authenticity, which I will explore in the following section.

60. Said, *Orientalism*, 1995 [1978], p. 5.

61. Grinell 2004, p. 241.

Tourism studies and the question of authenticity

In conjunction with other processes of globalization, tourism changed fundamentally during the last part of the twentieth century.⁶² The tourism industry has become increasingly diversified and there has been an increase in long-haul travel as well as shorter breaks. Tourists have more money but less time to spend.⁶³ The tourism industry provides more choice but at the same time there is a trend toward more standardization and homogenization, for instance, in the enduring popularity of package holidays with an emphasis on relaxation.⁶⁴ Tourism in the early twenty-first century also retains forms of mass tourism that characterize modern tourism, such as package tours and cruise-ship travel.⁶⁵ Another notable development in tourism is that it is no longer just a movement of people “from the West to the rest.” More and more affluent people from Asian countries travel.⁶⁶ Asia has grown in importance as a destination for tourism. Western tourism has seen a shift from travels to the Caribbean and Mediterranean to Southeast Asia, and in the 1980s and 1990s East Asia had “the greatest growth in international arrivals of tourism,” the primary reason being the “opening” of China in 1978.⁶⁷

In a great deal of tourism theory, there is a more or less implicit assumption that tourism involves the movement of Westerners “from the West to the rest.” Writing in the mid 1980s, Erik Cohen and Robert Cooper claimed that the “dominant trend of tourism is for members of richer, highly developed societies to travel to poorer, less developed ones.”⁶⁸ In their presentation of postcolonial perspectives

62. Kevin Meethan, *Tourism in Global Society: Place, Culture, Consumption*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001, p. 39.

63. Burns and Novelli 2006, p. 3.

64. Meethan 2001, p. 75.

65. Reiner Jaakson, “Globalisation and Neocolonialist Tourism,” in Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker (eds.), *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*, London: Routledge, 2004, p. 174.

66. Tim Winter, Peggy Teo, and T. C Chang, “Introduction: Rethinking Tourism in Asia,” in Tim Winter, Peggy Teo, and T. C Chang (eds.), *Asia on Tour: Exploring the Rise of Asian Tourism*, London: Routledge, 2008, p. 4.

67. Lloyd Hudman and Richard Jackson, *Geography of Travel and Tourism*, Albany, N.Y.: Delmar Publishers, 1994, p. 397.

68. Erik Cohen and Robert L. Cooper, “Language and Tourism,” *Annals of Tourism Research*, 13/4, 1986, pp. 533–563, p. 537.

in tourism studies, Stefan Jonsson and Josefina Syssner consistently write about Westerners traveling to “poor countries in the South,” and even though they do not claim that this is the only form of tourism they refrain from mentioning any other types of tourism and how they might differ from the tourism they describe.⁶⁹ According to the World Tourism Organization, Europe is the biggest recipient of international tourism.⁷⁰ Another common assumption is that these Westerners travel from urban areas to rural communities. In *Tourism and Social Identity: Global Frameworks and Local Realities*, Peter Burns writes that: “consumerism impacts destinations through tourists bringing with them the urban (and urbane?) attitudes of the consumer society that they live in,” assuming that the societies of the hosts are not consumer societies.⁷¹ Clearly, what are envisaged as travel destinations are not world cities such as Seoul, Tokyo, or Shanghai. These tourism destinations, as I will suggest, can challenge the superior attitudes of the tourist, described by many tourism scholars as inherent to tourism.

Tourism has been studied extensively in sociology. However, just like travel writing, tourism as an object of study was largely ignored for a long time because of the traditional focus on work and production in sociology. Dean MacCannell's 1976 book *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* was the first to make tourism a serious object of study.⁷² In *The Tourist*, MacCannell discusses the issue of authenticity, still one of the main topics in tourism studies. MacCannell argues that the search for authenticity is a key feature of tourism. Weary of the inauthenticity of modern Western society, the tourist travels to faraway places to seek out authenticity in the societies of others. The tourist is then especially interested in so-called “back regions” as opposed to those “front regions” that are staged for tourism consumption, while the local population is interested in staging displays to keep the tourist at a distance.⁷³

69. Stefan Jonsson and Josefina Syssner, “Postkolonialism,” in Josefina Syssner (ed.), *Perspektiv på turism och resande: Begrepp för en kritisk turismanalys*, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2011, p. 215.

70. UNWTO *World Tourism Barometer*, 10, March 2012, http://dtxtq4w6oxqpw.cloudfront.net/sites/all/files/pdf/unwto_barom12_02_march_excerpt.pdf, accessed April 29, 2012.

71. Burns and Novelli 2006, p. 6.

72. Meethan 2001, p. 11.

73. Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, 1st pbk. ed., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, p. 93.

MacCannell's study has been widely influential but also much criticized. Among others, Erik Cohen criticizes MacCannell's one-dimensional description of the tourist and argues that there are various types of tourists. He sets out to describe five different tourists and their relation to what he calls the center of their home culture. Even though Cohen contends, in disagreement with MacCannell, that there are also tourists that do not bother much with authenticity and are happy with the staged events of the tourist industry, Cohen's tourists are still characterized according to how they relate to the concept of authenticity. As Meethan points out, Cohen does not refute MacCannell's notion of alienation as the main motivation for tourists.⁷⁴

A way of criticizing MacCannell and Cohen's views on authenticity would be to highlight the constantly increasing variety of the tourist experience. With the enormous growth of the tourist industry, even Cohen's five modes of tourism are too few and the ways of constructing authenticity have become even more diverse. Furthermore, tourism is no longer just a Western pursuit. It can be expected that the issue of authenticity is looked upon differently in other cultures. Authenticity is still of primary importance in some forms of tourism such as, for example, adventure tourism and nature tourism, as I have shown in my study of the British magazine *Wanderlust*.⁷⁵ It can have an importance in travel narratives that attempt to separate tourists and travelers by arguing for the distinction between the inauthentic practices of tourists and authentic travel.

Different types of tourism make use of and create different types of discourses and authenticities. The difference between various types of tourism lies in the way authenticity is constructed and used, even though there are also forms of tourism in which authenticity is not a main concern. Furthermore, authenticity is a complex concept. According to Meethan, the problem with the authenticity debate is that authenticity and inauthenticity are seen in a simple either/or perspective, as essentialist and exclusive categories, while Meethan emphasizes that authenticity is always constructed.⁷⁶ He points out, however, that this does not

74. Meethan 2001, p. 12.

75. Emilia Ljungberg, "Writing Europe: The Creation of a European Identity in Travel Writing," unpublished undergraduate thesis at the Department of Comparative Literature, Lund 2007.

76. Meethan 2001, p. 111.

mean that authenticity is less important. As much as it is a viable concept in tourism, it should be studied for how it is used, by whom, and to what end.⁷⁷ The idea that all tourists necessarily seek the authentic to escape the alienation of their own societies has been refuted in later research. Nonetheless, authenticity is still a dominant concept in travel narratives and in tourism.⁷⁸

The interpretation of authenticity in tourism has also changed as tourism scholars have acknowledged the active participation of tourists in interpreting experiences as opposed to a passive appropriation. Many of the theories about tourism that were developed in the 1970s and 1980s portrayed tourists as homogenous and passive. Scott Lash and John Urry criticize older conceptions of gullible tourists that are fooled into consuming inauthentic experiences by describing the contemporary tourist as ironic, self-conscious, and role-distanced.⁷⁹ Simultaneously, tourists have become more active as producers of media representations, for example, through amateur blogs. The Internet has also made it possible for tourists to be less reliant on travel agencies and more independent in planning their travels.

The theories about tourism referred to above all concern mass tourism, while the material I have chosen to study constructs an elite identity for the implied readers. However, and as I have pointed out, this is an imagined identity. It is difficult to say something about the class of the actual readers and, in any case, that lies outside the range of my study. Class and lifestyle are constant issues in the magazines, and both magazines highlighted the exclusive and luxurious. At the same time, the magazines also took a constant interest in bargains (the word bargain was much used in the cover lines on the front cover of *Business Traveller A/P* for many years). *Business Traveller A/P* tried to carve out a specific business traveler identity that lay in-between the luxury enjoyed by travelers flying First Class on airplanes and those in Economy Class, as I will describe in the third chapter. In *RES*, it was sometimes acknowledged that the readers might not be able to afford the lifestyle presented in the magazine, for instance, in articles about design hotels in which the writers suggested that if the reader could not afford to stay at the

77. Meethan 2001, p. 170.

78. See, for example, Andersson 2011, p. 40.

79. Susan S. Fainstein and David Gladstone, "Evaluating Urban Tourism," in Dennis R. Judd and Susan S. Fainstein (eds.), *The Tourist City*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999, p. 30.

hotel they could at least visit the hotel bar (for example, March 2000). *RES* also wrote about exclusive resorts as well as package holidays. Hence, even though the magazines are up-market publications, the elite status of the implied reader was ambivalent, and the magazines were in no way separated from mass tourism.

The travel magazine as lifestyle magazine

In my study, I view travel culture as an expression of a broader culture of late modernity, which is common in tourism research.⁸⁰ This is in part because of the transformation of the magazines into lifestyle magazines in which travel is understood as one part of a larger lifestyle project. It is difficult to find an exact definition of the phenomenon of lifestyle media, but the collection *Ordinary Lifestyles: Popular Media, Consumption and Taste* includes articles about home makeover shows, celebrity cookbooks, teenage magazines, and stress management texts. What they all have in common is a focus on self-improvement and the desire for higher social status as well as the construction of identities through consumer products and definitions of taste.⁸¹

The magazines of my study provided the readers with an imaginary elite identity that made reference to cosmopolitan elites. As Arjun Appadurai, among others, has pointed out, identities in late modernity are increasingly self-reflexive and imagined, and lifestyle media help the reader to create a desired identity. Magazines such as *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P* offer the reader a variety of what Appadurai calls “imagined lives.” As I mentioned above, travel magazines, just like tourism practices, have become increasingly specialized. There are magazines focusing exclusively on a specific destination, or a particular activity such as golf tourism or wine tourism. However, the Swedish magazine *RES*, as well as its internationally known equivalents such as *Condé Nast Traveller*, *Travel+Leisure*, and *National Geographic Traveler*, still have a potentially broad and rather vaguely defined readership. These magazines create a niche in other ways than through

80. Grinnell 2004, p. 44. See also James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1993, p. 5, and Jensen and Waade 2009, p. 10.

81. David Bell and Joanne Hollows (eds.), *Ordinary Lifestyles: Popular Media, Consumption and Taste*, Buckingham: Open University Press, 2005, p. 9.

a specific topic. In *Magazine editors talk to writers*, Judy Mandell explains how “magazines vary not only by specialty but by attitude. Values and attitudes are one of the central services that a magazine brings to its readers.”⁸² Hence, magazines with the same subject matter differ through the elusive concept of “attitude,” which in this context can be translated into identity. Even those magazines that lack a clear profile can be differentiated by the kind of identity they offer the reader. In the early twenty-first century, when much of the information offered by travel magazines such as addresses to hotels and restaurants is available elsewhere, for example, online for free, offering the reader a specific identity is more important for the magazines. What the travel magazine does as a lifestyle magazine is to make sense of different potential tourist destinations as well as the act of traveling itself, through definitions of taste, style, and imagined identities.

Magazines in general have the function of presenting to the reader various consumer goods and how they should be used; it places them in a desirable context that gives them cultural value. This was especially true in the early days of mass consumption in Western societies and in societies that, in other ways, have been exposed to capitalism. In his study of the evolution of mass culture in the U.S., Richard Ohmann goes so far as to argue that “a national mass culture was first instantiated in the United States by magazines,” because of their importance for advertisers.⁸³ In the edited volume *Mapping the Magazine*, Sian Stephenson describes the role of women’s magazines in teaching consumption in post-Communist Russia by displaying consumer goods in desirable contexts.⁸⁴ In Russia as well, this was closely tied to the needs of advertisers.

The travel magazines I study gave increasing space to the display of consumer goods, but the main commodity on display was places. Travel magazines present the reader with different places and how the consumer can use them. The travel magazine, thus, puts places into a context and gives them cultural significance as products. It explains how the destinations fit into the desirable identity of

82. Judy Mandell, *Magazine Editors Talk to Writers*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996, p. 63.

83. Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century*, London: Verso, 1996, p. vii.

84. Sian Stephenson, “The changing face of women’s magazines in Russia,” in Tim Holmes (ed.), *Mapping the Magazine: Comparative Studies in Magazine Journalism*, New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 94.

the implied reader, for instance, as global or local places. Media products of the tourism industry have, for a long time, had the function of telling the tourist not only where to go and what to see, but also how to behave and how to construct an identity based on the tourist experience. As an aspect of the transformation of travel magazines into lifestyle magazines, however, this identity work becomes more explicit, more elaborate, and more clearly dependent on consumer choice and definitions of taste.

The authority of the travel writer comes from his or her function as an eyewitness.⁸⁵ The travel writer supposedly has unique first-hand knowledge of a destination and therefore has the right to describe it. In *RES*, the expertise of the writers was often emphasized, for example, when they were presented as having lived in a foreign country and in a particular city for a long time. However, increasingly over the period of my study, the information published in travel magazines was already accessible elsewhere, such as in guidebooks, and with the advent of the Internet much of the information is available for free from other sources. The long lists of currencies and airfares that both magazines published in the 1990s, sometimes filling as much as twelve pages, are easily found online where they are also more regularly updated. Hence, the magazines needed to offer something else than mere information. This is one of the reasons why the magazines came to stress the importance of lifestyle and identities and also a reason why their role as aesthetically pleasing objects was increasingly highlighted.

RES also created a selling point by claiming to provide something more exclusive than other magazines could. In a presentation of the magazine published by Pressbyrå, the main retailer of magazines in Sweden, exclusivity is emphasized:

If you want to know the cheapest way to get to the Canary Islands then perhaps this 30-year-old is not for you. But if you want to know in which obscure cellar in Moscow they serve the best vegetarian food or which Manhattan rooftop is the hottest right now, then this is where you should look. *RES* guides you to the destinations beyond the typical package holiday destinations and does so with a

85. Simon Cooke, "Cultural Memory on the Move in Contemporary Travel Writing: W.G. Sebald's *The rings of Saturn*," in Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney (eds.), *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009, p. 17.

limitless enthusiasm for significant details. Because you wouldn't want to come home from Istanbul having only had the second best cocktail, when you could have had the best.⁸⁶

In this quotation, the magazine very explicitly placed an emphasis on the exclusive that is supposedly not available to other kinds of tourists, and it is an exclusivity that is not necessarily based on financial means. It especially distances itself from the mass tourists who go on package holiday tours to the Canary Islands, which is a typical demarcation in a lot of travel writing. However, the text also differs from what is typical for the genre by implicitly acknowledging that the magazine cannot provide something new. The places described are not off the beaten track, but exclusivity can be provided by what one does at the destination, and through the details that make a difference. This is consistent with the editorial of *RES* from July/August 2001 in which the editor Johan Lindskog claimed that it was "more important what one does than where one does it." What is desired is not something authentic, traditional, or typical for the places that are visited, as is exemplified by the vegetarian restaurant in Moscow in the text quoted above. This quotation provides a good example of how *RES* was positioned to differ from other magazines, and of the values and identities the magazine offered the reader. Identity is constructed through the consumption of certain exclusive experiences.

Consumption and class distinction in lifestyle magazines

In consumerist societies, consumption does more than satisfy needs; it serves as a source of desire, as well as fun, enjoyment, and pleasure.⁸⁷ In the magazines, consumption is established as a key tourist activity, as well as a leisure activity in general that is also used in identity formation. Magazines are inherently consumerist, and in the lifestyle magazine this becomes more explicit. In his influential book *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* from 1984, Pierre Bourdieu describes how the individual can assert and display his or her social position

86. Advertisement for Pressbyrån, week 41–42, 2011.

87. Patrick Mullins, "International Tourism and the Cities of Southeast Asia," in Dennis R. Judd and Susan S. Fainstein (eds.), *The Tourist City*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999, p. 253.

or class membership through consumer goods, among other things.⁸⁸ Products are chosen for what they represent, especially luxury goods. In travel magazines of the late twentieth century, consumer goods, tourism destinations, and certain experiences were used as expressions of identity. In a global consumer culture, lifestyles can increasingly be put together using products and symbols from all over the world.

One part of the lifestyle offered in the travel magazines of my study is the desire for products that are not mass-produced. Saskia Sassen describes this desire for so-called bespoke products and services as an aspect of new class formations in a global world.⁸⁹ This search for the exclusive and special can be combined with other desired values and symbols. Especially in *RES*, the desire for the handmade, original, and designed was given a prominent position. It was combined with the desire for local places and this was in turn associated with environmental concerns, which I will explore further in the third chapter.

The concept of lifestyle is connected to issues of class and class distinction. According to Sassen, the global economy brings about a class realignment that sharpens the distinction between upper and lower classes. The large and stable middle class that characterizes Fordism lessens in importance. Other scholars argue for the existence of a new type of middle class. In *Ordinary Lifestyles*, Bell and Hollows claim that the rise of lifestyles is connected to a new middle-class group of “taste-makers” and interpreters of style.⁹⁰ Patrick Mullins discusses what he calls a “globalized middle class” that, he writes, has played a pivotal role in establishing a relation between consumerism and tourism. They combine having a disposable income with a predisposition to shop.⁹¹ This can be connected to Thurlow and Jaworski’s claim that globalization is an identity resource, utilized to create a sense of privilege and status. Thurlow and Jaworski write that the global elite characterizes themselves as elite by their global mobility, and hence travel is central in their construction of identity. The implied reader of the magazines of my study was constructed as a member of the new creative, global middle class that

88. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 1st pbk. ed., London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986 [1984].

89. Sassen 2006, p. 159.

90. Bell and Hollows 2005, p. 7.

91. Mullins 1999, p. 252.

uses consumption and style to create an identity as well as a position in society. Travel becomes a cultural capital fundamental to this new class formation.

According to David Harvey, cultural capital conceals “the real basis of economic distinction” through culture and taste.⁹² It contributes to the reproduction of the established order while the “perpetuation of domination remains hidden.” The magazines I study preferred to use the concept of lifestyle rather than the more problematic class concept. In that way, the concept of lifestyle and of cultural capital can have the same function as discourses of globalization. By creating the illusion of a split with older structures of power, in this case class distinction and colonialism, they can hide their perpetuation.

Sassen argues that the formation of a cosmopolitan elite identity serves a purpose in a global economy. Even though Sassen does not go into greater depth about questions of identity and cosmopolitanism in *Cities in a World Economy*, she does argue that what she refers to as the corporate elite has become “denationalized.”⁹³ International business centers, she writes, “produce what can be thought of as a new subculture” that is necessary for the establishment of a global economic system, because a denationalized elite is not opposed to foreign ownership in their home countries.⁹⁴ They lack a sense of loyalty to a nation in their professional roles. Sassen does not develop this argument further to explain how a global elite identity is constructed, but it is significant that she stresses the importance of a specific group formation as necessary for the development of the global economy.

A distinction needs to be made between actual and imagined identities, as I have mentioned briefly before. I am not arguing that the readers of the magazines were members of the global elite that Sassen writes about, but that the magazines created imagined identities that made reference to actual global elites. Imagined elite identities also serve a purpose. When using globalization discourses in their construction of an elite identity, the lifestyle magazines created order in a global world while they also appropriated the globalization concept, by implicitly arguing for a specific definition of what the global world entails.

92. David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1991, p. 78.

93. Sassen 2006, p. 143.

94. Sassen 2006, p. 144.

In contemporary travel narratives, there is a need to create definitions on several levels, the most general level being the question of what a new global world involves. There is also a need for a definition of practices of travel, places, and identities, and lifestyles. To be able to define concepts and perceptions on these different levels is a position of power. The up-market travel magazines I study make use of the notion of global lifestyles associated with the global economy that is described by Sassen and others. The implied reader is portrayed as a cosmopolitan bon vivant and connoisseur. More than being a mere reflection and justification of the lifestyle of the reader and general trends in society, these magazines take an active part in new forms of imagined elite identities, in their role of enlightening the reader on “where to stay, what to eat, what to see, and how to behave.”⁹⁵

Travel magazines and gender

The processes of globalization referred to briefly above have also affected gender relations. The new groups of immigrants that travel to the global metropolis to work are, to a large extent, women who are employed as “nannies, maids and sex workers.”⁹⁶ Furthermore, this is connected to the lifestyle and consumption patterns of the new middle classes since the migrants working as domestic servants perform the household tasks that were previously performed by the middle-class women in the suburbs. There are also changes in the gendering of leisure travel. For example, Mullins claims that Southeast Asia used to be marketed for specifically male tourism, including male sex tourism, while it is now acknowledged that a “growing number of business and professional women with high incomes” travel as tourists to the region.⁹⁷ In the period I study, women traveled increasingly as labor migrants, tourists, and businesswomen. The question is how this has affected discourses around travel that have traditionally positioned the traveler as male. In

95. Website of *Business Traveller Asia/Pacific*: <http://www.businesstraveller.asia/asia-pacific/information/about-us>, accessed April 28, 2012.

96. Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild (eds.), *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, New York: Metropolitan Books, 2003.

97. Mullins 1999, p. 260.

the magazines, is the traveler still imagined to be a man? Can travel discourses be gender-neutral? When the travel narratives acknowledge those that provide the tourist with service, what is their gender? Are the traditional gendered categories of travel fragmented? These are some of the questions I have used in my analysis of the gender aspects of the magazines.

Furthermore, questions about the gendering of travel are pertinent in the study of magazines since it is a genre that is traditionally feminine. In their article “Exploring the shopping imaginary: The dream world of women’s magazines,” Lorna Stevens and Pauline Maclaran study what they term the “shopping imaginary” in women’s magazines and tie this to a specifically feminine tradition going back to the days of the first department stores that became feminine spaces of consumption. According to Stevens and Maclaran, “department stores and women’s magazines offered women a window on a world of goods.”⁹⁸ More than just promoting actual consumption, women’s magazines offer spaces for imaginary identities based on the acquisition of consumer goods that the readers might never buy.

Although the genre of magazines has traditionally been feminine, the late twentieth century saw changes in this tradition. Whereas before men only bought pornographic magazines or special interest magazines “on sports, photography or motoring,” in the 1990s the market carried successful new titles such as *Loaded*, *FHM*, and *Maxim*, general interest or lifestyle magazines that targeted men.⁹⁹ These magazines include features on topics such as health and fashion. The function of presenting the reader with consumer goods and imaginary lives, which has traditionally been associated with the women’s magazine, has spread not just, as Stevens and Maclaran write, to the men’s magazines but also to many other genres of popular journalism, not least the travel magazine.

Therefore, the genre of travel writing in magazines is already an intermingling of cultural forms associated with masculinity and femininity. Travel is perceived as masculine, connected to ideas of adventure and freedom. The genre of magazines is, on the other hand, seen as feminine and so is the domain of leisure. Travel writing is viewed as a less serious journalistic genre, compared to, for example, news reporting. It is typically centered on the personal and, as I will show, the

98. Stevens and Maclaran 2005, p. 283.

99. Jackson, Stevenson, and Brooks 2001, p. 1.

inner life of the writer. In the lifestyle magazines, when traveling was perceived as a retreat from the stress of work into the private life of the individual, this often occurred at a spa where the sensuous experiences of the body were emphasized.

In contrast to many other subgenres of magazines, travel magazines have no obvious gender; the ideal reader is rather based on loose definitions of class. Even in *Business Traveller A/P*, the male gender of the business traveler was already from the start, and increasingly over the years, questioned by the businesswoman who demanded to be acknowledged. On the other hand, the businesswoman also remained an anomaly in the general discourse of the magazines, constantly vying for acknowledgement. While *RES* does not lend itself easily to a gender analysis, the transformation of *Business Traveller A/P* is connected to the gendered identity of the traveler since the magazine changed from constructing a very masculine business traveler to presenting a traveler that was gendered in a more ambivalent way.

The global turn

Globalization has become one of the most used buzzwords worldwide, but rather than having any fixed and stable meaning, globalization is a collection of highly contested concepts, which makes it both relevant and fruitful to study. It is a buzzword not only in academic contexts but also in politics and business. Globalization is an umbrella term that can cover a wide range of more specific developments and tendencies or, as Peter Marcuse ironically puts it, everything that has happened since the 1970s.¹⁰⁰ There is no fixed definition of what globalization involves; however, a few processes that are usually mentioned are the changing role of the nation state, the rise of transnational corporations, increased mobility, and developments in technology facilitating rapid transportation and instantaneous communication. Furthermore, globalization is described as a powerful idea. The sociologist Roland Robertson writes that “globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole.” The concept of globalization signifies the perception that the

100. Peter Marcuse, “The Language of Globalization,” *Monthly Review*, 52/03, July/August 2000, pp. 1–4.

world has become integrated.¹⁰¹ Ulf Hannerz is describing something similar when he talks about a “globalization of consciousness.”¹⁰² The word globalization refers both to actual processes and to a way of perceiving the world.¹⁰³ It is chiefly the idea of globalization, i.e. globalization as a set of discourses, that is of interest in this study.

In the late twentieth century, globalization replaced other related words such as internationalism and transnationalism as the paradigmatic word for explaining the interconnectedness of the world.¹⁰⁴ Globalization theory has also to some extent replaced postmodernism, even though these two concepts can also be understood as being parallel. Complicating a comparison between postmodernism and globalization theory is the fact that postmodernism and poststructuralism have mostly been central concepts in the humanities, while globalization as a theoretical concept has been developed in the social sciences.¹⁰⁵

However, globalization theory can be said to continue some of the theoretical strands of postmodernism. Postmodern theory was responsible for a move away from center-periphery models of the world, something that has been further accentuated by globalization theory.¹⁰⁶ Postmodernism also laid the foundations for globalization theory by its criticism of the universalizing and homogenizing tendencies of modernity. It emphasizes the local, and the particular context that disappears in modernity.¹⁰⁷ There is, furthermore, a preoccupation with otherness in postmodernism (which was also silenced by modernity) and that unavoidably has a prominent place in globalization theory with its emphasis on mobility and the hybridity of individuals, places, and cultures.

In order to understand the magazines I am studying by placing them in

101. Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*, London: Sage, 1992, p. 8.

102. Ulf Hannerz, *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*, New York: Routledge, 1996, p. 109, quoted in Birgitta Frello, “Cultural Hybridization: Contamination or Creative Transgression,” AMID Working Paper Series 54, 2006.

103. Arif Dirlik, *Global Modernity: Modernity in the Age of Global Capitalism*, Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2007, p. 5.

104. Dirlik 2007, p. 48.

105. Dirlik 2007, p. 6.

106. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996, p. 32.

107. Harvey 1991, p. 46.

more general cultural contexts, I will examine further the characteristics of post-industrial society that globalization theories, as well as postmodern theory, are meant to explain, starting with some of the historical developments that are connected to the concept of globalization. There is no consensus on when the shift from modern society to a postmodern or global world took place. David Harvey writes about the 1970s, or 1972 to be more precise, as the point when the common experience of space and time went through a decisive change, or what he calls a new round of time-space compression.¹⁰⁸ Arjun Appadurai, on the other hand, stresses 1989 as an important date.¹⁰⁹ Saskia Sassen also mentions the mid 1970s as the time when new patterns in the world economy became comprehensible. At this time, Japanese and European multinationals began to successfully compete with U.S. companies.

Globalization is often discussed in terms of changes in the economy. The rise of a new global economy is dependent on the shifting role of the U.S. and, to some extent, the growth of the Asian economy. The breakdown of Bretton Woods, the international monetary agreement that regulated exchange rates, in the early 1970s, and the rising debt of the U.S. are commonly cited as explanations of the changing world order. The Asian financial crisis at the end of the 1990s stymied the rise of Asia momentarily, but not least with the emergence of China in the world economy this development continued. In the early twenty-first century, the dominance of the U.S. was threatened by the country's great indebtedness, which left it dependent on Japan and China. In 2005, China became the second leading owner of dollars after Japan.¹¹⁰ However, the declining power of the U.S. and the rise of Asia is not just a straightforward question of a transfer of economic power from the West to the East. Sassen stresses that the U.S. is still a major military and economic power even though the world is no longer governed by a "US-centered global order."¹¹¹ She also writes that global firms are less bound to a specific country, they are more global than ever, and this might make it less applicable to discuss the financial power of specific countries.¹¹²

108. Harvey 1991, p. 147.

109. Appadurai 1996, p. 16.

110. Sassen 2006, p. 26.

111. Sassen 2006, p. 43.

112. Sassen 2006, p. 44.

When it comes to adjustments in the economic system, David Harvey also mentions changes in the financial markets and the increased importance of speculation. Speculation has meant that the financial system could be de-linked from actual production. Furthermore, it made money increasingly mobile. Changes in the financial system, together with the development of communication technology, facilitated a deterritorialization of capital. The new global economy created, according to Harvey, a “sharp concentration of global wealth” as well as new forms of inequality.¹¹³

The 1970s is also the time of the conversion from Fordism to post-Fordism, described as a transition from mass production and mass consumption to flexible accumulation and individualized consumption. Individualized consumption created niche markets or so-called “lifestyle segments,” not least exemplified by the proliferation of magazine titles, mentioned in the introduction.¹¹⁴ Post-Fordism is also characterized by a globalization of production; production is no longer tied to particular places. This corresponds to what Kevin Meethan refers to as “the expansion of commodity relations on a global scale,” a globalization of consumption.¹¹⁵

A dominant part of postmodernity that is connected to the shift to post-Fordism is the increased emphasis on culture and aesthetics. In postmodern society, forms take precedence over function. This has also been described in terms of a move to the semiotic and a proliferation of visual images.¹¹⁶ But material objects have also become “aestheticized.”¹¹⁷ With regard to products, this means that the design component is an increasingly important part of the value of goods. Ideas and images attached to a product become a part of the value of the product, the brand equity. In general, images and advertising are ever more significant, which further facilitates global consumption since images can, to some extent, travel across cultures. The increasing importance of images together with various forms of mobility has implications for the construction of identities, which I will explore in the following section.

113. Harvey 1991, p. 2

114. Meethan 2001, p. 70

115. Meethan 2001, p. 71

116. Scott Lash and John Urry, *Economies of Signs and Space*, London: Sage, 1994, p. 91.

117. Lash and Urry 1994, p. 4

These changes have also been discussed in terms of a new economy or an experience economy that is defined by being focused on the production of attractions, temptations, relaxation, and experiences, rather than material goods.¹¹⁸ Travel is the perfect product in an experience economy since the product of the tourism industry has always in some measure been something as transitory as fantasies and dreams. Tourism and leisure have gained a new significance as one of the most conspicuous and expansive parts of the experience economy.¹¹⁹

Mobility and identity in a global world

Postmodernity implies a break with the clear distinctions of modernity, and globalization processes are said to further emphasize many of these developments. One example of how previously clear distinctions are eroding is the changing perception of leisure and work. Leisure is no longer as clearly demarcated from everyday life. John Urry argues that tourism is no longer a special activity, it is “no longer a differentiated set of social activities with its own set of rules, times and spaces.”¹²⁰

The experience of encountering other cultures and places that tourism provides is available in more ways than through travel, for example, through food and media products such as music, TV, and film. The shopping mall and world fairs offer the consumer the world in miniature. In the words of Madan Sarup, it is possible to “experience the world’s geography as simulacrum.”¹²¹ This has three implications of importance to my study of contemporary travel narratives: (1) other parts of the world are constantly present in the form of consumer products which contribute to a global consumer culture, (2) the consumer experiences faraway places through these products that are associated with different places but consumed separated

118. Tom O’Dell, “Experiencescapes: Blurring borders and testing connections,” in Tom O’Dell and Peter Billing (eds.), *Experiencescapes: Tourism, Culture, and Economy*, Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press, 2005, p. 13.

119. Svante Beckman, “Kultur,” in Josefina Syssner (ed.), *Perspektiv på turism och resande: Begrepp för en kritisk turismanalys*, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2011, p. 138.

120. John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd ed., London: Sage, 2002 [1990], p. 96.

121. Madan Sarup, *Identity, Culture and the Postmodern World*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996, p. 100.

from their origins, which means that places travel in the form of products and images and, finally, (3) through this global spread of consumer goods, the consumers are always tourists, which has implications for the construction of a tourist identity.

Travel is in various ways central to contemporary society, whether it is perceived as globalized or not. According to Appadurai, since the 1970s there has been a deterritorialization of persons, images, and ideas.¹²² Dean MacCannell claims that tourism and postcolonial immigration are two fundamental developments that are reshaping society.¹²³ Both of these movements facilitate the intermingling of cultures. Zygmunt Bauman argues that travel is the defining characteristic of postmodernity and divides humanity into the unfortunate Vagabonds and the affluent Tourists.¹²⁴

MacCannell refers to refugees as a “permanent framework of postnational order.”¹²⁵ Even though my study does not concern the experiences of immigrants and exiles as such, that specific form of mobility is interlinked with the experience of tourism, understood as the movement of the privileged elite. The movement of the underprivileged is also a factor in the changing perception of place. The presence of Third World immigrants in metropolises of the West creates cultural intermingling and hybridity. This means that the exotic Others (in the terminology of postcolonial studies) that many tourists seek out during their travels are already present in the hometown of the tourist, thus threatening the dichotomy of home and away.

The mechanisms of consumer capitalism are creating an increasingly global market place, but the experiences of travel that are brought to our home culture are about more than the consumerist pleasures of the shopping mall, they are also creating a crisis. According to David Scott, the experience of alienation and identity crisis that is associated with travel is now available in one's own society.¹²⁶

122. Appadurai 1996, p. 53.

123. Dean MacCannell, *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers*, London: Routledge, 1992, p. 2.

124. Zygmunt Bauman, *Globalization: The Human Consequences*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1998, p. 77.

125. MacCannell 1992, p. 167.

126. David Scott, *Semiotologies of Travel: From Gautier to Baudrillard*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 109.

Other scholars, Anthony Giddens among them, argue that we are in the constant presence of the foreign, not least through media products that intersperse the local here and now with images of the far away.¹²⁷ The experience of being displaced that used to be felt by a minority is now the experience of everybody, whether we travel or not.

The rapid increase in mobility and communication has been argued to have an effect on the construction of identities in a global world. Arjun Appadurai discusses this using the concept of “imagined lives.” Appadurai argues that globalization is characterized by five dimensions of cultural flows, which he calls ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscape, financescape, and ideoscape.¹²⁸ According to Appadurai, these are fluid, irregular landscapes and the relation between them is unstable and unpredictable. Of these scapes, ethnoscape and mediascape are especially of interest to this study. Ethnoscapes are landscapes of people, tourists, immigrants, exiles, etc., that are moving, while mediascapes are media products circulating globally. Mediascapes are image-centered and narrative-based “accounts of strips of reality.”¹²⁹ They are scripts that can be used for the construction of what Appadurai calls “imagined lives.”

According to Appadurai, in a global world culture is less bounded and tacit and more fluid and politicized.¹³⁰ Tradition is put into question and thus identity and belonging are not self-explanatory anymore, and identity becomes self-conscious. This places a new emphasis on the importance of imagination for contemporary culture. Appadurai writes: “more persons in more parts of the world consider a wider set of possible lives than they ever did before.” Culture becomes an arena for conscious choice, justification, and representation, and mass media has the function of presenting possible lives and ever-changing identities. Mediascapes are connected to ethnoscapes when Appadurai argues that both immigrants and tourists create imagined lives, facilitated by their mobility. The magazines of my study are examples of mediascapes that are offering their readers imagined identities and imagined membership in the global elite.

127. Anthony Giddens, *Runaway World: How Globalisation is Reshaping our Lives*, London: Profile, 1999, p. 12.

128. Appadurai 1996, p. 33.

129. Appadurai 1996, p. 35.

130. Appadurai 1996, p. 45.

At the same time that globalization became a buzzword, during the 1990s, identity became more and more popular as an object of study.¹³¹ Identity was increasingly described as being fluid and as a process rather than being static. According to Bauman, whereas in modernity the problem of identity was “how to construct an identity and keep it solid and stable,” in postmodernity the problem is how to “avoid fixation and keep the options open.”¹³² Bauman also points out that identity is always a problem when it is discussed: “one thinks of identity whenever one is not sure of where one belongs.”¹³³ In relation to globalization, identity has often been studied with a perspective on the identity constructions of the new transient subjects, refugees, emigrants, and exiles.¹³⁴ However, the relation between mobility and identity construction can also be studied with a perspective on leisure travel. Tourism is a perfect activity for the construction of identity. The tourist can use the destinations encountered to temporarily and playfully try on other identities, while the opportunity to travel as a privileged tourist is itself necessary for the construction of a more permanent identity based on lifestyle. I will discuss this mainly in my third chapter, in which I write about the implied reader, class, and lifestyle.

The changing significance of place and space

Processes of globalization are said to change perceptions of place and space. Anthony Giddens write about time-space distancing to describe how things and people become disembedded from concrete space and time.¹³⁵ David Harvey, as I have mentioned, argues that globalization is a process of time-space compression. Questions of space and place are central in tourism because, as Meethan says, tourism is the commodification of space. The product produced by the tourism

131. Stuart Hall, “Introduction: Who needs ‘Identity’?”, in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London: Sage, 1996, p. 2.

132. Zygmunt Bauman, “From Pilgrim to Tourist – or a Short History of Identity,” in Hall and du Gay 1996, p. 18.

133. Bauman 1996, p. 19.

134. David Morley, *Home Territories: Media, Mobility and Identity*, London: Routledge, 2000, p. 155.

135. Lash and Urry 1994, p. 13.

industry is places, both as material entities and as symbolic space.¹³⁶ Hence, for a study of contemporary tourism, it is important to take into consideration the changing significance of place and space.

The definition of the words place and space, and how they differ, is elusive. Place is a more concrete concept, common to the everyday usage of language, while space is often used to mean something more abstract. In a discussion of the two concepts in the context of modernity and postmodernity, Mats Brusman writes that space signifies the general, the abstract, and homogenous spaces of modernity, while place is about the specific and unique, filled with meaning that is emphasized in a postmodern critique of the modernist ideal. This postmodern critique argues that a place is constructed when it is filled with people's meaning-making and by human interaction. Place is therefore connected to the construction of identities, as an interrelated way of creating meaning.¹³⁷ Just like identities, places are constantly being constructed and re-constructed. In the context of my study, places are the concrete destinations that are visited and described by the travel writers, whereas I use space to refer to something more abstract, wider, and general. While a place can be presented in a travel magazine article as being perfect for relaxation, on an abstract level such places form spaces of relaxation. Spaces of relaxation can have certain properties that are exemplified by specific locations. In my study of places, it is the description of locations in travel narratives that form the object of study and not the physical places.

Due to new communication technologies and improved means of transport, physical space is supposed to have lost its grip and become completely conquered.¹³⁸ The idea of conquered space is also a useful myth in travel advertisements. In the edited volume *Tourism and Social Identities*, Jennie Germann Molz refers to an advertisement for Boeing, in which the company claims to build faster airplanes, "which means the distance between any two places in the world has never been shorter."¹³⁹ A similar idea was expressed in an ad for AT&T, published in *Business Traveller A/P* in which the copy read: "Travel in a world without borders, time

136. Meethan 2001, p. 168.

137. Mats Brusman, "Plats," in Josefine Syssner (ed.), *Perspektiv på turism och resande: Begrepp för en kritisk turismanalys*, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2011, p. 152.

138. Morley 2000, p. 172.

139. Burns and Novelli 2006, p. 40.

zones or language barriers” (February 1994). This myth of easily accessible and implicitly homogenous space has been refuted by a number of scholars pointing to the ambivalence and unevenness of how time and space are perceived. The conquest of space is a privilege. Among others, Bauman has highlighted that it is for “the globally mobile” that “space loses its constraining qualities.”¹⁴⁰ Likewise, Doreen Massey contrasts the experience of businessmen that fly between global cities with the experience of the islanders of Pitcairns for whom mobility has decreased to such an extent that they are unable to visit their neighbors.¹⁴¹ Massey also points to the significance of race and gender in influencing our experiences of place and our access to mobility.

The experience of space for the privileged tourist is furthermore reliant on the mode of transport and can vary. In the aforementioned volume Jennie Germann Molz has studied the perception of space described by backpackers in their blogs and websites, and concludes that although traveling by jet plane makes the world seem small, around the world travelers also experience space as vast. Plane travel has made older means of transportation such as trains seem slow.¹⁴² In their online chronicles, the tourists studied by Molz describe their experiences of “a multiplicity of scales.” Molz stresses that differences in scale are not given but produced, contingent, and relative.

One of the most drastic arguments about how our relation to space has changed was put forward by the French anthropologist Marc Augé, who argued that what he called hypermodernity creates non-places. The main idea in Augé’s concept of non-place is that capitalism in the late twentieth century rearranges the structure of places and our experience of them by creating non-places characterized by abstract commerce, individualism, and impermanence, whereas in contrast traditional places are filled with the memory of the past and with human relations.¹⁴³ Augé mentions “hotel chains and squats, holiday clubs and refugee camps,” but

140. Bauman 1998, p. 88.

141. Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994, p. 169.

142. Jennie Germann Molz, “Sizing up the world,” in Peter M. Burns and Marina Novelli (eds.), *Tourism and Social Identities: Global Frameworks and Local Realities*, Oxford: Elsevier, 2006, p. 42.

143. Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, London: Verso, 1995, p. 77.

the typical non-place is the airport. Augé's theories about non-places have become both widely influential and criticized by, among others, John Tomlinson, who draws attention to the fact that a place such as the airport might be experienced as a real place by those who work there, and that the definition of a non-place is thus a matter of perspective.¹⁴⁴

Augé does in fact acknowledge that the categories of non-place and real place are not completely separate; they never "exist in pure form." He claims that "the possibility of non-place is never absent from any place" and the possibility of what Augé defines as real places is never fully absent from non-places either. Augé's theories highlight the existence and significance of what he calls "transit points and temporary abodes." He also emphasizes how non-places are inherently global spaces since they are the same all over the world. In that way, they can create a sense of home even in the most exotic locations by being worldwide consumption space.¹⁴⁵ In the chapter about resorts, design hotels and spas as local places, I return to the notion of homogenous global locations even if I do not make extensive use of the concept of non-place. I also refer to Augé in my discussion about global elites, in Chapter 3.

Just like identities, places are now to a larger degree consciously created. According to David Harvey, real geography disappears through the eclecticism of postmodern culture in which different places, times and styles are jumbled together.¹⁴⁶ He also claims that: "the image of places and spaces becomes as open to production and ephemeral use as any other."¹⁴⁷ One aspect of this is the construction of places for consumption in the tourism industry. Another aspect is what Appadurai terms "invented homelands," which are the images that emigrants construct of the places that they have left behind.¹⁴⁸ Despite the obvious differences between these two practices, they are both examples of the increasingly constructed nature of place.

Another aspect of the construction of places for consumption is the branding

144. John Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture*, Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Blackwell, 1999, p. 112.

145. Augé 1995, p. 86.

146. Harvey 1991, p. 87.

147. Harvey 1991, p. 293.

148. Appadurai 1996, p. 49

of places. To compete on the global market, locations need to be branded just like other products in order to attract tourism and business.¹⁴⁹ Place branding emphasizes globally recognizable images of places and de-emphasizes the physical places that the images are said to represent. Locations are turned into media images that circulate globally, detached from the physical place, and in this way places travel. The branding of places is another aspect of the changing perception of locations and geography.

Ideas about places are also constructed in marketing to sell other products. In *Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition*, Simon Anholt writes that having a place connection is more important for brands and products competing on a global market. In line with Anholt's arguments Lash and Urry claim that "many of the symbols which 'enchant' commodities are connected with place and travel."¹⁵⁰ Competitive global brands are not those that claim to come from nowhere, but those that are spread to the whole world from a perceived place of origin. Anholt mentions Coca-Cola as one of the most successful examples. Coca-Cola, along with other brands with their origins in the U.S. such as McDonald's, Marlboro, and Levi's, would not sell as well as they do internationally had they not been inextricably associated with the powerful myths surrounding the American lifestyle. It follows that the place where a product, such as a soft drink, is produced and consumed matters less than the place that it is perceived to belong to. If a location, or any other product circulating on a global market, is perceived as placeless or global, it has no differentiation to trade on.

The use of places in tourism is ambivalent. Some forms of tourism can be seen to create placelessness, for example, the so-called sun-sand-and-sea tourism in which it matters less where in the world these experiences are found. Likewise, Thurlow and Jaworski argue in their study of the advertising of elite tourism that the destinations advertised are removed from time and space. They are constructed as being placeless, to accommodate the travelers' desire to escape the world.¹⁵¹

149. Nigel Morgan, Annette Pritchard and Roger Pride (eds.), *Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2004.

150. Simon Anholt, "Nation brands: The value of 'provenance' in branding," in Nigel Morgan, Annette Pritchard and Roger Pride (eds.), *Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2004; Lash and Urry 1994, p. 277.

151. Thurlow and Jaworski 2010, p. 9.

This, however, according to Thurlow and Jaworski, contradicts the usual practice of tourism in creating particular places out of generic space. Tourism can create placelessness but it can also promote the specificity of places, and highlight the uniqueness of a location to differentiate it from other products of the tourism industry.

Likewise, the relation between place and people in travel writing is ambivalent. Traditional ideas of belonging and roots that are supposed to have been erased by the onslaught of modernity become even more saleable in a global, postmodern world, not least in texts about travel. According to Appadurai, in a global world, place and people have been separated to a degree that makes the idea of a strong connection between people and place untenable.¹⁵² Travel writing, however, often makes ample use of the myth of belonging and of the natural link between a people and their geographical location. Lisa Malkki refers to this as “the metaphysics of sedentarism” while Appadurai calls it a “primordialist view of ethnicity,” or “the trope of the tribe.”¹⁵³ The terms refer to the idea that ethnic groups have a natural connection to a particular place. Travel magazines such as *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P* make use of ideas about the natural existence of nations, regions, and distinct ethnic groups. The existence of nations as seemingly natural entities and the idea of specific national characters are not criticized in travel journalism; it is rather a popular theme, as I will describe in Chapter 4. Nevertheless, travel magazines also celebrate what is perceived as a new global world of borderless mobility and places of mobility such as the airport. The American magazine *Travel+Leisure*, for example, claims to be “an indispensable read for today’s global citizen.”¹⁵⁴ In the magazines, both of these ideas are present at the same time rather than being a contradiction.

To be unhindered by space is the privilege of the elite, but the deterritorialized elite is also a myth. Both Bauman and Augé imagine a group of traveling businessmen and women embodying the new globalized world by being constantly on the move between different world cities. Their only stable locale is the internationalized

152. Appadurai 1996, p. 46.

153. Malkki quoted in Morley 2000, p. 39; Appadurai 1996, p. 171.

154. *Travel+Leisure* mediakit: <http://www.tlmediakit.com/index.cfm>, accessed October 27, 2011.

and standardized hotels, conference venues, and financial centers.¹⁵⁵ This notion of a placeless elite is refuted by media scholar David Morley, who argues that real privilege is to move between the connectedness of the global world and the stability of the local, a view I will return to in Chapter 4 when I discuss local and global places in travel journalism.

Globalization processes are said to disorganize and reorganize space rather than make it obsolete.¹⁵⁶ In a global world, space becomes increasingly fought over, both in terms of actual spaces and images of spaces. In some locations, public space is transformed into private space, for example, in the tourist city where there is an increased focus on retail and entertainment in the city center.¹⁵⁷ The spaces of the privileged become removed from the larger community, such as through gated communities. Branding means that there is an increased need for the nation, region, or city to represent itself and to create itself, in other words, to form a sellable identity bound to a specific place. Tourism is an important aspect in this creation of places. Space has been brought to the forefront as something fragmented, controversial, mythologized, and imagined.

Global and local places

As the scholars referred to above have pointed out, the tendencies of globalization processes are contradictory and highly irregular. Kevin Meethan describes how tourism is both an example of globalizing processes, comprising a movement of people and capital, and a return to the local, by being a “reassertion of more localized forms of culture.”¹⁵⁸ Bauman, among others, maintains that glocalization might be a better word to describe the developments outlined above. He claims that globalization is an insufficient concept because while the “globals” have full freedom to move, the underprivileged are more rather than less confined within their locality. Appadurai also argues for the importance of the local as well as the global, albeit from a different perspective, when he describes contemporary global

155. Bauman 1998, p. 91.

156. See, for example, Sassen 2006, p. 2.

157. Fainstein and Gladstone 1999, p. 23.

158. Meethan 2001, p. 115.

culture as the “infinitely varied mutual contest of sameness and difference.”¹⁵⁹ According to Appadurai, contemporary culture is driven by the tension between global and local.¹⁶⁰ Yet another scholar using the term glocal is Doreen Massey, who points to the interconnectedness of places and asserts that globalization processes always take local expressions.¹⁶¹

In travel narratives, places that are perceived as local are sometimes given a function as the imagined opposites of the global. The increased importance of the local in travel narratives can be compared to the use of history in tourism, which many scholars have commented on, including David Harvey. In the 1980s, there was a renewed interest in history, especially in the form of heritage and specific heritage centers where constructed in the U.K. Harvey claims that tourists’ interest in history was a way of dealing with change. In heritage tourism, history is commodified and staged in theme parks and other types of displays in a way similar to how the local is constructed, as I describe in the fourth chapter.

Both the local and the global take on new meanings in a globalized world, and both play a central role in tourism. They are, of course, also ambivalent concepts that have no real borders or set definitions. In the words of Appadurai, locality is relational and contextual rather than scalar and spatial. The local and the global are not exclusive categories; on the contrary, they are always mixed with each other. Many places that are experienced as local are in fact fraught with global connections. The local places that are so valued in tourism are unquestionably a part of a global tourism industry, and the cities that are being touted as global are experienced as local places for many of their inhabitants (and are occasionally marketed as such; Tokyo, for example, is often said to be the “city of villages”). Thurlow and Jaworski use the word “multiscaled” to describe how spaces can be both local and global.¹⁶² Being able to define the fluid concepts of local and global is also a matter of power and privilege. In the magazines of my study, what I define as local and global places both adopted new meaning as a part of the magazines’ transformation into lifestyle magazines.

159. Appadurai 1996, p. 43.

160. Appadurai 1996, p. 63.

161. Doreen Massey, quoted in Katarina Mattsson, “Semesterutopier,” in Mekonnen Tesfahuney and Katarina Schough (eds.), *Det globala reseprivilegiet*, Lund: Sekel, 2010, p. 84.

162. Thurlow, Jaworski, and Ylänne 2010, p. 89.

The global city

The metropolis represents the quintessential global place, and there might be no better place to study for an analysis of contemporary tourism and globalization discourses than the city, especially the new global megacities that Saskia Sassen has referred to as command centers in the global economy. I write about cities mostly in the fifth chapter, but since global cities are places in which many of the processes associated with globalization are played out, I have chosen to give it considerable space in this chapter. The global metropolis brings together many of the main aspects of globalization, by being the home of the global elite as well as of the poorest immigrants. Cities have also experienced a renaissance as tourism destinations, which is a process bound up with postmodern aesthetics, gentrification, place branding, and a reorganization of the space of the city. Large polyglot cities emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century and became symbols of modernity.¹⁶³ The global cities of today must brand themselves as icons of a global world, and travel narratives are highly implicated in this transformation of the city as a brand.

Sassen describes how, in the new global economy in the last decades of the twentieth century, megacities acquired a new centrality, growing and gaining more economic importance in relation to the nation state. Sassen concludes that the idea that global communication will make density obsolete is wrong. Instead, she writes, “the mobility of capital brings about new forms of locational concentration.”¹⁶⁴ Cities have gained a new strategic role as concentrated command points from which the global economy is controlled.

This has prompted a change in the urban form as well as in the social and economic order of cities, and has created a new type of city, the global city. Sassen claims that “the more globalized the economy becomes the higher the concentration of central functions in a few cities.” Likewise, David Harvey concludes that the “need for accurate information and speedy communication has emphasized the role of supposed ‘world cities.’”¹⁶⁵ With the growth of global financial markets that

163. Harvey 1991, p. 26.

164. Sassen 2006, p. 33.

165. Harvey 2009, p. 295.

overshadow other economic sectors, megacities become essential since they can provide the necessary services for the global economy.

The growth of global metropolises, described above, is a recent process and is dependent on the transformation of capitalist accumulation in the West and, increasingly, elsewhere. Shanghai was launched as a global city as late as the 1990s. Three quarters of the city has been constructed since 1985.¹⁶⁶ The global city is a development, however, that goes back to the dismantling of industrial centers and the internationalization of finance at the beginning of the 1960s. Cities that have lost out in the new order are industrial centers of manufacturing, such as Detroit, Manchester, and Osaka, while in the early and mid 1980s New York, London, and Tokyo experienced an economic boom. In the late 1980s, the development of electronic financial markets in conjunction with the lifting of national barriers to capital flows enhanced the value of finance, further strengthening the role of these command centers.¹⁶⁷

During the 1980s, urban space was revalued.¹⁶⁸ As a response to the changes in the world economy, the main business districts of the global metropolises grew together with “related high-end shopping, hotel and entertainment districts.”¹⁶⁹ Many cities went through processes of gentrification in which the white middle class moved back into the city from the suburbs. The increase in rent pushed the working classes out of the city centers. The architecture of modernity, with its focus on order, was criticized and replaced with a postmodern emphasis on historicism and play. This is further enhanced by the need to entice tourists, who are often thought to be attracted to the extraordinary and playful. Global cities are rearranged to accommodate global capital in various ways, by providing generous space for business and tourism. The need to attract tourism to urban areas has had a fundamental impact on the structure of the city.¹⁷⁰ One example is a new focus on the waterfront as a location for luxury hotels. The core of the tourist city is dedicated to retail and entertainment rather than office space.

According to Sassen, “the city brings together and makes legible the enormous

166. Mark Kingwell, *Concrete Reveries: Consciousness and the City*, Toronto: Viking, 2008, p. 96.

167. Sassen 2006, p. 16.

168. Meethan 2001, p. 133.

169. Sassen 2006, p. 3.

170. Fainstein and Judd 1999, p. 13.

variety of globalities that are emerging and the many different forms – social, cultural, spacial – they assume.”¹⁷¹ The new centers of the global economy are highly ambivalent spaces, joining together the most privileged and the most disadvantaged. Global cities “have emerged as transnational places” with an international property market and many foreign companies.¹⁷² New buildings are created by reputed architects such as Norman Foster, who has designed the HSBC building in Hong Kong, the international terminal at Beijing International Airport, and the Hearst Tower in New York, to mention a few. Hence, these command centers for the new global economy are inherently cosmopolitan, but they are at the same time national showcases functioning as symbols of their countries.

With the focus on an ephemeral economy of finance as opposed to one based on material goods such as, for example, agriculture or mining, the centers for that economy become less obvious and more mobile. Sassen explains how historically the geography of transactions was directed by the location of natural resources, which made Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean key sites.¹⁷³ These old centers have now declined and global cities that function as centers for finance and service have taken their place. It follows that these contemporary centers are unstable since what they are offering is not something that is by nature tied to a specific place. The global cities of today must be constructed and constantly promoted as such in order to attract and then keep the capital, business, and people needed to sustain their position. This is where branding becomes essential. To be a global center the metropolis must construct a convincing image of itself as a global hub. As a case in point, Paul Waley writes about the rapid emergence of Tokyo as a “cool cat,” and how this transformation was brought on by the work of what he calls “urban image makers,” an umbrella term for people like architects, city planners, politicians, fashion designers, and academics, who all have stakes in the representation of the city. These image makers play a crucial role in the construction of the global metropolis.¹⁷⁴

The branding of global cities is ambivalent because they need to be marketed

171. Sassen 2006, p. 9.

172. Harvey 2009, p. 187.

173. Sassen 2006, p. 17.

174. Paul Waley, “Re-scripting the City: Tokyo from Ugly Duckling to Cool Cat,” *Japan Forum* 18/3, 2006, pp. 361–380, p. 363.

as the most cosmopolitan and global place with influences from all over the world, while at the same time being specific and “local,” so as to differentiate themselves from other cities. As global centers of finance, there is no need for them to be authentically local, but as exotic destinations they must also be able to offer something local or regional. The global city always runs the risk of being perceived as too generic and thus placeless. An example of this ambivalence is the branding of Hong Kong as Asia’s world city, while Tokyo capitalizes on the idea of a city that consists of many small villages.¹⁷⁵

Sassen emphasizes the need for a global city to attract the global elite of highly educated and talented managers of the global economy, since the advancement of the global economy is dependent on their skills and innovations.¹⁷⁶ This is exemplified in an advertisement for Singapore, published in the magazine *Business Traveller A/P* in 2009. The advert features three models posing as members of the new global elite with the city filled with opportunities glittering in the background. The main text reads “We couldn’t have done it without you,” and thus highlights the point that a metropolis is not a global city without the presence of the global elite. The longer text mentions MICE repeatedly, an acronym for Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, and Events, acknowledging the importance of business travelers to Singapore, but there are also smaller pictures presenting leisure activities. The most attractive global cities must offer ample opportunities for both business and leisure. Tourism and leisure activities in general are tied in with the world of business and business travel, catering to the same group and using overlapping spaces.

It needs to be pointed out that the branding as well as the rearrangements of the city are highly political and controversial. In her dissertation *Amidst Slums and Skyscrapers: The Politics of Walking and the Ideology of Open Space in East Asian Global Cities* from 2001, Michelle Huang compares the myth of space in globalization discourses with the reordering of actual urban space due to globalization processes and how this is represented in film and literature.¹⁷⁷ Global space is presented as

175. See, for example, <http://www.brandhk.gov.hk/en/#/>, accessed May 18, 2012, and Waley 2006, p. 367.

176. Sassen 2006, p. 137.

177. Huang 2001.

empty and easily accessible space, but in the reordering of the global city, space becomes fragmented and restricted for the less privileged inhabitants, who are forced to move to the cramped housing of suburban areas, while space is allocated to skyscrapers and shopping malls.

The dual presence of business and tourism as part of the spread of global capital causes conflicts over the space of the city, and narratives about the city are central in this conflict. Huang's claim that globalization discourses conceal something is repeated in much of the theoretical literature on globalization. The claim to universality hides the unevenness of globalization processes. In his article about the representation of Tokyo, Waley argues that the "indulgence in metaphors of transience and flux creates an urban landscape that is unsettling, destabilizing, for people whose primary struggle is that of everyday survival."¹⁷⁸ He also writes that descriptions of the flexible and dynamic postmodern city hide the everyday life of the metropolis. Tokyo is also a city where "life can be humdrum and dull, despite the architectural baubles and liquid spaces of the urban image makers."¹⁷⁹ Globalization discourses carry many myths about space that are contradicted by the lived experience of the underprivileged.

In the global city, not only do the most privileged and the most disadvantaged meet, they are also dependent on each other. Sassen writes about the emergence of new social forms in which there is a sharp increase in inequality between the global elite and new groups of disadvantaged, but she also describes how the consumption patterns of the high-income earners are reliant on the labor-intensive toil of low-income workers. New forms of consumption prioritize the non-mass-produced and "customized production, small runs, specialty items, and fine food dishes."¹⁸⁰ I will return to these new patterns of consumption in my discussion of luxury and lifestyle in Chapter 3.

While there is still a large middle class in the global city, it has stopped growing and, as Sassen argues, the difference is not necessarily in numbers but in the fact that this is the expression of a "new economic regime."¹⁸¹ The decisive difference

178. Waley 2006, p. 373.

179. Waley 2006, p. 377.

180. Sassen 2006, p. 172.

181. Sassen 2006, p. 175.

is the demise of mass production and mass consumption that has ushered in new patterns of consumption and new ways to organize production and labor and, ultimately, “new social forms.” Through these new consumption patterns and changes in lifestyle, the high-income earners are directly connected to and dependent on the low-income earners. The global cities bring together two very different yet somehow connected cosmopolitanisms, the privileges of the global elite and the mobility of the labor migrants that serve them, sometimes in the intimacy of the homes of the elite. In the global city, as well as in some other types of tourism destinations, Bauman’s Vagabonds and Tourists meet.

The global city as a tourism destination

Tourism has become one of the world’s largest industries with increasing economic importance, not least for cities. Kevin Meethan describes how tourism has become vital to national economies, using the example of the U.K. where tourism in the late 1990s came to be seen as an important industry. Tourism is often a desired sector because it is an “industry without chimneys.”¹⁸² In many cities that experienced an economic crisis because of the decline in manufacturing and other key industries in the Fordist economy, tourism was seen as an alternative source of revenue. Tourism has had a similar importance in many Asian countries, and has become crucial to the development of Southeast Asia. In the case of Singapore, tourism is the most important part of the city-state’s economy.¹⁸³ Likewise, in some cities, such as Las Vegas and Cancun, tourism has become the most important source of revenue. While these two are extreme cases, most cities are involved in the tourism industry.

The global city has emerged as a center for tourism that has not been fully acknowledged in earlier theories of tourism, which can be exemplified by Erik Cohen’s theories about the differences between tourists and pilgrims. As I have mentioned, Dean MacCannell argues that tourists are the modern-day pilgrims, in search of the authenticity that modern society has robbed them of.¹⁸⁴ In his response to MacCannell, Cohen argues that there are fundamental differences

182. Meethan 2001, p. 42.

183. Fainstein and Judd 1999, p. 246

184. MacCannell 1999.

between the pilgrim and the tourist.¹⁸⁵ One such difference is how pilgrims and tourists relate to “the center.” According to Cohen, whereas pilgrims travel to the center of their own religion, tourists travel from the center of their home culture to the periphery, which is the center of someone else’s culture. Cohen also claims that there are many different kinds of centers, of which he mentions cultural and political. What Cohen does not take into account is that the center that the traveler moves toward could be a global center, much as the religious centers of the pilgrims are global. The kinds of urban centers of my study, such as Shanghai and Tokyo, are most of all centers in the world economy but also to a varying degree tourism centers. What separates these cities from the centers that Cohen describes is that they can be very remote from the home of the tourist, both geographically and culturally, while somehow still recognized as centers of sorts, in a global tourism culture. They are, furthermore, what Sassen calls global control centers in a world economy. Hence, the center of other cultures can be the center of one’s own culture as well by virtue of being a global city. These places are still foreign and have the ability to attract the attention of tourists by their exoticism, but they are at the same time familiar as global centers, not just of finance but also tourism and culture, as I will explain in my fifth chapter.

Placing the travel magazines in larger cultural contexts

The late twentieth century saw large changes in the organization of the global economy and the organization of space. These changes are connected to changing perceptions of place and changing identity constructions. In this chapter, I have provided an overview of some of these changes as well as having discussed issues relating to postcolonial analysis, authenticity, gender, and class distinction in lifestyle magazines. The purpose of this background is to situate the two magazines of my study in a historical and cultural context in which the emergence of lifestyle media can be understood as an expression of more large-scale transformations. The changing relation to East and Southeast Asia that coincides with the transformation of the magazines into lifestyle magazines, along

185. Erik Cohen, *A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences*, Aix-en-Provence: Centre des hautes études touristiques, 1984.

with the interconnected changes in the representation of identities and places, can all be related to these greater transformations. The larger cultural and economic changes are also resources that the magazines can make use of in a way similar to what Thurlow and Jaworski describe by using the concept of identity resource. Ultimately, it is a matter of changes in representations in which the world is represented to the traveler in new ways.

The historical developments and debates that have been described in this chapter form the background for the following four chapters in which the two magazines are studied from a perspective on identity construction, the construction of places, and the relation to East and Southeast Asia. In the following chapter, I will provide a more detailed description of travel magazines as a genre and of the lifestyle magazine.

2. FROM BUSINESS AND TRAVEL TO LIFESTYLE MAGAZINES

During the late 1980s (*Business Traveller Asia/Pacific*) and the late 1990s (*RES*), both magazines of my study developed into lifestyle magazines, a transformation that affected style and layout, as well as content. This transformation was at times openly discussed in the magazines, both in occasional articles about the history of the magazines and in editorials. As a lifestyle magazine about travel, *RES* gave increasing attention to “fashion, art, design and food.”¹⁸⁶ *Business Traveller A/P* went through a similar development. In terms of layout, the transformation can be described as a cumulative stylization of the magazines. In *RES*, the texts and images were increasingly surrounded by empty white space, which was explicitly described by the editor as being in the style of an art gallery (February 2003). In *Business Traveller A/P*, a similar development was described as making the magazine “brighter” and “breezier” (January 1993). In both magazines, the quality of the photographs was improved and the objects as well as the aesthetic style of the images changed.

The images, as well as the textual content, of the lifestyle magazine are closer to what is conventional in advertisements. In their article about *Cosmopolitan* as a global magazine, David Machin and Theo van Leeuwen write that the values celebrated in advertising are glamour, success, hedonism, sensuality, and sexuality, all of which are present in the lifestyle magazines as well.¹⁸⁷ As the magazines

¹⁸⁶. According to the web site of the magazine in 2005, <http://www.res.se/res.html>, accessed May 31, 2005.

¹⁸⁷. David Machin and Theo van Leeuwen, “Language Style and Lifestyle: The Case of a

became lifestyle magazines, travel was increasingly understood as the pursuit and realization of these values. As lifestyle magazines, *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P* also gave more attention to describing an implied reader with a well-defined ideal identity based on consumer choice. The lifestyle that both magazines offered the reader was based on an imaginary global elite identity. Definitions of taste and shared cultural capital were used to position the magazines and the implied readers as belonging to the elite, in a manner described by Pierre Bourdieu in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*.¹⁸⁸ I will use Bourdieu's theories about taste, lifestyle, and cultural capital in this chapter, and in Chapter 3.

In what follows, I will examine further what it meant that the magazines became lifestyle magazines. To do so, I will describe the genre of consumer magazines in general and then more specifically the two magazines of my study. To study how the magazines define themselves and their genre, I have chosen to analyze the editorials, in which the editors discussed issues central to the magazines, and the covers, where the magazines were presented visually to attract potential readers. I will also describe how this shift affected the type of travel writing that was published in the magazines and more specifically the style of writing. The overall purpose of this chapter is thus to illustrate the characteristics of the genre of travel journalism in the travel magazine, and to outline how this genre changed during the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. This will serve as a background to the analysis in subsequent chapters. I will, however, start with a brief presentation of each magazine.

RES

RES is, in very broad terms, a magazine about leisure travel. In 1994, where my study of *RES* starts, it lacked a more specific profile as opposed to *Vagabond*, the other Swedish travel magazine launched in the 1980s that targeted backpackers. It was not until the late 1990s that the kind of tourism presented by the magazine can be described as high-end tourism. The magazine wrote increasingly about resorts and spas, a type of tourism in which the travelers' relaxation and experience

Global Magazine," *Media, Culture & Society*, 27/4, 2005, pp. 577–600, p. 589.

188. Bourdieu 1986 [1984].

of luxury is essential. Furthermore, from the late 1990s the magazine took an increasing interest in design, art, and aesthetics, which was also reflected in the layout of the magazine. During the 2000s, when Johan Lindskog was the editor, the magazine was redesigned more often, which was discussed in the editorials.

Among the Swedish publications, *RES* was for a long time the only magazine that was specifically profiled as a lifestyle magazine with a focus on high-end travel rather than backpacking or package tours. In a comparison with more well-known foreign publications, *RES* is closer to a magazine such as the American *Condé Nast Traveler* with its focus on resorts and shopping than, for example, the British *Wanderlust* that puts more emphasis on nature and adventure tourism. The magazine's emphasis on style and design was, from around the early 2000s, expressed visually by the original style of the cover, with the logo decentered and placed to the right while the cover lines were placed on the top of the page, above the logo, and later during the early to mid 2000s in a straight line to the left. The difference between *RES* and other Swedish travel magazines such as *Vagabond* and *Allt om Resor* is also noticeable in the use of colors. Many of the other titles that have less of a focus on high-end travel and more focus on package holidays use bright pastels, shades of red, and a broader variety of colors that make them look more similar to women's magazines and family magazines. From the late 1990s, *RES* typically uses monochrome colors, and often white, blue or black which makes it more similar to design magazines or other up-market lifestyle titles.

Since 1987, *RES* has faced competition from the magazine *Vagabond* and for many years those were the only major travel publications on the Swedish market. Currently, the market also carries Swedish-language publications *När och Fjärran* (*From Far and Near*), *Escape 360*, and *Allt om Resor* (*All about Travel*), along with a few more specialized publications such as *Golfresan* (*Golf Travel*) and *Spanienmagasinet* (*Spain Magazine*). The market is ever changing with new publications being launched, one of the most recent being the magazine *Moderna Resor* (*Modern Travel*), which started publication in September 2011, and has a profile similar to that of *RES* by emphasizing exclusivity. These Swedish magazines are furthermore in competition with international magazines that are now sold by Swedish newsagents such as Pressbyrån, for example, the American magazines *National Geographic Traveler* and *Travel+Leisure* and the British *Wanderlust*. In

addition, the first Swedish travel magazine for iPad, *Bortabra*, was launched in 2011.¹⁸⁹

In all travel magazines, the journey of the implied reader is set apart in some way from mass tourism. In a magazine such as *Wanderlust*, the purpose of a journey is often to get as close to nature as possible, and the writers chronicle all the ordeals they have to go through to get to a specific place. The ordeals justify their presence at a destination and bring them closer to the desired authenticity of nature. When travel writer William Gray trekked up the Inca Trail to see Machu Picchu, he contrasted his presence with the presence of the tourists who had traveled by bus. He wrote: “My aching feet convinced me that we deserved this privilege.”¹⁹⁰ Likewise, in an article about the Grand Canyon, Andrew Thomas claimed that the “Havasu Canyon reserves its treasures only for the deserving, hiding them in a place where RVs [recreational vehicles] fear to tread.” The significance given to experiences of pain, hardship, and risk-taking in the encounter with nature is a recurrent theme in some forms of tourism. The anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen and the ethnologist Torun Elsrud both comment on how backpackers emphasize the difference between themselves and other types of tourists by rejecting the comforts that are desired by “regular tourists.”¹⁹¹ Physical achievement as a claim to superiority can be used in a similar way in ecotourism.¹⁹² In both *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P*, the writers instead highlighted the comfortable and luxurious aspects of travel. Ideal travel was portrayed as being a sensuous rather than arduous experience, and the body was pampered rather than battered. Exclusivity was claimed through ideas about aesthetics and style rather than on the basis of adventurousness and prowess. When backpacking was mentioned, it was often dismissed, as for example in an article from *Business Traveller A/P* in November 2006 about China, in which the writer noted sarcastically: “Things

189. Christian Ström, “Sveriges första resetidning för iPad,” *resume.se*, March 3, 2011 <http://www.resume.se/nyheter/2011/03/03/sveriges-forsta-resetidning/>, accessed April 13, 2012.

190. Ljungberg 2007, p. 26.

191. Thomas Hylland Eriksen 1998, quoted in Syssner 2011, p. 60; Torun Elsrud, *Taking Time and Making Journeys: Narratives on Self and the Other Among Backpackers*, Lund Dissertations in Sociology 56, Lund: Sociologiska institutionen, Univ., Diss. Lund, 2004, p. 96.

192. Rosaleen Duffy, “Ecotourists on the Beach,” in Mimi Sheller and John Urry (eds.), *Tourism Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play*, 1st ed., London: Routledge, 2004, p. 35.

aren't what they used to be, however. Veteran backpackers of the 1980s, who struggled to Lijiang to view picturesque squalor and endure character-building discomfort, are inclined to dismiss the town as it now stands as inauthentic. But seeing it for the first time, it is difficult to feel other than charmed." To "endure discomfort" and admire the authenticity of "picturesque squalor" was ridiculed. In their dismissal of the tourism practices and values of other types of tourists, the writers argued for the superiority of their own practices. In a manner described by Bourdieu in his book *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, this functioned both as a justification of their own tourism identities and as a way to emphasize the distinction between themselves and other groups of tourists.¹⁹³

If one compares the two oldest Swedish titles, *Vagabond* is closer to the style and content of *Wanderlust* with its emphasis on adventure and nature tourism. In her dissertation from 2006, Lisa Killander-Braun describes how *Vagabond* started as a magazine for backpackers with the ambition of showing what they defined as something beyond what the typical tourist experiences. The magazine wanted to show what the sociologist Dean MacCannell calls the backstage of tourist destinations, that which is normally hidden from view.¹⁹⁴ Through time, however, *Vagabond* changed its direction to targeting more wealthy tourists and thus became more similar to *RES*. Hence, the distinctions between *RES* and *Vagabond* have lessened, even though *Vagabond* still does not have the same emphasis on style, design, and high-end travel that *RES* does.

In the editorials of magazines the editors often discuss the identity of the magazine, and over the years the definitions of what *RES* was have varied. The differences between how editors described the magazine exemplify the ambivalent genre of the travel magazine. Should the travel magazine provide the reader with a pleasant image of the world or should it also depict a reality of violence and poverty? In January 1996, the editorial was titled "Idyller och infernon" ("Idyllic and infernal places") and the editor, Anders Mathlein, wrote the following as a comment on an article about Rio de Janeiro published in the current issue: "the purpose of the articles and guides in *RES* is to show the world, to inspire travelers, and to guide. Therefore, we cannot show a world that doesn't exist. If we only wrote

193. Bourdieu 1986 [1984].

194. Killander-Braun 2006, p. 5.

about genuinely idyllic places, the magazine would be very thin – if there were a magazine at all.” According to Mathlein, the article about Rio presents the city “as a destination to put high up on the list of places to visit” but it simultaneously depicts “the muddy shantytowns and the violence.” Thus, the editor claims that the magazine shows more than a tourist image, the articles depict both the idyllic and the infernal. The editorial also summarizes the three main ambitions of *RES*: to provide the reader with an image of the world, to inspire tourism, and to give practical information about tourist activities, addresses of hotels, and such.

Another telling example is the editorial in the January issue of 1999, titled “Prostitution – inget att blunda för,” (“We shouldn’t close our eyes to prostitution”), in which the editor, Anders Falkirk, discussed a photo-reportage published in the same issue. The photographs depict prostitutes in a village in Turkey, and the editor discussed whether or not such images were appropriate in a travel magazine. The purpose of the editorial is to justify the publication of the images to readers that might react negatively. Falkirk wrote:

Prostitutes in the travel magazine *RES*? Is that really necessary? Yes, one might question whether revealing images of this kind are appropriate in a travel magazine. We think so. The purpose of traveling is to encounter a different reality, and on many journeys we encounter situations and living conditions that seem cruel to us. A travel magazine must be able to show this.

Falkirk also wrote that he asked the photographer why he had not sent the photographs to a newspaper instead, since “they would have been close to dynamite in the Sunday supplement of a daily newspaper.” In this text, Falkirk expressed the idea that a travel magazine should present the reader with a “different reality,” however cruel it might be, in a manner similar to news journalism.

In an editorial from 1997, Falkirk expressed a slightly different idea of what *RES* was when he wrote:

this is where *RES* enters the picture. With articles, guides, and tips we can help you to make your travels more successful. We can help you choose the right destinations, find your way in major cities, and inspire you to new ways of traveling. That’s our niche and our passion – to enrich everybody’s travels.

In this text, the function of the magazine was completely defined in terms of tourism as opposed to making the reader knowledgeable about the world.

In a later editorial, Johan Lindskog, who became editor in 2001, even argued that the ambition of the magazine was to give a brighter image of the world as a reaction to violence and war, which stood in opposition to the definition made by Mathlein in 1996, when he claimed that the magazine does not shy away from depicting “the infernos” of the world. In Lindskog’s editorials, travel was repeatedly associated with dreaming and the chances, through one’s dreams, to escape a dreary reality. In one of his editorials, Lindskog wrote that the ambition of the magazine was to spur the fantasy of the reader, and “to give you the tools to realize your dreams.” In the June issue of 2003, he wrote that the loyal readers might appreciate the magazine even more “when the world trembles” because the need for escapism and relaxation increases when “everyone else reports about a dark world.” This shift in how the editor defined the function of the magazine exemplifies a shift in the magazine in general. As *RES* transformed into a lifestyle magazine, the ambition of making the reader knowledgeable about the world decreased and the desire to escape into dreams increased.

The shift in the editorials and their definition of travel correspond to a shift in the photographic representation of the cover images. The aesthetic style of the covers in the early 2000s show a world created by fantasies and dreams about a world of relaxation and beauty, as I will describe further in my analysis of the covers. However, as the examples from the editorials show, there was no clear-cut line in the transformation of the magazine; it is more a question of a shift in the general emphasis, both in the editorials and the cover images. *RES* never had as strong an ambition as *Vagabond* to depict the world beyond the tourism image. During the period studied, *RES* continued to vacillate between wanting to show the world in all its grimness and wanting to seduce the tourist with images of a beautiful world. But it is the latter function that took over during the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Business Traveller Asia/Pacific

Business Traveller Asia/Pacific was first published in April 1982 and the first issue of the magazine cost 12 Hong Kong dollars. In the “Letter from the publisher,”

the publisher James Thornton explained that the main purpose of the magazine was to help business travelers get the most out of their travels, that it would write about both large cities and smaller destinations, and that it would be independent in relation to advertisers. The magazine's relationship to the readers is already outlined in this first "Letter from the publisher." Just like *RES*, *Business Traveller A/P* claimed to target an affluent readership, and to present a kind of tourism often referred to in the magazine as "exclusive." As opposed to *RES*, in the early 1980s, *Business Traveller A/P* somewhat resembled a trade magazine in style and content, with less use of images than a consumer magazine. There was also less emphasis on creating an appealing layout. In October 1988, after a short period without an editor, Vijay K. Verghese became editor and the magazine was relaunched with a new style, both in content and layout, and physical form. What emerged was a distinctly different publication.

In October 1988, Verghese presented the new style of the magazine in a one-page editorial called Check-in, with the title "Ringing in the new," in a manner similar to how the very first issue was presented in April 1982. He wrote:

A few readers will be in high dudgeon when they open the October issue of *Business Traveller*. Change is always hard to digest. [...] The essence of our metamorphosis is a shift toward a broader spectrum of upmarket traveller; a trimming of tabulation and fare conundrums best answered by specialised travel agents rather than distracted, overworked journalists; a continued emphasis on issues central to travel in this region; an informative, entertaining, visual style to deliver the goods [...] The pin-striped, briefcase-wielding business traveller continues to be our core *raison d'être* though our accent now is on the traveller, as reflected in our new masthead. There is no publication on the Asian bookshelf at the moment catering for this dynamic, discriminating and rapidly growing group [...] there is a glaring need for quality travel information. *Business Traveller*, ultimately, reflects the sophistication of this new breed of Asia/Pacific peripatetic.

In his presentation of the relaunched magazine, Verghese emphasized the importance of the reader, the business traveler, as the reason for publishing the magazine, just as the publisher James Thornton did in the first issue in 1982, although Verghese also stated that the magazine would be targeting a broader group of up-market travelers.

The editorial from April 1992, ten years after the first issue was published, was titled “A toast to travel” and recounted the early years of the magazine. The theme of the editorial is that the magazine has matured together with the market for business travel. The first editor of the magazine, Ken McKenzie, writes the following about the readers:

[T]here were many more who simply wanted to ensure that what they paid represented value. They wanted service, comfort, a few frills, but above all, strategic knowledge. The magazine in those days had an atrocious layout, some stories of questionable morality and an over-enthusiastic air-fares expert who came up with tariffs too attractive to be true. [...] But one thing it did have, the essence of which remains today [...] is that it is so clearly targeted at the interests of prime, hardened, serial travellers.

Hence, McKenzie also highlighted the centrality of the readers and their identity as being well travelled as the prime characteristic of the readership. The importance of the reader was obvious also in the title of the magazine, by which the magazine presented itself as being directed at business travelers.

In the editorial in the November issue of 1992, the editor Verghese jokingly discussed what the magazine was:

Is Business Traveller a trade magazine, a travel-accessory manufacturer or a travel agency? [...] To set the record straight, may I unequivocally state that we are a consumer magazine dedicated to the needs of the frequent traveller. I'm sure this will not deter some gentlemen in Dhaka who continue to fax us demanding we issue them visas for France.

However, despite Verghese's certainty about what *Business Traveller A/P* was, the magazine contained a tension between work and leisure and between information and entertainment, as well as between exclusive travel and bargains.

Many of the articles combine information related to business with information about leisure activities and more general information about the destinations, and their history and culture. An article about Vietnam in the March issue of 1987, for example, included both a section called “Doing business” in which the reader was informed about the current business climate of the country, and a section consisting of the usual information about hotels (“Where to stay”), sightseeing

(“What to see”), shopping (“Best buys”), restaurants (“Eating out”), and nightlife (“After dark”) in Ho Chi Minh City. In the 1980s, the information was often arranged under subtitles as in a guidebook.

Business Traveller A/P was a magazine for people who traveled for business but it also covered leisure travel. The traveler was most often referred to as a business traveler even when he or she was traveling for leisure. Sometimes, the reader was referred to as a frequent traveler. In an advertisement aimed at potential subscribers, the magazine wrote:

Travelling more and enjoying it less? Discover a new world of luxury travel, gourmet dining, fascinating sidetrips and relaxing entertainment. *Business Traveller* is one magazine that recognises the need of frequent travellers that are entirely different from tourists, and does something about it. You will benefit from “insider” information that takes you direct to the best food, the right hotels, good bars and genuine shopping bargains. You will learn how to get the absolute most out of any trip you take, without sacrificing any of the convenience and comforts you expect. In short, *Business Traveller* is an indispensable guide for people who insist on making every minute of every journey count, whether it is for business or for pleasure. (December 1987)

The ad referred to the implied reader as a frequent traveler, and positioned this kind of traveler as the absolute opposite of the tourist. Again, following Bourdieu’s arguments, this was a way to position the implied reader as a distinct and superior traveler, with a specific lifestyle, whose travel practices differed in significant ways from others. The readers were claimed to already be the superior travelers with the desired lifestyle, yet they needed the magazine to make the most of that lifestyle. The starting point for the quotation is the notion that the potential subscriber had a disenchanted relation to travel. Travel became mundane for the frequent traveler and *Business Traveller A/P* provided the reader with the right kind of information to make travel interesting, glamorous, and adventurous again. Although the quotation claimed that the needs of frequent travelers were “entirely different from tourists” the traveling that was described is typical of leisure travel in general.

The purpose of the magazine was sometimes expressed explicitly in the editorials, especially around the late 1980s and onwards. Just as there needed to be

a balance between travel for business and travel for leisure, the magazine strove to maintain a balance between information and entertainment. The balance, and sometimes tension, between these characterized *Business Traveller A/P*. On a very general level, the transformation into a lifestyle magazine can be described as an increased emphasis on leisure and entertainment, even though the intent of informing the business traveler remained a central aspect.

The emphasis on information was visible in the form of long lists of currencies, flights, airline and hotel discounts, weather, and so on that were included in the magazine. Up until the late 1980s, there were several pages at the end of the magazine that were solely dedicated to lists. In 1987, *Business Traveller A/P* carried up to twelve pages with information of this kind. These pages were typically without pictures and with very little editorial text. In both *Business Traveller A/P* and *RES*, which also included several pages of lists, the emphasis was placed on the practical rather than the aesthetic in these pages. Another type of material that was not presented in the form of lists but also aimed at informing the reader was the section called “Aviation” (later called Seat Selector), the purpose of which was to make the reader knowledgeable about the best seats on the aircraft. In a text about Philippine Airlines’ 747, the anonymous writer went into such detail as to write that “the floor covering is rubber matting – not carpet” (April 1984). The detailed dissection of an airplane was a regular feature for many years.

The readers’ letters showed that the magazine’s focus on detailed information about prices and services was appreciated. Most of the letters are complaints about the services of hotels and airlines. A typical reader’s letter began: “I wish to report a very unpleasant experience I had when flying with Korean Air on March 16 from Osaka to Seoul. When I checked in at the counter at Osaka airport, I was told that my reservation had been automatically cancelled because I had not re-confirmed it” (June 1986). On the readers’ letters pages (sometimes called Traveller Forum), there were frequently also replies from representatives of hotels, airlines, and restaurants that defended their establishment from the critique of the readers. In December 1987, one reader expressed his reliance on the information found in the magazine when he wrote:

I have been a subscriber to *Business Traveller* for quite some time and have enjoyed reading sections associated with hotel discounts and packages, special flight fares

and discounts – in short, timely travel information allowing me to enjoy cheaper stays and flights, very often on airlines that, if I did not have the info from BT then I would be paying full-fare. The same goes with hotels (December 1987).

In comparison with *RES*, the readers' letters took up a substantial amount of space in *Business Traveller A/P*, often two to three pages, even though the exact number of pages varied over the years.

One reader wrote in to complain that the information given about selecting seats on various airplanes was not thorough enough; he would also like to know the "thickness" of the seats on different flights (October 1993). Another reader wrote:

I would like BT to improve its features for travellers. Articles tend to be on holiday destinations (off-beat ones at that). I prefer information for fliers – seat plans and so on. Covering seat plans airline by airline would keep you in articles for years. It wouldn't take much organisation either – the airlines all have seat plan brochures which can be reproduced with their permission (July 1991).

Hence, judging by the readers' letters, many readers found this kind of information provided by the magazine to be useful. One can also note that the reader who wanted even more information about seat plans defined himself not as a frequent traveler or business traveler but as a flier.

With the information provided by the magazine, the reader could gain control over the industry. In the February issue of 1984, one writer claimed: "constructing your own ticket puts you in complete control." In the first editorial, Thornton wrote that the magazine would "play a watchdog role on your behalf" (April 1984). One of the main purposes of the magazine, according to the editorial staff, was to make the traveler's professional life run more smoothly. Already the cover of the very first issue jokingly described the irritation of trying to do business in China during the long lunch break. There was a sense of entitlement in relation to the service and travel industry, the industry that was "there to serve" the business traveler. (Letter from the editor, April 1985.)

The information provided also aimed at making the readers' journeys safer. The world that was presented in the pages of *Business Traveller A/P* was a dangerous one where kidnapping and hijackings were possible risks. One writer claimed:

“travel is often fraught with difficulties and hidden perils” (May 1983). The business traveler was also threatened by plane crashes, diseases, and the dangers associated with the sex trade. An article in the December issue of 1982 was titled “Is your pilot an alcoholic?” One of the regular sections was Flying Doctor or Health, with texts written by doctors about all sorts of diseases that could befall the reader. Security or Safety was another recurrent section title. The editorial was almost constantly occupied with safety issues. In the March issue of 1985, under the section heading Safety, there was an article with the title “Flames, smoke and poisonous gas: how safe is your hotel?” Health and safety issues continued to be a concern even after the magazine was relaunched in the late 1980s, with recurrent articles about hotel fires. In regard to safety and health, the magazine took it upon itself to enlighten the reader. The editor wrote: “It is our business to tell you, as frequent travellers and regular hotel guests, how to prepare for and respond to such emergencies” (April 1985).

As a part of the magazines’ transformation into lifestyle magazines, the long lists and charts that were published at the end of each issue gradually decreased, even though a list of flights was included in *RES* up until April 2002. As I have mentioned briefly in the introductory chapter, the disappearance of the lists was a response to the development of the Internet, which made the information available for free. Furthermore, presenting information in the form of long lists does not fit into the aesthetic conventions of the lifestyle magazine. In *RES* especially, the layout was given more prominence, and it was reworked repeatedly during the 2000s, which was pointed out to the readers in the editorial. I have already mentioned that the layout in both magazines was restyled to be “breezier” (*Business Traveller A/P* January 1993). The clutter of the lists was removed.

While the lists decreased, the pictures took up more space, as well as becoming more colorful and elaborate. In *Business Traveller A/P*, the change was visible in the use of full-page images to illustrate the articles that became prevalent around the late 1980s. In December 1988, the article “Night train to Chiang Mai” was one of the first to be presented with a full-spread picture on the first two pages of the article. Before the late 1980s, colorful full-page images were only used in advertising. There was also a change in the type of images used. In the early 1980s, many of the images had a documentary function; they illustrated the article by showing what it looked like at a destination. Some of them were in black and white

and the photographer remained anonymous. In the lifestyle magazine, the use of images is closer to how they are used in advertising, to express sensations such as relaxation and luxury and to evoke the readers' desire. Much higher emphasis is placed on images that are aesthetically pleasing. Pictures from image banks were used in *Business Traveller A/P* from 1989. I will describe this shift in the use of images further when I analyze the covers.

The glossy consumer magazine and other similar genres

Both *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P* can best be described as consumer magazines, at least from the late 1980s. Prior to that, *Business Traveller A/P* was a mix of a consumer magazine and a trade magazine. A consumer magazine is a general interest magazine that is produced and sold commercially. These are often referred to as glossy magazines, a name that carries connotations of a certain luxury and exclusiveness, but also of frivolity. The word glossy refers to the physical appearance of the magazines with their shiny covers and pages, but also to the style and content. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the adjective “glossy” means

having a gloss; smooth and shining [...] Also designating photographic and printing paper that is smooth and shiny; hence denoting a magazine etc., printed on such paper, or something that is characteristic of the type of material which is printed in such magazines.¹⁹⁵

As the description implies, the content of a glossy magazine is associated with its physical appearance. Tactility, including such aspects as the quality of the paper, its thickness, the size of the magazine and its weight, is one of the essential aspects of a magazine.¹⁹⁶ *RES*, for example, decreased in size when it became a lifestyle

195. *Oxford English Dictionary*, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/79186#eid3032635>, accessed October 25, 2011.

196. The legendary 2007 September issue of *Vogue* weighed nearly four pounds (1.8 kilograms), *Cineaste*, 35/2, Spring 2010, p. 88; Lynda Dyson, “Customer Magazines: The Rise of ‘Glossies’ as Brand Extension,” in Tim Holmes (ed.), *Mapping the Magazine: Comparative Studies in Magazine Journalism*, New York: Routledge, 2009, pp. 115–116.

magazine, which the editor Johan Lindskog explained gave the magazine a more “image friendly” format (February 2003). In the same editorial, Lindskog also pointed out that they had started to use sturdier paper. The materiality is used to consciously communicate just as much as the texts, images, and colors. As opposed to a newspaper, the reader is expected to keep the magazine for a longer time, carry it around, and maybe display it on a coffee table. The two magazines of my study were already aesthetically pleasing objects during the first years of publication, *RES* more so than *Business Traveller A/P* as the latter focused on business rather than leisure. As the magazines became lifestyle magazines their aesthetic value was emphasized, with a more elaborate layout and technically perfect photos on the covers.

During the late twentieth century, the typical style of the consumer magazine spread to other similar media products. One example of a new type of product mimicking the consumer magazine is the customer magazine through which a company can communicate directly with their customers instead of merely advertising in a consumer magazine. The customer magazine is sent directly to the home of the customer (and/or is available in a store) and is free. The most successful customer magazines are very similar in style, format, and content to the consumer magazines and, with their strong grasp of specific target audiences, compete with the consumer magazines for advertising.¹⁹⁷ In 2010, the Swedish travel agent Ving started publishing a travel magazine to provide their customers with inspiration.¹⁹⁸ Another similar subgenre of magazines is free magazines. The British women’s lifestyle magazine, *The Stylist*, is distributed for free in large cities and promises their advertisers, such as the fashion houses Escada and Hugo Boss, an exclusive readership.¹⁹⁹ Following the arguments of Bourdieu, one can say that *The Stylist* competes with more established lifestyle magazines because it can provide a readership with both the right taste and lifestyle, and sufficient economic capital to be of interest to these advertisers.

Newspapers are another example that mimics both the content and the style

197. Jeremy Leslie (ed.), *Magculture: New Magazine Design*, London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd, 2003; Dyson 2009, pp. 114–117.

198. Ving resemagasin, <http://www.ving.se/resemagasin>, accessed May 25, 2012.

199. Olle Lidbom, “11 i topp”, *Allt om tidskrifter*, 1, 2011, p. 34.

of the magazine. Newspaper supplements, most notably, have moved closer to the aesthetic style of magazines. Many newspapers now come with a weekly magazine on weekends, but they also have extra supplements about such topics as lifestyle, interior design, and traveling. The advertisers' demand for "editorial that reflects the products being advertised" drives the development of newspaper content that mimics the magazine.²⁰⁰ Therefore, advertisements for travel are placed in a specific newspaper supplement about travel. The development of customer magazines and the increased amount of newspaper material that copies the design and content of magazines means that the typical magazine format has become more ubiquitous.

The spread of the aesthetic style and physical format of the magazine is one example of how the genres of advertising, magazine journalism, and newspaper journalism converge. The closeness between newspaper journalism and magazine journalism can also be seen in the written material of travel magazines. The lengthy articles about exotic destinations published in travel magazines sometimes border on the newspaper genre of foreign news reporting. During the 1990s, *RES* had contributors who were also working as foreign correspondents for major newspapers, such as Agneta Engqvist who was a foreign correspondent for *Dagens Industri* (*Today's Industry*). Although most of the articles in *RES* were written from the perspective of the tourism industry, in which a geographical place, for example, a region, country, or city, was presented and evaluated as a consumer product, *RES*, as mentioned above, also had the ambition of publishing texts that gave a socio-political and economic context to the various regions visited, and these texts verged on the genre of newspaper journalism. In the 2000s, articles that deviated from the typical tourist perspective were separated from the other articles by being placed in special sections called "brännpunkt ("hotspot") Peking," "rapport" ("report"), or "utblick" ("outlook"). These were not, however, stable sections; some of them only appeared once, in connection with one specific text. These articles that resembled newspaper journalism were able to include aspects of a place such as violence and social injustice. *Business Traveller A/P*, with its emphasis on business and economy, of course carried more material that had similarities to newspaper journalism as well as weekly news magazines such as *Newsweek* and *The Economist*.

Two other genres that the travel magazine borrows from are the longer travel-

200. Leslie 2003, p. 22

ogue published in the form of a book, and the guidebook. In a way, the idea of the travel magazine is a combination of these two popular genres. The magazine strives to combine the useful factual information of the guidebook (addresses, maps, currencies, and other practical information) with the enticing first person narrative of the travel book that tells the story of a traveler's experience. From 1989, *RES* included a small brochure, called a "mini guide," with each issue of the magazine that mimicked the typical format of guidebooks.

The travel magazine must demarcate itself from other similar genres, for example, the guidebook. The guidebook connotes a less enticing and more straightforward way of writing. But most of all, the magazines must separate themselves from advertising. In the section for readers' letters in *Business Traveller A/P*, glossiness was repeatedly associated with advertisements and hence with a less than truthful and critical perspective on the destinations. In October 1992, one reader wrote:

BT is getting a bit too "glossy," a bit too timid, a bit less informative. Somewhere on the continuum between "the charming locals will happily cater to your every need" and "the taxi drivers, representative of the entire population over the age of 14, are absolute swine and the only safe place is home under your bed" lies BT's proper realm.

It is important for magazines to claim their truthfulness and independence. According to the editor of *Business Traveller A/P*, Ken McKenzie, the aim of the magazine was to give the reader "the ungilded truth, even if it's unsavoury" (May 1982). He then wrote: "In this issue, for example, we tell you what you have already suspected about Peking: That it is a numbingly boring city." The magazine frequently provided a negative image of the destinations. As an example, Marc Rouen wrote that the city of Ipoh in Malaysia "has the feel of the small town and has little to offer visitors. Streets are lined with rows of rather run-down, double-storey Chinese shophouses and, with the tin boom over, the city is likely to stay much the same for the foreseeable future" (February 1987). In the editorial of March 1986, Steve Fallon wrote that, more often than they like, "*Business Traveller* is forced to report on the bad side of travel: sassy service on certain airlines; dull, escape-proof airports; inferior food at over-priced restaurants." By reporting the negative, the magazine made a distinction between itself and advertising. The claim to report the truth was used repeatedly to define what the magazine was.

The distinction between advertisements and the editorial content of the travel magazine is an important one for a genre that is widely suspected of being too close to the industry. *Condé Nast Traveler* has the constant tagline “Truth in Travel,” placed directly under the logo of the magazine. In the August issue of 2009, the editorial of *Condé Nast Traveler* was devoted to the issue of honesty. The editor claimed that the magazine adhered to “this most basic journalistic principle – editorial independence,” and that this “has always set the magazine apart.” The main reason given for this independence was the money spent by the reader, “making sure that you get the most for what you spend is an important part of the magazine’s editorial mission.” At the bottom of the page, separated from the text, was a box where the “Truth in Travel” credo was expressed as a statement: “Travel publications often accept free travel and accommodation. *Condé Nast Traveler* does not. We are independent of the travel industry.” *Travel+Leisure* had a similar box at the bottom of its editorial page in January 2010, in which the text read “*Travel+Leisure* editors, writers, and photographers are the industry’s most reliable sources. While on assignment, they travel incognito whenever possible and do not take press trips or accept free travel of any kind.”

The Swedish journalist Mats Wingborg has interviewed the three editors of the Swedish travel magazines *RES*, *Vagabond*, and *Allt om Resor*, for the network Schyst resande (Fair travel), and asked about their relations with the tourism industry.²⁰¹ Tobias Larsson, editor of *Vagabond*, claims that the magazine does not accept offers from the tourism industry, but that the magazine cannot guarantee that the freelance journalists selling material to the magazine do not accept free travel. Birgitta Westerberg, who is the editor of *Allt om Resor*, says that the magazine occasionally accepts free trips from the industry. She argues that it is sheer hypocrisy when other magazines claim they do not accept such offers, and that they often accept travel at “självkostnadspris” (cost price), which in reality means subsidized travel. She argues that the magazine has never let travel companies dictate what they write. Johan Lindskog, editor of *RES*, claims that the magazine always pays for the trips taken by its reporters, that its writers take fewer trips than other magazines, and that the magazine makes more use of writers from the destinations than other magazines do. He also argues that other magazines

201. Wingborg 2012, p. 11.

that claim not to accept free trips are lying. Both the American magazines and the Swedish magazines argue for their own independence while claiming that other magazines rely on the tourism industry.

The distinction between the travel magazine and advertisement was also used in an editorial written by Verghese in the early 1990s, in which he wrote:

Drop the brochures and shop for information: information that can make all the difference between the high life and high dudgeon, between tourist and traveller. Independent travel, business or otherwise (which label you an FIT, or Frequent Independent Traveller, much in demand by airlines and hotels), offers benefits and savings to a discerning few (May 1993).

In this short quotation, useful information was what separated the travel magazine from travel brochures. Information led to lower prices, but more essentially it helped the reader to be a traveler rather than a tourist. The claim to tell the truth was therefore also important for the relationship between the magazine and its readers. The independent magazine defended the rights of exclusivity of the frequent traveler.

While the magazines endeavored to differentiate themselves from brochures, as they transformed into lifestyle magazines they became more similar to brochures and other types of advertisement in their style of writing and the use of images. Just like brochures selling tourist destinations and package tours, the lifestyle magazines portrayed places as exotic, beautiful, exciting, and alluring. In a way, the magazines could present an image of destinations that was even less realistic than that of the brochures, since the magazines were not selling a specific tourism product to their readers.

Yet another genre balancing on the border between the travel magazine and the brochure is the inflight magazine, a specific type of customer magazine produced by airlines and made available to the customer on board planes. One similarity is the use of maps, which is a key feature for both types of magazines. In their article about inflight magazines, Crispin Thurlow and Adam Jaworski describe how the magazines promote an image of the airline company as being global, or having a global reach.²⁰² This is done by using world maps to convey flight routes.

202. Thurlow and Jaworski 2003.

The world map is prevalent even in the magazines of those airlines that only have a few international flights. Thurlow and Jaworski associate the world maps of airlines, with their entanglement of flight routes, with the colonial maps of the British Empire that were colored pink to mark off the vastness of the colonial possessions. Rather than being strictly informational, the foremost purpose of the maps is to give the impression that the airline connects a globalized world from a central location.²⁰³

Maps are often included on one of the first pages of the travel magazine. In the early 1990s, *RES* had a world map placed on the cover, behind the name of the magazine. It was later moved inside the magazine, and functioned as the background image of the contents page. In July/August 1997, it was removed and did not reappear until February 2003, but this time it was placed on a page of its own, separated from the list of contents. The world map of *RES* was not political, i.e. it did not outline specific countries. In *RES*, on the map of 2003 and onwards, specific destinations that were described in an issue were marked on the map by dots in a manner similar to the maps of flight routes but without a point of origin. Destinations that were covered in longer texts were marked in pink and connected with an arrow, while destinations that were only mentioned briefly in the current issue were marked with a black dot on the map. World maps are also included in travel magazines such as *Condé Nast Traveler* (August 2009), *escape!* (December 2009), and *Travel+Leisure* (January 2010), and they also use dots and arrows to indicate the destinations covered in the current issue. *Business Traveller A/P*, however, did not use maps to present the destinations covered in an issue during the period studied.

Just as for the inflight magazines, the world map connotes a global reach for the travel magazine. It conveys the impression that the magazine has a general grasp of the world in its entirety, and that the whole world is available for travel. When the map was placed on the cover of *RES*, behind the name of the magazine, it can be interpreted as a representation of the magazine's general interest in and knowledge of the world as a whole. It had a function similar to the world maps and globes used in news programs on TV, and the maps placed behind the logo of some newspapers. When the map was repositioned inside the magazine and was connected to specific destinations (through dots and lines), it functioned as

203. Thurlow and Jaworski 2003, p. 586.

information that provided the readers with geographical information while it also presented the destinations covered in the current issue. It also provided a positive image of a borderless world available for travel (which was repeated in the editorials).

In the travel magazine, visual aspects such as maps are important for communicating what the magazine is. Another such feature of the magazine is the logo. Both *Business Traveller A/P* and *RES* changed their logos during the period of my study. *Business Traveller A/P* changed its logo in October 1988 when the magazine was relaunched, and the change of the logo was explicitly discussed in the editorial as a sign that the magazine was placing more emphasis on travel: “our accent now is on the *traveller*, as is reflected in our new masthead” (October 1988). The word “Traveller” was enlarged while the word “Business” became slightly smaller. In September 2006, the logo of *Business Traveller A/P* was moved to the left. In February 2003, the logo of *RES* was placed in the upper right-hand corner, which is very uncommon for magazines. In a Western context it is counterintuitive to place the logo to the right, off center. The position places more emphasis on the picture because the logo is de-centered, but it can also draw attention to the logo because of the originality of placing it to the right. In 2005, *RES* changed its logo so that the loop of the R is open to the left. The new style of the logo denoted style and speed; the “S” was made to look more like a road. This logo, which is still in use, is similar to the logo of an airline.

The style of writing: From you to me, from information to emotion

The transformations of the magazines were also reflected in the style of writing. In the early 1980s, *Business Traveller A/P* was similar in style to guidebooks, where the main purpose is to convey useful practical information that the reader can use when traveling. In the early 1980s, the texts in *Business Traveller A/P* also typically had the structure of the guidebook text that is ordered by multiple headings. An article about Indonesia started by presenting the region of Central Java, and went on to give a brief history of the region that ended with the description of several temples. The writer then moved on to shopping, which was given a subtitle. The subtitles that followed were Getting About, Accommodation, Charge Cards, and

finally Getting There. Throughout the text, keywords and names of places and attractions were highlighted in bold. Other typical subtitles for this kind of article were Eating Out, Things To Do, Sports and Recreation, and Getting Away.

In later texts, the practical information, especially addresses of hotels, was placed at the end of the text in small print, and sometimes this information was distinguished even more from the main text by being positioned in a separate box. From February 2003, the practical information in *RES* was removed entirely from the main text by being placed in a specific section at the back of the magazine. When the practical information was separated from the main text, the similarities to the style and structure of guidebooks were lessened, the practical information provided for the reader was de-emphasized, and it became possible to highlight the personal experience of the travel writer. In the transformation of the magazines, there is a shift in focus from the reader to the writer.

Texts that were written in the style of guidebooks were intent on guiding the reader. An article in *Business Traveller A/P* about Delhi in the June issue of 1989 is a good example of how the magazine used a guidebook style. The article was titled “Delhi à la carte,” and the writer Jug Suraiya offered a detailed description of what the reader could do while visiting Delhi. The reader was addressed directly as “you.” Suraiya wrote:

After the meal you might like to cross the road to the *Prince Paan Shop*, Delhi’s premier betel leaf establishment, for a *paan* stuffed with restorative condiments like aniseed, cardamom, cloves and sweetened betel-nut. Or you might like to stroll down Daryagunj Road to Aap Ki Pasand where Sanjay Kapoor will offer you Delhi’s choicest selection of quality teas, to be savoured on the premises or taken away.

In this text, the writer acted as a guide who accompanied the reader on a possible future journey and gave advice on where to go and what to do. The information provided was detailed; the reader was told, among other things, that a chicken *bharta* cost about Rs120 for two. Names of places, hotels, and restaurants were marked in bold. The writer was present in the text, in his comments on the city, and the many opportunities it offered, and in his quirky anecdotes, but the text was structured around a list of places as opposed to following Suraiya’s personal travel experience.

The writer acting as a guide offered the reader different suggestions on what to do on a trip, often addressing the reader. In an article from May 1988 titled “Nikko weekend,” the writer claims that

You could cover both its Lake Chuzenjiko and Kegon-no-Taki Falls, as well as the magnificent Toshugo Shrine, within a day [...] An afternoon spent strolling up to Lake Chuzenjiko and the Kegon-no-Taki Falls is certainly worth a week of self-encounter therapy. The natural wonders of this area are on the eastern shore of the lake, some 4,000 feet above sea level. Mt. Nantai (8,000 feet) rises on the opposite shore.

The reader was provided with plenty of facts and suggestions for itineraries.

Belonging to the same style of writing are the imperative sentences that directly encourage the reader to do something specific. In an article about Krabi, John Hoskin wrote: “When in town, look out for Ntong Joke, a scruffy little restaurant down by the wharf which serves probably the best food in Krabi” (December 1989). Likewise, in July 1990, Rich Blumm wrote: “for a glimpse of Kobe of the future take a trip out to Port Island.” This style of writing was focused on the potential experiences of the reader as opposed to what the writer had already experienced during his or her journey. The writer acted as a guide serving the reader or as a personal friend of the reader. Steve Fallon exemplified the latter in an article about Mumbai nightlife when he wrote: “You might want to drop into one of the major hotel discos, such as the 1900s at the Taj or the Cellar at the Oberoi, but if you are neither a hotel guest nor a member, you can forget it. (Just between us, the crowds are made up mostly of spoiled little rich kids, yuppies out in packs and off-duty aircrews)” (August 1990). In this article, the tone of the text is slightly more personal than when the writer acts as a guide.

In the lifestyle magazine, it is instead the experience of the writer that is important. In an article in *Business Traveller A/P* from the early 1990s, the writer started by writing:

Dragged mercilessly from my hotel bed by a 5am alarm call and squinting as the rising sun assaults my bleary eyes on the way to Manila’s domestic airport, I am at this hour distinctly unexcited by the prospect of spending a weekend on a remote Philippine island doing, as I had promised myself, absolutely nothing.

In this example, the article starts with what the writer felt as he started the journey that would take him to the destination. The media scholar Anne Marit Waade makes a similar observation about the centrality of the host in TV travel programs.²⁰⁴ She also quotes David Dunn who argues that the celebrity of the presenter “throws the tourist destination into a background of soft focus.”²⁰⁵ Commenting on the same issue in her analysis of the magazine *Vagabond*, Killander-Braun quotes the media scholar Elisabeth Eide who has drawn similar conclusions after interviewing foreign news reporters. Killander-Braun also quotes Eva-Lena Nordstrand who argues that when the writers focus on themselves there is less need to do thorough research about the destination, and hence the articles can be produced faster and at less cost.²⁰⁶

The emphasis on the feelings of the writer became even more ubiquitous in the 2000s. The texts also centered on how the experience of the destination changed the writer. In *Business Traveller A/P*, this was most explicit in the section called Great Escapes (which was a part of the magazine from the beginning) in which the writers described how the destinations visited allowed them to relax and experience inner peace. In an article titled “Natural Charm” from July/August 2009, Boboi Costas ended the article by writing “The tower, unchanged by the seasons, stood lonely but proud. It made me feel insignificant in the scheme of things. And in one quiet but sudden moment, I came face to face with my inner being. And what a blissful feeling that was.” Likewise, in an article from September 2009 Joshua Tan wrote: “The same stone-grey hotel courtyard I had seen earlier the previous day was now cool in the misty morning air and resembled a celestial palace bathed in ethereal beauty. It was then that I experienced a tranquillity that the city couldn’t offer. I had found unadulterated peace.” In these articles the journey of the reader had disappeared. The writer was no longer mainly the accompanying guide or friend with inside information but acted instead as the

204. Anne Marit Waade, “Armchair Travelling with Pilot Guides,” in Jesper Falkheimer and André Jansson (eds.), *Geographies of Communication: The Spatial Turn in Media Studies*, Göteborg: Nordicom, 2006, p. 159.

205. David Dunn, “We are not here to make a film about Italy, we are here to make a film about ME...,” in David Crouch, Rhona Jackson, and Felix Thompson (eds.), *The Media and Tourism Imagination*, London: Routledge, 2005, p. 155.

206. Killander-Braun 2006, p. 61.

principal traveler. The reader was invited to share the journey only indirectly by reading about the writer's experiences.

The increased focus on the writers was connected to a general shift from providing information and facts to centering on emotions and impressions, which is another aspect of how the travel magazines came closer to the style of advertising as they became lifestyle magazines. This is also expressed through the style of the covers.

The aesthetic style of the covers

In a travel magazine, the images are at least as important as the text, if not more so, and as I have mentioned briefly, images were given increasing space in the lifestyle magazine. Photography has always had a central function in *RES*, not least because of the magazine's emphasis on quality and on providing something more than the basic facts found in guidebooks. The magazine characterized itself by providing what it defined as quality texts, and images that were more than just illustrations for the articles. Furthermore, the editor Johan Lindskog is a photographer. For many years in the 1990s the magazine had a section called Resfotografen (The Travel Photographer), which featured several pages of photographs, often taken by well-known photojournalists. The background color for this section was black and the photography was documentary in style. The section typically featured nature photography or anthropological themes. The March issue of 1995 showed Martin Adler's photographs from Kashmir under the title "Kashmirs bitterljuva ansikte" ("The bittersweet face of Kashmir"). In the September issue of the same year, the magazine published Anders Ryman's photographs of rites of passage in different cultures under the title "Livets steg" ("The steps of life"). In *Business Traveller A/P*, photography did not have a dominant place in the early years of publication, and it was not unusual for photographs to be unaccredited. Many of the articles in the early 1980s were illustrated by drawings. When the magazines changed style, the style of the photographs changed as well in profound ways.

One way to study the changes of the magazines is to analyze the cover images together with the overall layout of the covers of both magazines. The cover functions as an advertisement for the magazine, which is essential for consumer magazines that often sell single copies off the news rack rather than

through subscription. Since more effort is put into the cover image that is made to represent the magazine, the change in the aesthetic style of the magazines is more visible there.

In the 1990s, the covers of *RES* depicted the world from a conventional tourist perspective.²⁰⁷ Typical images were exotic animals, beach settings, and other beautiful nature scenes, and exotic peoples in national costumes representing one of the destinations of the specific issue. The style and object of the covers were not far from that of postcards. In the 2000s, there were more often images of tourists than images of exotic peoples and animals. Despite the tourists depicted, there were significantly fewer people on the covers in the 2000s. As a comparison, in 1999 there were people, both tourists and locals, depicted on all of the nine issues while in 2005 there were people, only tourists, on two of the ten covers. However, the cover images still connoted relaxation, fun, sensuality, and harmless hedonism. The significant shift lies in the increased emphasis on luxury and exclusivity and in the changed aesthetic style.

The transformation that *Business Traveller A/P* went through in the late 1980s, when Verghese became editor, was expressed visually on the covers. As a blend between a trade and a consumer magazine aimed at the business community, *Business Traveller A/P* had a slightly different layout in the early years of the 1980s in comparison to the leisure magazines. Formality was expressed through color choice; the leisure travel magazines typically use bold colors or pastels while *Business Traveller A/P* often had a black or white background for the images. The formality was, however, undermined by the humorous images on the cover that often showed businessmen in ridiculous situations. The very first cover in April 1982 depicts a businessman who is frustrated by the long lunch breaks in China, exemplified by a bored-looking Chinese woman in blue Mao dress and braids. The image is rendered humorous by the overly expressive and contrasting facial expressions of the man and the woman.

In the 1980s, the covers of *Business Traveller A/P* often lacked an ordered layout.

207. The covers of *Resguide*, as *RES* was called up until 1994, from the 1980s fall outside of my analysis but I have nonetheless come across the material. What is striking about the covers from the mid 1980s to the early 1990s is the high prevalence of faces depicted in close-up, often with the person in the picture meeting the gaze of the reader. The close-ups of faces, arousing associations of an ethnographical perspective, largely disappeared in the mid 1990s.

The cover for the June issue of 1987, for example, showed a city view against a black background. The image was disorganized; the black background color clashed with the bright yellow squares placed in the middle to present some of the articles. The cover lacked a clear center, the colors did not harmonize, and the images were scattered. From the October issue of 1988, when the magazine changed style, the covers became more spacious in layout and the cover lines were concentrated to one side, most often the left side, as they were in *RES*. The use of drawings became less frequent and the photographs were more styled and colorful. The covers became more ordered in their aesthetic style. There was also an increased glossiness in the paper used.

This shift can be exemplified by the covers of *Business Traveller A/P* in 1994 that either depicted the glamorous and exotic (for example, the July issue showed a gleaming Los Angeles skyscraper together with some palm trees in warm, red colors), or depicted work-related themes with images of businessmen (and, on the cover of the December issue, a businesswoman) working or relaxing in connection with work. On the cover of the May issue of 1994, a man reclines on a sun lounger while his cell phone and a business paper remain close at hand. On the cover of the December issue, a woman is working by her portable computer in a hotel room. The covers depicting people at work were, however, less prevalent than the images depicting the glamorous and exotic.

As regards the themes of the covers, *Business Traveller A/P* went through a similar transformation as *RES* in which there was an increased emphasis on leisure activities. In the early 1980s, practically all the covers of *Business Traveller A/P* depicted businessmen and situations relating to business, while the covers from the late 1980s onwards placed much more emphasis on tourism situations, places related to leisure, and relaxation. There were also fewer people on the covers. At the beginning of the 1980s, the covers often depicted situations, mostly humorous, where the interaction between the people in the image was central. The person or persons depicted often faced the reader. At the end of the 1980s, the covers that featured tourism scenes and activities started to appear, and in the mid 1990s the business theme had all but disappeared from the covers. In the late 1990s, people had largely disappeared from the covers and were replaced by objects, landscapes, and city views. In the 1990s, a popular object on the covers was airplanes that glowed in the sunlight while they flew through the skies or while preparing for

takeoff. In both *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P*, the color of the logo was often matched with one of the colors in the picture; on the cover of the September issue of 1992 a red umbrella on the beach is matched by a bright red title.

Designing the world through the language of global consumerism

As a part of the transformation of *RES* into a lifestyle magazine the aesthetic style changed. Images were more often bought from global image banks such as Getty Images and Perfect World Images, especially the cover image. The image banks that were often used in *Business Traveller A/P* are APA, Stock House, and Image Bank, but the shift to using image banks was less marked than it was in *RES*. During the 1990s, image banks were used occasionally in *RES* but almost exclusively for older images and stills from movies such as *La Dolce Vita*. In the 2000s, almost all of the cover images were bought from image banks. Hence, to understand the aesthetic convention of the cover image of the lifestyle magazine, it is necessary to understand the development of global image banks during the late twentieth century.

The cover image has specific characteristics that go well together with the aesthetic style of image banks, as described by David Machin (whose article I will refer to in the following).²⁰⁸ The cover represents the whole of the specific issue as well as the magazine as such, and not necessarily a particular destination. It does not need to be descriptive. The cover, more than the images inside of the magazine, can convey a mood rather than show an accurate depiction of a specific place. The cover also needs to sell and therefore it has to be more technically perfect with bright colors to catch the attention of potential buyers.

One example from *RES* is the cover of the November issue of 2007 where the photo was bought from Getty Images. The image depicts a sky with different shades of blue and fluffy white clouds. The sky takes up half of the image; under it is a stretch of beach and water. The water meets the sky at the horizon. In the image there is also a beautiful young woman walking toward the viewer and a man

208. David Machin, "Building the World's Visual Language: The Increasing Global Importance of Image Banks in Corporate Media," *Visual Communication*, 3, 2004, pp. 316–336.

in a canoe paddling away from the viewer. The red color of the cloth around the woman's hips is repeated in the red color of the canoe, and the red color draws attention to them in an image dominated by blue. It is impossible to tell where the image was taken. The cover lines list several destinations that could possibly be the destination depicted ("The best spas in Asia," "Kenya beach and safari," "Thailand"). The man is depicted at a distance from the viewer and turns his back to us while the woman holds her head down.

On the contents page it says that the image was shot by the "award-winning, New York based Chris Sanders who has worked with *Condé Nast Traveller*, among others." The reader is also told that the photographer "is a very distinguished (framstående) fashion and advertising photographer." There is no information about the place depicted in the image. The style of the image is artistic and carefully composed with the contrast between the light blue and intense red colors. The expanse created by the water and the sky that meet at the horizon and seemingly melt into each other signifies infinity (in a way similar to that of *RES*'s much coveted infinity pool of the resort hotel) and calm. Both the landscape and the woman express beauty and aesthetic perfection.

Another telling example is the cover of the December issue of 2006, when *RES* celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. The picture shows the ocean, the sky, and parts of a palm tree that formed an arch over the horizon and covered parts of the sky. The dominant color of the picture is an intense yet light blue, mixed with a shade of green on the palm tree. It is impossible to tell where the picture was taken. In small print on the contents page, it said that the picture was taken by the Japanese nature photographer Fukuda Yukihiro, and that Yukihiro was a member of Getty Images. It also said that the picture was taken in the South Seas, which was one of the destinations covered in the specific issue, but more than anything the object of the picture is the color blue, which in Western cultures connotes relaxation, harmony, comfort, leisure, and freedom, but also health, hygiene, and cleanliness.²⁰⁹

Cleanliness was in general a repeated symbol in *RES* as a lifestyle magazine, not just expressed through the color blue but also through how the cover was

209. Mattsson 2010, p. 86. According to Machin, water is associated with freedom, relaxation, freshness, and health. Machin 2004, p. 330.

organized. With the cover lines to the left it was decidedly less cluttered than the covers of many other leisure travel magazines such as, for example, *Vagabond*. Cleanliness and order were also expressed through the white spaces inside the magazine and through the many images of places emptied of people. It was not just beaches that were empty but also, more surprisingly, restaurants and bars.

In his article about the images found in global image banks, David Machin describes the images as technically superb, highly posed, and highly designed – a careful coordination of rich, primary colors.²¹⁰ These types of images come from the world of advertising but are now being used more widely, not least in magazines. Machin finds one such image in *The Guardian*, illustrating an article about the war in Afghanistan. The images found in image banks are characterized by not representing the specific object in the photograph; instead their purpose is to “evoke an idea or feeling.”²¹¹

In the 2000s, many of the cover images in *RES* were monochromatic; the image was dominated by one color, most commonly blue, but also white and gray were used, and sometimes warm red and yellow hues. The October issue of 2008 that focused on environmentally friendly travel was dominated by different shades of green, which of course denoted environmentalism but also relaxation and the restorative impact of nature. Compared to the 1990s, the cover images from the 2000s were highly stylized, rich in color, and technically perfect. In general, the object of the cover images became less clear, and sometimes it is even difficult to see what was depicted. The images used for the cover of *RES* in the 1990s can instead be compared to the aesthetic style of postcards that represent a specific destination by a picturesque landscape or easily recognizable symbols, such as an elephant symbolizing Africa or people in national costumes.

To further describe the aesthetics of image banks, Machin refers to advertising and branding, and the way products are marketed solely on their sign value, by referring to moods, values, and feelings such as friendship, happiness, and romance. According to Machin, the images do not bear witness to anything; they emphasize the general and generic rather than the specific. The images are made as generic as possible so that they can be used in as many contexts as possible but

210. Machin 2004, p. 316.

211. Machin 2004, p. 317.

also in as many cultures. In other words, they strive to be as global as possible. Machin writes that the images can be unrealistic; they sometimes reveal that they are not merely captured but consciously staged or designed (in the words of Machin), for example, by color coordination. Most importantly, the truth claim of the picture is not the naturalistic truth but an “emotive, sensory truth.”²¹² This has been described by the journalist Carolina Brothers as a “breakdown of photography’s indexical reality,” leaving only its iconic function.²¹³ The purpose of these images is not to offer a depiction of reality but to evoke desire, fantasies, and dreams.

Images from image banks, mostly Getty Images, were used increasingly in *RES* from the late 1990s, and to some extent in *Business Traveller A/P*. The increasing use of pictures from image banks was a part of how the magazines transformed into lifestyle magazines. The magazines might have decided to buy images from image banks because it is a cheap and efficient way to obtain high-quality images, sometimes from internationally known photographers. It is possible to regard this as the motivation behind the use of image banks rather than a conscious desire of the editorial team to transform the magazines. Whether it was a conscious decision or not, the image bank photos used were perfectly suited to express the general lifestyle orientation that the magazines espoused. The emphasis on travel as fantasy and escape was expressed through a type of images that portrayed a feeling or a mood rather than a specific place.

In both magazines, the covers became more ordered and stylized – in *Business Traveller A/P* around the late 1980s and in *RES* around the late 1990s. There were fewer people in the cover images. Even though the cover images differed from the photos published inside the magazines, the photographic style of the magazines in general changed in the same direction as that which I have now described. In *RES*, after 2000, there was also less difference between the image bank pictures and the photographs taken by the magazine’s freelance photographers. Hence, the style of the photos bought from other sources did not differ much from the image bank photos. Following Bourdieu, it can be argued that the aesthetic style of the images was one expression of the specific taste favored by *RES* that pervaded the

212. Machin 2004, p. 327

213. Carolina Brothers, *War and Photography: A Cultural History*, London: Routledge, 1997, p. 215.

whole magazine, as well as a way of distinguishing the magazine from other travel magazines.

According to Machin, the use of image banks and the type of images they sell represent “fundamental changes in the way photographic images are used.” In the context of my study, the insightful conclusions that Machin draws from the analysis of these images can be used more widely than to study the use of photographs. In a lifestyle magazine, the move away from naturalistic depictions, striving toward what was perceived as authenticity, into the designing of a reality that is comfortable, ordered, and aesthetically pleasing, is also noticeable in the written descriptions of destinations. I will go further into the implications of this in the chapter about the construction of the local as the opposite of the global metropolis.

The editorials: Defining and defending travel

Analyzing the editorials of magazines is necessary to understand how the magazines construct themselves and the implied reader. It is in the editorials that the editor greets the reader, and it is often the first piece of editorial text that the reader finds after having sifted through the initial pages of advertising. In both *Business Traveller A/P* and *RES*, the editor became more and more visible in the editorial over time. In December 1996, there was a picture of the editor for the first time in *RES*. The editor then became quite literally the face of the magazine. Interestingly, from December 1996 to December 2008, the image of the editor of *RES* becomes increasingly intimate. The image of Johan Lindskog in 2008 was a close-up that only showed his face. The intimate style of the editorials is generally typical of the magazine genre in the 2000s.²¹⁴ I will make further use of the editorials in subsequent chapters but here I will provide a brief description of the role of the editorial in the travel magazine, and how this section of the magazine also changed as a part of the magazines’ transformation into lifestyle magazines.

The transformations of the magazines can be connected to two editors specifically: Johan Lindskog who became editor of *RES* in 2001 and remains so in

²¹⁴. Sara Santesson, “Chefredaktörens invit: En analys av genren veckotidningsledare,” unpublished undergraduate thesis, Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University 2008, p. 7.

2012, and Vijay Verghese who was the editor of *Business Traveller A/P* from when the magazine was relaunched in October 1988 to February 1994. Before becoming the editor of *RES*, Lindskog founded the magazine *Bon*, a lifestyle and fashion magazine that is still published in 2012. He has also been the editor of *Plaza magazine*, another lifestyle magazine. He is furthermore an established photographer and started Egg AB, an advertising and branding agency, in early 2011.²¹⁵ Verghese worked as an editor and publisher at Interasia Publications Ltd, the publishing company for *Business Traveller A/P*, from 1988 to 1997. Since his time as the editor of *Business Traveller A/P*, Verghese has worked as a journalist and publisher for numerous other magazines in Asia.²¹⁶

For many years the editorial, or *Viewpoint* as it was called, in *Business Traveller A/P* was different in content from the editorials of leisure travel magazines such as *RES*. There was commonly no attempt to greet the readers or address them. The topic of the editorial was not necessarily connected to any of the main topics of the issue at hand. Rather, the editor gave his viewpoint on a topic of interest to the business traveler, most predominantly about airfares. The editorials of Steve Fallon, for example, who was editor from June 1984 to November 1986, were to a high degree centered on the business of various airlines. The editor's opinions were delivered in a dispassionate and impersonal way, while later editorials presented the personality and, to some extent, the private life of the editor so as to invite the readers by addressing them informally. In the early 1980s, opinions were expressed as being that of the magazine rather than the editor, for example, when Steve Shellum wrote: "that's a view that earns *Business Traveller's* whole-hearted support," in his editorial about extra fees that the traveler must pay when flying (May 1987).

Vijay K. Verghese, who became the editor in 1988, had a much more explicit presence in the editorial than any of the earlier editors. His texts also had a more informal and humorous tone; he repeatedly referred to himself as "your messiah" (for example, September 1989). As early as his very first editorial, Verghese wrote in a personal tone about his journeys. In the editorial for the November issue of

215. According to Johan Lindskog's profile on LinkedIn, <http://se.linkedin.com/pub/johan-lindskog/28/b38/309>, accessed April 3, 2012, and <http://www.vol.se/#artists/photographers/johan-lindskog>, accessed April 3, 2012.

216. According to Vijay Verghese's profile on LinkedIn, <http://hk.linkedin.com/in/vijayverghese>, accessed April 3, 2012.

1991, Verghese told the story of his first international flight, when he flew from India to North Carolina to study. Verghese's editorials often included a personal story by the editor, about a travel experience of his, leading into comments on current issues of importance to frequent fliers and short presentations of the articles in the issue and the contributing writers. In this way, Verghese broke the established pattern for editorial texts in *Business Traveller A/P* but he did, however, continue the tradition of writing amusing accounts of traveling and of all the mishaps that can befall the traveler, which characterized the magazine in general in the 1980s. Verghese's comical stories about his own travels were illustrated with humorous drawings, by the editor, that can be interpreted as a depiction of the editor himself or of the business traveler. The person in Verghese's drawings was placed in the same weird situations as the businessmen on the covers of the early 1980s. Another typical feature of his editorials is that quite a few of them were on the topic of ticket prices for different airlines.

The two magazines studied differed in the use of images depicting the editor and contributing writers. In the late 1980s, the editorial of *Business Traveller A/P* was allowed to stretch out over a whole page but there was still no picture of the editor, except when Verghese's own drawings can be interpreted as depicting himself. In the British edition of *Business Traveller*, the editor was first shown in a picture in February 2005 when there was a small picture of the editor Tom Otley at the top of the editorial page. In the July issue of the same year, there were three small pictures of contributors with short texts about them, but this was discontinued in the next issue. The short texts presented the contributors' work experience and said very little about their personal lives, in contrast to the presentations of contributors in *RES* that portrayed the contributors as quirky but well-traveled cosmopolitans. In 2001, the picture of the editor in *RES* was combined with the pictures of three contributors.

The more visible editor of the lifestyle magazines used the editorial more consciously to present the magazine and the implied reader, as well as writing about the act of traveling. The editor wrote about what it means to travel and where and how one should travel. These topics were of course covered more or less implicitly in every article but it was in the editorial text that this was discussed most directly. Since the editorial is where the magazine is presented, changes to the magazine were often discussed in the editorial. In *RES*, when something was changed in the

layout of the magazine, as I have mentioned, this was often brought up as a topic in the editorial in order to make the reader aware of the changes and to present the changes as an improvement. The editorial could also be used to discuss key words and concepts of the magazine. In *RES*, examples of words that were repeatedly discussed are “bon vivant” (“livsnjutare”) and “globalization.” While addressing the reader disappeared in the articles, as previously mentioned, it instead became more important in the editorials in which a friendly and intimate editor greeted the reader. Just as in the articles, there was a move from facts and information to the emotions and impressions of the writer. This shift was more marked in *Business Traveller A/P* while the editorials in *RES* were already written in a personal style by the early 1990s. In *RES*, the most notable change was the increased attention to presentations of the implied readers.

The editorial of a travel magazine can also serve the function of justifying travel. In *Business Traveller A/P*, the editorial of July 1989, a month after the Tiananmen Square massacre, was titled “Keep the door open.” In the text, Verghese defended both traveling to and investing in China when he wrote:

Closed doors shut out influence, information and opportunity. Condemning a fifth of the world’s population – and its biggest potential market – to enforced isolation would be a tragedy on an even greater scale than Tiananmen. Travel and business help create the sort of bridges that bring people and ideas together.

Johan Lindskog made use of the same ideas about travel as facilitating understanding when writing in November 2001 about the World Trade Center attacks, and after the terrorist attack on Bali when he wrote “tourism is one of the best ways of counteracting terrorism” (November 2002).

In an editorial from September 2005 in the U.K. edition of *Business Traveller*, traveling was encouraged in response to the terrorist attacks in London in July the same year. Terrorism was perceived as a threat to the lifestyle espoused by the magazine, as well as to the travel industry, and it was therefore important to keep traveling. The editor Otley wrote: “There’s nothing we can do about that, but we can carry on – collectively, the team here has 13 overseas trips planned in the next four weeks, using public transport to get to and from London’s airports. We hope to see you in transit.” To travel became an act of bravery and a defense against terrorism. The expression “carry on” evokes associations with the British

propaganda poster “Keep calm and carry on” from World War II. The editorial also placed emphasis on a “we” that included both the readers and the editorial “team” in this bravery. Similar arguments were used by Otley in an editorial published in February 2005, after the 2004 tsunami in Southeast Asia.

An even more explicit defense of tourism was offered in the editorial of the Swedish magazine *Vagabond* in August 2008, in response to a book criticizing the tourism industry. The title of the editorial is “Globalisera mera!” (“More globalization!”) and the main argument was that knowledgeable tourists could turn tourism into a positive force.²¹⁷ In a discussion about the cultural as well as environmental issues around travel, Verghese, the editor of *Business Traveller A/P*, used a similar argument when he concluded an editorial by writing: “Travel sensibly, inform yourself and don’t pollute” (December 1992).

The need to give a positive view of travel is central to the genre of travel narratives across different media formats. In *Geographies of Communication: The Spatial Turn in Media Studies*, Anne Marit Waade writes about *Pilot Guides*, a travel show on TV, and claims “travel programmes function as effective marketing, emphasising the positive and unique qualities of the different places and cultures, besides presenting travelling itself as positive. Travel programmes do not give a critical journalistic view, but the main premise (as in all entertainment programmes) is instead to create a good mood and good feelings to achieve sociability with the audience, as well as to present great pictures of the destination.”²¹⁸

The editorial is an opportunity to sell the magazine to the reader.²¹⁹ In the September issue of 1991, the editorial of *Business Traveller A/P* described why the magazine was better than free magazines:

The truth of the matter is, the reason we’re still around is because the majority of you reading this column have PAID for the magazine. This means we need to constantly update stories and whittle our product down to the most helpful

217. In the Swedish original the title is more assertive than it is in the English translation. In the original it can be interpreted as encouraging the reader to participate in making the world more globalized through traveling.

218. Waade 2006, p. 158.

219. Santesson 2008, p. 13.

essentials in order to be topical, newsy and genuinely informative [...] In coming months we shall continue to offer you the inside track on travel.

The editorial argued for why the reader should continue to buy the magazine.

Finally, the editorial is also an opportunity to create a community together with the readers. The magazines had different ways of constructing closeness and distance to the readers in the editorial, and the position they took in relation to the readers varied. In *Business Traveller A/P*, “we” was sometimes used, where “we” referred to all business travelers. When “we” was used in this way, the writers (often the editor) claimed to have the same experiences and lifestyle as the readers, i.e. the editorial staff was also composed of business travelers. Hence, using Bourdieu’s concept of symbolic capital, the magazine emphasized that the writers and the readers shared symbolic capital associated with being a business traveler. In the editorial from March 1990, *Business Traveller A/P* was referred to as “our magazine.” To construct the relation between the readers and the magazine or editorial staff as an equal friendship relation is common in magazines.²²⁰ In *Business Traveller A/P*, this relation was also based on the shared experiences of business travel.

In *RES*, the relationship between the readers and the magazine was sometimes described as a friendship. In the December/January issue of 2006/2007, the editor Johan Lindskog wrote that the reader could “trust Magnus, and Bobo, and Ulrika, and Peter,” listing the first names of the writers as if the reader was familiar with them. But the magazine could also construct a distance between readers and writers, and refer to the reader as “you,” and to the editorial team as “we.” In *RES*, the reader was sometimes invited to look up to the writers as being the true cosmopolitans, and there was a slight distance between the writers and the readers. In the same editorial from 2006/2007, Lindskog wrote that the editorial staff and writers of *RES* were “fanatical travelers [...] *RES* is a magazine made by true travelers for real bon vivants,” and hence there was a distinction between the reader who enjoyed the good life, including travel, and the writers who had the sought-after knowledge of travel. “We” was occasionally used in the editorial of *RES* as a more ambivalent “we” than the one used in *Business Traveller A/P*, a “we” that could include everybody or all travelers.

220. Jackson, Stevenson, and Brooks 2001, p. 76.

RES used the web page as another way to create a community with the readers. In his editorial from November 2007, Lindskog encouraged the readers to publish their own photos and travel narratives for other readers to make use of, and in that way, he wrote, “we build Sweden’s best travel site together.” Most of all, it was through the blogs on the *RES* web page that the distance between writers and readers was lessened. The readers became writers and the professional writers took on a new style of expression that followed the genre conventions of blogs: personal, direct, and with supposed amateurish features and images that contrasted with the stylish layout and photos in the paper version of the magazine. On the web site, the readers and the writers are presented together on the page for blogs while they are separated on the introductory page where the readers are organized under the heading “Readers’ Blogs.”²²¹ The distance is further lessened through competitions in which the prize is a trip followed by the publication of an article written by the winner (for example, in May 2002). Through these competitions, what the contestants aspire to, besides traveling, is to become professional travel writers like the writers of *RES*, and thus the competitions also function as a way to confirm the position of the travel writer as something for the readers to strive for. To further blur the distinction between readers and writers, many of the readers who have blogs are in one way or another employed by the travel industry; they are, for example, guides, travel consultants, and bed-and-breakfast owners, and might be able to use the blog space to gain attention. The amateur photographs and texts of the readers’ blogs contrast to the style of the magazine in general. The blogs of the professional writers are somewhere in between in style.

The blogs on the web page of *RES* lessened the distance by blurring the distinction between professional writers and readers but it also reinforced the role of the writers as role models for the readers to emulate. Even though the blogs written by the professional writers and those written by readers were sometimes confusingly similar, there were ways in which they differed in layout, placement, and the style of writing. In *Business Traveller A/P*, the relation between the writers and the readers was equal; everybody was a business traveler, while sometimes the magazine was positioned to serve the reader.

221. <http://www.res.se>, accessed February 22, 2012.

The changing genre of the travel magazine

The transformations of *Business Traveller A/P* and *RES* from travel magazines to lifestyle magazines have many similarities despite the differences between a magazine targeting a business community and one that caters to consumers of leisure travel. During the period studied, *Business Traveller A/P* was more formal in layout and content, and had a higher emphasis on information, even in the 2000s, but in both publications travel became a lifestyle project aimed at relaxation and escape. In their style of writing, the magazines' writers moved from being the tourist guides of the reader to being the primary travelers, with an increased focus on the journey of the writers rather than that of the reader. The magazines were still guiding the reader but there was a shift from offering addresses and helpful advice to presenting the writers' own experiences. Addressing the readers directly as "you" disappeared from the articles and appeared instead in the editorials where the editor greeted the readers with personal travel anecdotes and presentations of the magazine. Throughout the thirty years studied, the relation to the readers remained central even though the way of addressing and defining them changed.

The change in content was made visible by the increasing use of images and the disappearance of long lists. In both magazines the changes in layout were discussed using metaphors of air and space, as I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. In the lifestyle magazine, the images had less of a documentary function; more than ever before they expressed the lifestyle espoused by the magazine and had the purpose of enticing the reader. The change in visual style was most evident on the covers that became more stylized and ordered. Colors took on a new importance, both in the images that illustrated the articles and on the covers. In the cover photos of *RES*, colors were given a vital role. Blue hues were dominant, connoting coolness, relaxation, cleanliness, and order, but also red, indicating warmth, excitement, and the sensual, was used. In comparison to *RES*, *Business Traveller A/P* kept a more formal style for its covers even though in the late 1980s and onwards the magazine featured more images of leisure travel and brighter colors. When the magazine was first launched, many covers had a black or white background. Both *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P* increasingly concentrated the cover lines to one side of the cover, which provided more space for the image and made the cover less cluttered. Unlike *RES*, *Business Traveller A/P* did not shrink in size.

As the magazines became lifestyle magazines, there was an increased blurring of editorial material and advertising. One example is the prevalence in magazines of so-called advertorials, which are adverts that copy the style and layout of editorials. Another example is found in the magazine *escape!* in which the world map (a common feature of travel magazines) is mixed with an advert by SilkAir so that it is difficult to separate the editorial content and the advert.²²² However, the influence of the sphere of advertising goes beyond the different ways in which adverts try to blend in with the editorial content. It is also a question of editorial content copying the style and aesthetic conventions of advertising so that the worldview of the magazines, and the ways of expressing it, become the same as that which is expressed in advertising.

Even though *RES* can be set apart from other magazines because of its emphasis on design, style, and taste, the changes I have described as a transformation of the magazine reflect more general changes in magazine journalism. This is shown not least by the fact that *Business Traveller A/P* changed in similar ways despite the many differences between the two magazines. The two leading American magazines *Condé Nast Traveler* and *Travel+Leisure* are similar in style to *RES*. I have mentioned a few times that *Vagabond* changed its target audience from backpackers to wealthier tourists. The orientation toward lifestyle is not limited to the magazine genre. These transformations show an increased blurring of magazine journalism, as well as other forms of journalism, and advertising.

The genre of travel magazine journalism went through substantial changes during the period studied. This change is visible in the layout, the design of the covers, the use of images, and the format of the magazines, but also in the editorial discussions about what a travel magazine is, and in the style of writing and addressing the readers. As a consequence of these changes, the magazines became highly stylized and increasingly glossy publications that mimicked the language of advertising to present the implied reader with an imagined elite lifestyle. Drawing on Bourdieu's theories about class distinction, I argue that ideas about taste, design, and luxury were used to position the implied reader as distinct from and superior to other groups of tourists. As I have mentioned briefly in this

222. *escape!*, 2/6, 2009, p. II.

chapter, the implied reader was defined in new ways as a result of the magazines' transformations, and in the following chapter I will go further into who the implied reader of the lifestyle magazine was.

3. THE COSMOPOLITAN BON VIVANT AND THE GLOBETROTTING EXECUTIVE:

Constructing the identity of the implied reader

Establishing a relation to the reader is essential for magazines. Although the readers were addressed from the beginning in both magazines of my study, as a part of their transformation into lifestyle magazines the relation to the readers was emphasized in new ways. Identities are established through difference; the readers are defined in part through definitions of those that do not belong.²²³ In both magazines, definitions of class, lifestyle, and taste became increasingly central in differentiating the implied readers from other groups of tourists. The purpose of this chapter is to describe how the readers were addressed and how an implied reader was constructed by using these definitions.

Gender is another dominant aspect of how the magazines define their readership. Travel magazines differ from many other magazine genres in that they often do not have a clearly gendered readership. For men's magazines and women's magazines, the gender of the readership is obvious, but magazines classified under categories such as "family magazines," "boat magazines," and "health magazines" also signal the gender of their intended readership, for example, by the use of colors and male or female models on the cover.²²⁴ During the period studied, *RES* is best described as being aimed at a broad group of middle-class consumers of both sexes. *Business Traveller A/P* went through a transformation from clearly targeting an exclusively masculine readership to a more gender-neutral representation of

223. Andersson 2011, p. 65.

224. <http://www.pressbyran.se/webbshop/tidningar/>, accessed October 31, 2011.

the implied reader. Around the turn of the millennium, the magazine exemplifies the changing ways of constructing masculinity. This late twentieth-century masculinity connected the aspects of gender with the discussion about lifestyle. I will start this chapter with an initial presentation of how the magazines related to the readers, before detailing the lifestyle concept, the tourist-traveler dichotomy, and gender aspects of the implied reader. As I have mentioned previously, it is the implied reader that is of interest and not the actual readers.

The implied reader

The concept of an implied reader comes from literary studies and has been developed most notably by the literary scholar Wolfgang Iser.²²⁵ I use the concept to refer to the reader that was created by the magazines by being implied in the texts and images. Hence, the implied reader differs from the similar concept of a target audience by being wholly a construct of the magazines. I have chosen to analyze the implied reader by studying those instances when the magazines explicitly discussed who the reader was, sometimes by addressing the readers. In addition, I have studied the more implicit presentations of the readers in which the writers might not be intentionally defining who the reader was. In the 1980s and early 1990s especially, *Business Traveller A/P* often used images of business travelers, both photos and drawings, to illustrate the articles, and these are representations of the implied reader as opposed to images of local people at a destination. There is occasionally a conflation between the implied reader and actual readers, such as when the magazines discuss the results of readers' surveys. In those instances, the magazines used information gathered from actual readers to construct an implied reader. All representations of the readers by the magazines are, of course, constructs.

In *RES*, the reader was mentioned in the first editorial in 1994, but as the magazine developed into a lifestyle magazine it became increasingly important to define who the implied reader was and, as I will argue, to provide this reader with an imaginary cosmopolitan lifestyle. The implied reader of *RES* was, in very

225. Wolfgang Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett*, Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990 [1987].

general terms, someone who had great interest in traveling and could be expected to spend time and resources on travel. The implied reader created an identity around traveling as a lifestyle project. During the period studied, the identity of the reader was increasingly discussed in the editorials, mostly after Johan Lindskog became editor in April 2001.

The most thorough and detailed discussion about the characteristics of the implied reader was published after *RES* had conducted a reader survey in 2001. The reader was addressed directly and Lindskog wrote: “you are a knowledgeable, curious, and intelligent bon vivant [livsnjutare] who are constantly seeking new experiences”²²⁶ (December/January 2001/2002). The reader was further described as having a relatively good economic standing and as being a “discerning” consumer. Besides traveling, the reader enjoyed “good wine and food. You like literature and design; you are open to contemporary art as well as ancient culture. You enjoy both nature and urban architecture.” The key word for defining the reader in this editorial was the word “livsnjutare” (bon vivant), and this was repeated in subsequent editorials.

In addition to being a bon vivant, the reader was invited to become a connoisseur. In an editorial from November 2007, Lindskog wrote about his journey to Himalaya and stated that such a dream journey demanded a “certain economic standing,” again introducing the issue of wealth in rather vague terms, as he did in his editorial about the reader survey, mentioned above. In this text he furthermore compared travel to wine: “Journeys are like wine. One has to learn the easier tastes before one can appreciate in full the more difficult ones.” To appreciate travel was thus described as a matter of connoisseurship, of training one’s palate and hence something that could be taught by the magazine. The dream journeys Lindskog described were challenging but not like the rough, back-to-nature adventures presented in magazines such as *Wanderlust* or *Vagabond*. In Himalaya, Lindskog stayed at the Banyan Tree resort, where he had a good Internet connection.

Connoisseurship was implied in a text from November 2007 in which the

226. The Swedish word “livsnjutare” has no obvious equivalent in English but in direct translation it means “someone who enjoys the pleasures of life.” I have chosen the word bon vivant, even though the Swedish word carries less of a gastronomic association. Given the importance of exclusivity, taste, and class in *RES* another possible translation is connoisseur. Other possibilities are hedonist or epicure.

writer claimed: “eating four Keller dishes for 300 kronor [about 30 euro] is like buying a Damien Hirst at an auction for a tenner, somewhat of a catch.” Food was conflated with art, and thus associated with the art sphere in which the concept of connoisseurship is most established. The restaurateur was afforded the same status as the famous artist, and the reader was invited to appreciate the craftsmanship and artistry of Thomas Keller in the same way that one appreciates an artwork. In this short text, the reader was invited to share in the knowledge about the celebrity chef; the appreciation of the food was enhanced by being knowledgeable about the chef, just as art is imagined to be. Thomas Keller was presented in the short text while Damien Hirst was not. In general, in the magazine there was a fusion of art galleries, bars, nightclubs, restaurants, and hotels as these stylish locales were all presented in the same manner, just as designers, artists, and restaurateurs were presented in the same way.

The style of these establishments was described using a sensual language characterized by copious details. There was, furthermore, a confounding of different sensual experiences when colors were described in reference to food, such as “eggplant-colored leather armchairs” (June 2002). The texts often juxtaposed contrasting materials such as “massive wood and light fabric” (November 2003). In one restaurant, the design, using “water, light, discreet nuances of blue, mild chocolate, and clean, but not blindingly, white,” made “the perfect background for their menu” (February 2002). The different aspects of the design, in combination with each other and with the food, created a complete sensual experience.

The idea of the traveler as a *bon vivant* and connoisseur has a long history in tourism, stretching back to the noblemen of the Grand Tour and the romantic gaze at the end of the eighteenth century, when “travel become an occasion for the cultivation and display of ‘taste’.”²²⁷ The *bon vivant* of *RES* combined these older traditions of travel as status with contemporary concerns around lifestyle that also encouraged the consumer to cultivate his or her identity. The reader of *RES* was a lifestyle connoisseur, cultivating his or her taste for food, wine, architecture, art and design as well as beautiful landscapes.

In 2001, the July/August issue of *RES* carried an article titled “En lång resa,” (“A Long Journey”), commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the magazine.

227. Judith Adler, “Origins of sightseeing,” *Annals of Tourism Research*, 16, 1989, pp. 7–29, p. 22.

The text was written by Anders Falkirk, who was the editor from 1996 to 2001, and Johan Lindskog, the current editor. It reads somewhat like a manifesto for the magazine, and focuses on definitions of the implied reader. The text described how *RES* had evolved from the early 1980s, and the writers argued that the magazine had adapted in reaction to changes in traveling during the same period. The writers claimed that the early 1980s were “the start of the ordinary person’s way into the world” and that it was this fact that *RES* (or *Resguide* as the magazine was called back then) could capitalize on. The reader of the magazine in the 1980s was implicitly identified as this “ordinary person” who was able to travel at that time. To travel was enough of an adventure. However, the article continued, as the millennium came to a close, traveling was made even more widely available and the need arose to differentiate between people that could travel. Today, the writers argued, even the mechanics at Volvo and the women who work with the popular women’s magazine *Amelia* are travelers. The implied readers needed to be differentiated from these groups and since everyone can travel anywhere differentiation was instead claimed on the basis of how one travels. The reader of *RES* was defined as being “discriminating”. The writers concluded that when everyone can go anywhere it is important to create a niche in traveling, and that the ambition of *RES* was to define that niche with the common lifestyle of the reader and the editorial staff as a guiding principle.

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, interaction with the readers was important in *Business Traveller A/P* from the very beginning; the magazine included lengthy letters pages, and during the first years the magazine even had long texts written by readers. The Travel Spy was a regular section that was written by readers. However, this section disappeared after the first few years. Instead, the letters pages, where readers complained about services, became the main forum for the readership. In a comment about the letters pages, the editor wrote that one of the main tasks of the magazine was to “provide an independent forum through which travel consumers would be able to express their views on the industry that exists to serve them” (April 1985). Complaining about inadequate service was encouraged by the editorial staff and, in the early 1990s, the magazine asked the readers to write about their “ten biggest travel gripes.” The best letters were included in “the special tenth anniversary issue.” The extensive space devoted to the readers’ letters created an interactive space that invited the readers to be involved with the magazine.

The reader of *Business Traveller A/P* was, from the beginning, explicitly explained to be any frequent traveler who was based in the Asia/Pacific region. Implicitly, the magazine had a Western perspective and, in the early years of the 1980s, a British perspective. The actual readers were more diverse than the British expatriate community, which was shown in the Travellers Forum when readers signed their letters with Asian names. To the implied reader, the Asia/Pacific region was familiar since he or she was assumed to be based there, but it was also foreign. Asia was often depicted as exotic and something that had to be explained to the reader, such as in articles that expounded the role of fortunetellers in Asian cultures. One example is the article from July 1984 called “Business up as dragons bathe,” about feng shui.

In the very first editorial of 1982 in *Business Traveller A/P*, which was written by the publisher, the readers were marked out as a “small group” of frequent travelers who needed information, but they were not defined in any more detail. In the early 1980s, they were also referred to in editorials as “travel consumers.” Another word that was sometimes used to denote the readers was “travelling executive,” implying that the readers had a high standing in the corporate hierarchy (for example, in March 1986 and February 1989).

That the readers were frequent travelers was central, and the writers repeatedly emphasized that fact whenever there was a discussion about how the readers were to be categorized. A text about acronyms in the travel trade in the April issue of 1986, read: “You may be a frequent traveller, but not an industry insider.” In the U.K. edition of *Business Traveller*, the editorial in the early 2000s referred to the readers by using the words “globetrotter” (*Business Traveller* U.K. September 2003) and “the globetrotting executive” (*Business Traveller* U.K. April 2001 and October 2003).

In the editorial for the October issue of 1986, the editor presented the result of a readers’ survey, in which half of the 1,500 respondents were said to “take over six return trips per year.” The reader’s status as a frequent traveler was, of course, also emphasized in the magazine’s information to advertisers. From the mid 1980s, the magazine conducted recurrent readers’ surveys to gain detailed information about the readers, their travel patterns, their destinations, their shopping habits, as well as their opinions on various airlines and other travel services. After the magazine was re-launched in October 1988, a readers’ survey was conducted and the results

were presented in the editorial of the September issue of 1989. The editor, Vijay Verghese, wrote:

To find out where we stood one year on, we mailed questionnaires to 8,000 randomly selected subscribers along with the June issue. Readers sent their responses directly to Hong Kong-based research consultants, Frank Small & Associates [...] some figures: 87% of the respondents felt the magazine struck the right balance between business travel information and fun; 79% thought the magazine had improved since its relaunch (25% maintaining it had “improved vastly”); average reading time per issue was almost 80 minutes though some took as long as five hours and one as much as two to three days to read us “cover to cover”. Two percent seemed undecided about their sex (male or female, not frequency) but deductive logic put the mix at 91% male and 9% female. Demands were voiced for round-the-world fares (which are back), currency conversion tables and more budget-travel information. The magazine took a few blasts for its “coffee-table” appeal and apparent lack of interest in “the average traveller”. Broadly, however, *BT* readers, with an impressive amount of travel and room-nights between them, were appreciative of the changes.

In this quote, Verghese mentions several of the themes that I have found to be recurrent in the construction of the implied reader and the depiction of the magazine: it was about both business and leisure, the majority of readers were men, the emphasis lay on practical information, and there was a constant tension between exclusivity and interest in budget travel.

In an advertisement in the April issue of 1990 aimed at hotels that might choose to advertise in the magazine, the reader was described at length:

They [the readers] are the very top individual travellers in the region. People who have made travel a way of life. Discerning individuals who have already arrived at the top. Individuals who fly first or business class. Individuals who take an average of nine pure business trips, three pleasure trips and six joint business and leisure trips a year. *Business Traveller* subscribers represent the core FIT (fully independent traveller) audience in the region and are an essential target audience for all quality hotels.

The annual readers’ survey often included questions about the income of readers. In his editorial from October 1992, Verghese was able to report that the “average annual personal income was US \$82,786.”

Besides keeping the business traveler informed, the magazine had a second, more indefinable purpose that concerned the personal life of the business traveler. The magazine created a community of business travelers while it also created the business traveler as a character with specific experiences, needs, and desires. In that way, the magazine gave the reader a chance to define him- or herself as a business traveler, as opposed to any other kind of traveler, such as the package tourist or the backpacker. The magazine wanted to be something the reader could “identify with on a personal level” (May 1982). Likewise, according to a text written for potential advertisers, the aim of the magazine was to “service the personal travel interests of regular travellers” (Oct 1982). In the first editorial in April 1982, Thornton wrote, “despite its title, *Business Traveller* is aimed at business travellers in a personal, not a corporate, capacity. Your business is your affair” (April 1982). Thus, being a business traveler was imagined to be integral to the readers’ personal identity, as something that went beyond professional life.

For the business traveler who traveled on a regular basis, travel became less exotic. In his editorial from October 1993, Verghese wrote that travel is commonly seen as glamorous while the well-traveled readers of *Business Traveller A/P* had a much more realistic perspective on travel: “As frequent travellers, they have an unsurpassed, first-hand knowledge of the industry. They are intimately conversant with reality.” *Business Traveller A/P* aimed at making the readers’ journeys more glamorous and interesting, but the magazine also paradoxically served to make traveling more mundane. One example of this was the section called Seat selector or Aviation, mentioned in Chapter 2, in which the inside of a plane was shown in a blueprint-like illustration. The purpose of this section was to inform the reader about the best seats on a particular flight. This way of portraying a plane, as well as the depiction of flying, stood in stark contrast to the fetishizing images of gleaming fuselage that were used on the covers in the 1990s. Travel was often described as cumbersome and tiring. The humor pages were often about the trials and tribulations of travel as well as the weird situations the traveler could experience. Travel should be smooth, practical, hassle-free, and discounted, but also pleasant and entertaining. The editorial for December 1982 claimed that “the magazine has not only helped our readers cut costs, but also extract more enjoyment from their travel.” In the editorial of October 1983, the editor claimed that the articles in the “Breakaway” section could enrich the businessman’s travels,

giving him a chance to transform his business trip into a “memorable epic.”

Comparing the two magazines in the early years of publication, the implied reader in *Business Traveller A/P* was a more well-defined group of frequent business travelers while *RES* targeted a broader group of people traveling for leisure. Through its readers’ surveys, in which the median income of the readers was announced, *Business Traveller A/P* based its assumptions about the implied readers’ wealth on something more substantial than what *RES* did. The implied reader was broadened in *Business Traveller A/P* after the magazine was relaunched in 1988, and less emphasis was placed on business. The reader in *RES* instead became more defined when the editor started to write about the readership in his editorials. The fact that the definition of the implied readers broadened in one of the magazines, while it became more defined in the other, made them more similar. In both *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P*, the readers were described through elusive concepts of exclusivity and luxury.

With their increased attention to luxury, the two magazines studied became more similar to, for instance, *Condé Nast Traveler*, which has a longer tradition of focusing on luxury travel. As I have mentioned in previous chapters, this re-orientation to wealthier tourists has also been noticeable in Swedish magazines *Vagabond* and *Allt om Resor*, even though it is a transformation that has happened at different times and has taken different expressions. A plausible conclusion is that this is a general transformation for the genre of travel magazine journalism. This can also be connected to the increased space given to lifestyle material in newspaper journalism. Underlying these transformations is a closer tie between editorial material and advertising, which implies that journalism increasingly expresses the same values as advertising.

The main themes that have already been touched upon in this introduction – the issue of wealth and the claims to exclusivity that separate the implied reader from other tourists, will be further examined in the following section describing how the identity of the reader was defined in relation to the concept of lifestyle, and how lifestyle related to definitions of luxury and to class distinction.

Lifestyle and class

The word “lifestyle” was already used in *Business Traveller A/P* in the early 1980s, before the publication became a lifestyle magazine. From June 1984, the magazine included a section with the title Lifestyle. However, the texts published under this heading were not similar in theme to what was later understood as lifestyle. In one article, the subject was the outrageous claims made by traveling celebrities. Other articles in the same section dealt with the topic of fortunetelling. In other words, it is unclear what lifestyle meant, except that it was something set apart from the world of serious business. Even though the word “lifestyle” was already in use in the 1980s, it was in no way the all-encompassing and central concept it later became. In the U.K. edition of *Business Traveller*, lifestyle was also used as a section title or as a category of content on the contents page, in the 1990s (*Business Traveller* U.K., October 1995). What it referred to was again unclear, but it usually included articles about leisure activities, dining, hotels, and wine, and in the December issue of 1995 (*Business Traveller* U.K.) there was a text about time zones under the category of lifestyle.

In *Business Traveller A/P*, just as in *RES*, it was not until later that lifestyle gained the status of a constantly repeated buzz word, both in editorial content and in advertisements. The ubiquity of the word “lifestyle” in the 2000s is exemplified in an “Advertisement feature” published in *Business Traveller A/P* in September 2009. The ad presented a new hotel in Hong Kong and the word “lifestyle” was mentioned four times: the hotel itself was a “luxury lifestyle hotel,” the hotel was “led by US lifestyle guru Colin Cowie,” the guests could enjoy “a selection of business and lifestyle magazines,” as well as a “host of gourmet dining and lifestyle options” including various restaurants and bars. Again, lifestyle was used in a way that made the exact meaning of the word unclear. However, in this ad from the late 2000s it was clear that lifestyle symbolized luxury, exclusivity, and design – words that are also repeated in the ad. Lifestyle was also a matter of consumer choice and of having a plethora of goods or experiences to choose from. The guests at the hotel could select from a variety of food outlets (European fine dining, Japanese-infused buffet, modern Cantonese...), presumably basing their choice on their lifestyle.

The concept of “lifestyle” was repeatedly used in the editorials in *RES*, and other texts that discussed the identity of the reader. “Lifestyle” was explicitly

associated with personal taste and consumer choices, but it was also implicitly a matter of financial means and class. In his editorials, Lindskog claimed that the typical reader was someone who had a relatively good economic standing (for example, in December/January 2001/2002 and in October 2007), and as the writers pointed out in the above-mentioned text titled “En lång resa” (“A Long Journey”), the reader was not someone who worked as a mechanic for Volvo. During the 2000s, the editorials repeatedly discussed the issue of money and wealth. In the September issue of 2004, Lindskog wrote about spending while on vacation and concluded that carefree spending was a part of being on holiday. The traveler temporarily leaves behind not only his or her own living conditions, but also his or her financial situation. Traveling could be an exciting but ultimately harmless play with social status in which reckless, but paradoxically also contained, spending was encouraged.

In her article “Branding Cities: A Social History of the Urban Lifestyle Magazine,” Miriam Greenberg charts the development of American lifestyle magazines. She writes that these first appeared in the post-World War II period and that they were intimately connected to the emergence of the middle classes:

Forced to compete against TV for advertising, facilitated by new publishing technologies, and taking advantage of the new consumer research methods [...] the magazine industry as a whole was shifting away from mass marketed general-interest magazines and toward niche-marketed lifestyle titles that could deliver a more specific market for advertisers. Early on, this restructured industry identified the new educated middle-class niche growing in metropolitan regions across the country, as well as a breed of visionary writers and entrepreneurial publishers who could represent this class and attract advertisers and investors seeking to tap its market potential.²²⁸

Thus, Greenberg argues that the emergence of the lifestyle magazine as a genre was dependent on the desire to better reach this new group of educated middle-class readers, and that this was intimately connected to the need to attract advertisers. Discussing the concept of lifestyle, Greenberg argues that while lifestyle goes

228. Miriam Greenberg, “Branding Cities: A Social History of the Urban Lifestyle Magazine,” *Urban Affairs Review*, 36/2, November 2000, pp. 228–263, p. 231.

beyond traditional definitions of class it is at the same time closely connected to the middle class.

Richard Ohmann makes a similar connection between what he refers to as the mass culture magazine and an emerging middle class. He writes about the rise of a new type of popular magazines in the States at the end of the nineteenth century and how this facilitated the aspirations of a new middle class while at the same time creating a space for advertisers who were in need of an expanded market for mass-produced goods. This period saw the rapid emergence of magazines financed by advertising rather than subscriptions. Even though the publications Ohmann and Greenberg describe are separated by more than half a century, they both emphasize the same strong connections between the development of a new kind of magazine, the needs of advertisers (due to large-scale changes in capitalist accumulation), and the upward social mobility and cultural aspirations of the new urban middle classes.

Scholars taking an interest in the concept of lifestyle are in disagreement on the relation between the lifestyle concept, which has a relatively new prominence, and the notion of class distinction. In their article “Language Style and Lifestyle: The Case of a Global Magazine,” David Machin and Theo van Leeuwen argue that lifestyle has surpassed class distinctions in the definition of identity when they write “with the decline of traditional types of social groupings such as age and class, lifestyle has become the dominant source of social identity.” However, as Pierre Bourdieu argues in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, consumer choices (which are central to definitions of lifestyle) are bound up with class distinctions. Machin and van Leeuwen use the words “social style” as an umbrella term for “stable categories such as class, gender, and age,” and argue that lifestyle is a combination of individual and social style.²²⁹ Lifestyle challenges but does not completely supplant class distinction. In *Ordinary Lifestyles: Popular Media, Consumption and Taste*, David Bell and Joanne Hollows argue that the growing importance of lifestyle is not at all “a move beyond class.” To the contrary, it is “an attempt to gain authority by new middle classes whose cultural capital affords them considerable ‘riches’ in this area of life.”²³⁰ In the analysis of the

229. Machin and van Leeuwen 2005, p. 583

230. Bell and Hollows 2005, p. 8

two magazines, I adhere to this latter view of lifestyle as the expression of the middle class, rather than as something separated from class. For the magazines, the concept of lifestyle provided a way to discuss issues relating to taste, luxury, and affluence without having to use the politically charged class concept.

The ephemeral nature of lifestyle

A crucial difference between class distinction and lifestyle that Machin and van Leeuwen describe is the more ephemeral nature of the latter. Just like fashion fads and other trends in consumption, lifestyle identities are unstable. It is something that has to be created (and constantly re-created) by the individual, and this means that identity construction becomes more deliberate and reflexive. Lifestyle media play a role in constantly monitoring and teaching lifestyles. When the two magazines of my study became lifestyle magazines, there was an increasing interest in trying to pin down the identity of the implied reader. The identity of both the writers and the readers was brought to the forefront in a new way. This was most explicit in the editorials, as I have mentioned above.

The existence of lifestyle media relies on an anxious consumer. Bell and Hollows distinguish between two different middle-class positions: the new petite bourgeoisie, who are the “natural audience for lifestyle media” because of their anxiety about identity and taste, and the new middle class who “take their lifestyles more seriously than their careers” and are “the new taste-makers” and interpreters of style.²³¹ In *RES*, the writers were representatives of the new middle class while the readers were positioned as the new petite bourgeoisie, the anxious consumers who looked to the magazines for guidance on how to construct a desired lifestyle.

In the previous chapter, I mention that the writers of *RES* were positioned as the real travelers that the readers could learn from. In May 2001, the editorial page of *RES* was reworked so that, in addition to showing a picture of the editor, it also contained pictures and short presentations of three “co-workers” (“medarbetare”) that had contributed to the issue, such as writers, photographers, and illustrators.

231. Bell and Hollows 2005, p. 7. In the context of my material, I would rephrase this so that rather than stating that the new taste-makers take their lifestyles more seriously than their careers, I would argue that their lifestyles are their careers.

The co-workers were invariably presented as creative cosmopolitans and successful, albeit somewhat quirky, media workers. The presentations typically included descriptions of what they had worked with and what major cities they had visited or lived in. On the contents page of December 2006, the co-worker Bobo Karlsson was presented in the following way:

Bobo Karlsson has been writing for *RES* since the very beginning and reports most of all from the metropolises of America, since he lived in New York during the entire 1980s. There he wrote two books that gained cult status – one about the Big Apple, “New York, New York,” and “Drömmen om Kalifornien” [“The Dream of California”]. In the last few years we have read his city portraits from Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Chicago, Salvador, São Paulo, Amsterdam – and in this issue he returns to Bangkok. During 2007, he will report from at least two other metropolises.

By being visible in this way, the “co-workers” of *RES* functioned as well-traveled role-models and guides who, through the articles, provided a chance for the reader to emulate their lifestyle, if only temporarily. Highlighting the personality of the writers increased with the use of blogs on the web page of *RES*, since the blogs combined the information about new bars, restaurants, art events, etc., that could be found in the printed magazine, with details about the writer’s everyday personal life. Through the blogs, the reader was invited to come closer to the writers and their private lives in trendy metropolises around the world.

Both magazines referred extensively to ideas about exclusivity, in their presentation of the magazine and in the definition of the implied reader. The lifestyle concept was used to symbolize exclusivity. Lifestyle was related to class distinction, but by remaining an elusive concept it allowed the writers to discuss exclusivity without mentioning class. As opposed to class, lifestyle could be presented as something that might be chosen by the reader and taught by the writers of the magazines, as is apparent not least from the reference to connoisseurship. Class was also implicitly present in the discussions about luxury.

Lifestyle and luxury

The relation between the construction of the implied reader of *RES* and discussions about money and taste was evident in the many editorials that discussed luxury. In

an editorial from 1997 (that was published again in rewritten form in 2000), Anders Falkirk discussed what luxury is and whether it should be seen as deplorable or not. He concluded by writing, “personally, I think the world would be boring without luxury. I love to read about exclusive design hotels such as the Mondrian Hotel in Los Angeles or fashionable dandy boutiques such as Squire in London, even if I can’t afford it in real life.” In another editorial, Lindskog argued that traveling was a luxury and hence the magazine should be luxurious. In an article in the May issue of 2000, the writers described how travelers can take part in luxury tourism at a cut-rate price. The article started with a justification: “Luxury. You don’t have to feel bad about enjoying it. Or dreaming about enjoying it” (May 2000). As the two quotations above exemplify, when luxury was discussed in the texts in *RES* it was both in order to define what luxury was, and to legitimize it as a desirable pursuit.

The ambivalent relation to luxury in *RES* was connected to a more general redefinition of luxury, resulting in a broadening or relabeling of luxury. The word luxury is more readily used for all types of products and, according to the marketing scholar Mignon Reyneke, “everyone wants their product to be a luxury one today [...] It is true that even mass consumption brands name many of their models ‘deluxe’ or qualify the experience of consuming them as ‘luxurious.’”²³² She also argues that media representations of luxury have increased. Another consumer trend that is connected to redefinitions of luxury is the spreading of the concept of connoisseurship to products that have not previously been associated with it, for example, coffee or water.²³³ This allows the consumer to position him- or herself through everyday products. In December 2004, in the section of *RES* called “Transit,” a short text presented a guidebook about olive oil connoisseurship. It is in this new culture of luxury that the writers of *RES* discussed the desirability and attainability of luxury.

232. Mignon Reyneke, *Luxury as the Opposite of Vulgarity: A Trio of Perspectives on Luxury Brands* [electronic resource], Luleå: Division of Industrial Marketing and e-Commerce, Luleå University of Technology, Diss. Luleå, 2011, p. 12. [http://pure.ltu.se/portal/sv/publications/luxury-as-the-opposite-of-vulgarity\(17eda459-af2c-4coa-9bc3-6acod68b84cd\).html](http://pure.ltu.se/portal/sv/publications/luxury-as-the-opposite-of-vulgarity(17eda459-af2c-4coa-9bc3-6acod68b84cd).html), accessed February 7, 2012.

233. John Manzo, “Coffee, Connoisseurship, and an Ethnomethodologically-informed Sociology of Taste,” *Hum Stud*, 33, 2010, pp. 141–155; Nathalie Nasr, “Nördig mat forskningsämne,” *Sydsvenskan* December 23, 2011.

Redefinitions of luxury were discussed in the Swedish news magazine *Fokus* in the March issue of 2011. The article was titled “Vägen till lyx går inåt” (The road to luxury goes inwards) and the journalist, Johan Wirfält, argued that luxury is now about inner experiences.²³⁴ Wirfält’s arguments also implicitly made use of the concept of connoisseurship in his emphasis on knowledge. To taste truffle, he wrote, is to “imbibe a piece of history [...] as a truffle consumer you become part of a larger context of inherited knowledge and gastronomical traditions. It is luxury as an inner state rather than outer show.” New forms of luxury are about quality and artisanship. Further into his article he wrote: “luxury has become connected to bodily or even spiritual pleasure.” Wirfält interviews Johan Lindskog, at the time not editor of *RES*, who claims “super exclusive travels with a focus on wellbeing are part of a bigger trend in the West.” This emphasis on luxury as something connected to knowledge, tradition, quality, and the inner life of the consumer, while it is at the same time exclusive and requires a certain amount of wealth, connects the article in *Fokus* with the articles in *RES*.

What the texts also have in common are middle-class definitions of luxury as something one deserves, and as something tasteful rather than the vulgarity associated with the excessive spending of the nouveau riche, who in Wirfält’s article orders truffles just to show off. It is, furthermore, something that can be taught. The notion of connoisseurship expressed in *RES* and in the article in *Fokus* functioned as a justification of the desire for and interest in luxury. The connoisseur relationship to luxury goods or experiences was positioned in contrast to the rich (nouveau or not), who could buy anything without much thought. In *Distinction*, Bourdieu writes that by being informed and having the right language to describe luxury products such as expensive wine, “the connoisseur shows himself worthy of symbolically appropriating the rarities he has the material means of acquiring.”²³⁵ In the lifestyle magazine, the implied reader did not need to afford expensive luxury products and experiences; it was enough to desire it.

An interest in luxury, affordable or not, was one aspect of how the implied reader was constructed as a cosmopolitan bon vivant and connoisseur, capable of recognizing and enjoying the pleasures of life. The texts about luxury were also

234. Johan Wirfält, “Vägen till lyx går inåt,” *Fokus*, March 2011.

235. Bourdieu 1986 [1984], p. 279.

where the implied reader was established as an aspirational consumer, exemplified by Falkirk's editorial in which he described the pleasure of reading about luxury that he could not afford. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word "aspirational" originates in marketing where it is taken to mean something that is "representative of or associated with a sophisticated, stylish, or otherwise attractive lifestyle to which consumers might aspire."²³⁶ In my analysis it serves to explain those instances in the texts where a consumer product or experience was presented as having a meaning beyond that which was available through purchasing the product or experience. As in the example referred to above, when Falkirk wrote about dandy boutiques and exclusive hotels, the reader was invited to take an interest in them and to be informed about them whether or not the products were affordable. As in advertising, the reader was invited to take an interest in the lifestyle associated with the product, but in the magazines, since the symbols attached to the product became more important than the product itself, to consume the symbols (by reading the magazine) was enough to access the lifestyle.

The construction of the implied reader as an aspirational consumer in *RES* was explicit in the presentation of so-called design hotels, in the section called Transit. Transit consisted of a few pages of short texts placed directly after the editorial. The section was a part of the magazine from the start but, as with the rest of the magazine, changed in content. During the 2000s, Transit came to focus increasingly on the presentation of new hotels. These most often came under the category of design or boutique hotels, a concept that emerged during the late 1990s, and which will be discussed in more detail further into this chapter. Here, it is sufficient to note that the hotels that featured in Transit were almost exclusively "high-end" hotels. The fact that it might be too expensive for the reader to stay at one of these hotels was often acknowledged in the text, sometimes with the suggestion that the reader at least visit the hotel bar (for instance in March 2000 and September 2000). Thus, the purpose of presenting these hotels was not solely to inform the reader on where to stay. Instead, the hotels functioned as markers of taste and style. In *RES*, traveling facilitated a middle-class fantasy of

²³⁶. *Oxford English Dictionary*, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/11673?redirectedFrom=aspirational#eid>, accessed May 28, 2011.

upward mobility and luxury, both attainable and imagined, which was connected to consumption.

Luxury was not an unproblematic indulgence in *RES*. It was legitimated by being viewed as something that the traveler deserved. The reader was encouraged to indulge during a vacation but only within certain limits. This is in line with the recurrent discussion on spending as an exciting but harmless liminal activity, referred to above. Furthermore, luxury had to be mediated and controlled by good taste, which is evident in many of the texts about design hotels. When commenting on the luxury hotel Burj al-Arab in Dubai, the writer expressed contempt over the conspicuous luxury of the interior design. It was contemptuous because it was a display of wealth that lacked what was defined as style in *RES*. This can be compared to the many design hotels where the luxurious interior was defined as stylish and therefore desirable.

Vulgarity was the main theme in an article about Saint-Tropez, in which the writer Elin af Klintberg and the photographer Johan Lindskog (who was the editor at that time) adopted an ethnographic gaze to study the upper classes, including both the nouveau riche and the aristocracy.²³⁷ The article is unusual in its devotion to the depiction of a specific group of people and by the sheer contempt for this group that the writer expresses. Another remarkable aspect of the article is the semi-nudity of the people in the photographs, which was clearly used as a sign of their lack of sophistication, together with the recurrent references to promiscuous sexuality. At the beginning of the article, a nightclub is likened to the ferries that sail between Stockholm and Helsinki which are associated with the vulgarity of the lower classes. Both places are said to be characterized by “the wall-to-wall carpet reeking of smoke, gold details, leather furniture, and a stale smell” (October 2004). The implied reader of *RES* was affluent enough to travel and enjoy pleasures such as fine wine, fashion, and design, but wealth and luxury had to constantly be legitimized by good taste, lest it bordered on the vulgar.

The implied reader of *RES* could be described as quite a narrow character, excluding such groups as the typical package holiday tourists, backpackers and the nouveau riche. At the same time, the implied reader was always kept elusive

237. The title is “Överklassens indiskreta larm” (“The Indiscreet Noise of the Upper Classes”), with reference to Luis Buñuel’s film *Le charme discret de la bourgeoisie* from 1972.

enough so that a larger group of potential readers were able to identify with the description. Since the identity of the reader was based on the character of the aspirational consumer, it was enough to desire a certain lifestyle in order to identify oneself as the implied reader. Adhering to a specific set of values around taste and lifestyle was more important than being sufficiently affluent to access the products and services described in the magazine.

It is worth pointing out that the readers were not necessarily reading the magazine in order to gain useful information for their future trips. Armchair traveling is central to the genre of travel writing, and especially so when it concerns up-market magazines which present the readers with destinations that many of them might not afford, or only be able to afford once. The reader is an aspirational consumer and armchair traveler, as much as an actual traveler. This is emphasized further in the lifestyle magazine where there is an increased focus on aspirations, as opposed to (but not necessarily excluding) actual purchases and travel. An article in *Business Traveller A/P* from January/February 2009 even used the expression “aspirational experiences.”

Just as it was in *RES*, the issue of money and wealth was dealt with in an ambivalent manner in *Business Traveller A/P*. The implied reader was said to be affluent and interested in luxury, but there was also a constant attention to bargains and cost-cutting. The hotel recommendations often described high-end hotels rather than mid-range or budget hotels. In the late 1980s, there was a recurrent section called “Shopping” and in the January issue of 1988 the Shopping section advised the reader on “luxury cars from Japan.” Later, the magazine also included a section about investments. Yet, the reader was clearly not imagined to be a high-flyer for whom money was not an issue. In an article about Manila, the writer argued that there are “few things closer to a businessman’s heart than his expenses” (June 1986).

The position of the implied reader of *Business Traveller A/P* and his relation to money can be compared to the position of Business Class on an airplane – in between the luxury of First Class and Economy. Business Class was first developed by many airlines in the late 1970s and early 1980s,²³⁸ around the same time that

238. Jean Danard, “The Changing World of Business Travel,” *The Financial Post*, September 30, 1978.

the British and Asia/Pacific editions of *Business Traveller* were launched. As I have mentioned before, the airline industry was of constant interest to the writers of the magazine throughout the period of study, and the magazine wrote repeatedly about the different classes available to travelers. To fly First Class was often described as an unnecessary luxury, for example, in an article from June 1986. The images illustrating the article showed a man dressed as a baby, being bottle-fed champagne and given spoonfuls of caviar. The humorous images associated First Class with an extreme and vulgar taste for luxury. On the other hand, the cover story of the May issue of 1987, about Economy Class, was titled “Cheap Thrills: How economy class compares” and the cover featured an image of business travelers packed like sardines on an airplane. Despite the constant attention to cost cutting, and the sometimes mundane view of traveling provided in *Business Traveller A/P*, the magazine, just like *RES*, offered images of luxury and a life of luxury for the traveler.

Design hotels as identity markers

If the negotiation about definitions of luxury, taste, and class, which was essential to the identity construction in *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P*, was tied to a specific place, it was the design or boutique hotel and, therefore, the concept needs to be further delineated. The term boutique hotel was first used in 1984 to describe the Manhattan hotel *Morgans*. The boutique hotel was from the start characterized by being smaller and more independent than chain hotels, but was later defined foremost by avant-garde design.²³⁹ The concept is associated with high quality, uniqueness, lifestyle, and design. I use the terms boutique and design hotels to designate the same type of hotel, since they were used interchangeably in the articles I study.

The notion of design hotels entered *RES* in the late 1990s, and was from then on given increasing importance and space in the magazine. Johan Lindskog wrote in his editorial in September 2003 that the hotel had become “an experience in

239. Maria Christersdotter, “Transformers: Hip Hotels and the Cultural Economics of Aura-Production,” in Orvar Löfgren and Robert Willim (eds.), *Magic, Culture, and the New Economy*, New York: Berg, 2005, p. 75.

itself.” In *Business Traveller A/P*, the concept was already referred to in an article from December 1988, when a “designer-resort village” was mentioned. The boutique hotel made its way into *Business Traveller A/P* in the early 1990s. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, the design/boutique hotel was not discussed at any length and did not have the key role in *Business Traveller A/P* that it did in *RES*. In *Business Traveller A/P*, the boutique hotels were sometimes criticized for prioritizing style rather than content, but the overall cultural significance of the boutique hotel, closely connected to the concept of lifestyle, was not questioned.

In *RES*, a boutique hotel was first mentioned in an article from January 1996, in which Anders Falkirk visited Philippe Starck’s hotel in Miami. The hotel was deplored by the writer, who found its white walls ridiculous. However, it was mentioned again in December 1996 in a short text that presented the concept, and in this text it was no longer abhorred but instead seen as desirable. The phenomenon was explained more thoroughly in an article in June 1997, titled “Inte bara ett hotell” (“Not just a hotel”). In the text, the writer referred to the dawn of the railroad when he declared that it seemed as if “the same person that designed the railway station also designed the railway hotel” and claimed that sometimes you have to order a newspaper up to your room so as to know which country you are in. The design hotel was then presented as the opposite of this conformity and standardization.²⁴⁰ The boring standardization, the writer continued, was finally challenged when the generation born in the 1940s entered the job market. They were “the world’s most educated generation,” and found work in media, music, TV, film, and design. Thus, the design hotel was, in this first longer article describing the phenomenon, associated with what is commonly called the creative classes, composed of the educated upper middle class and their perceptions of good taste.

The connection between the design hotel and a specific group of people persisted in *RES*. The texts presenting these hotels often mentioned that the typical guests were people working in media, fashion, and entertainment (for instance, September 2001). In April 2002, they were called “media and lifestyle entrepreneurs.” They were also repeatedly referred to as young, urban, good-looking,

²⁴⁰. According to Maria Christersdotter, boutique hotels are often perceived, and define themselves, as the opposite of chain hotels. Christersdotter 2005, p. 76.

creative, and trendy (for example July/August 2002, September 2003, and March 2004). Even though the implied reader of *RES* was a style-conscious bon vivant, he or she did not necessarily belong to the group of people that frequented the design hotels or other such trendy establishments. In a text from March 2003, the writer referred to these guests as “they,” and thus marked a difference between the implied reader and this privileged group.

From 2001 onwards, *RES* dedicated a large part of the section called “Transit” to presentations of new design hotels from all over the world, though mostly in Western locations. In the early 2000s, the design hotel got its own section called “Room Service,” and in addition to these sections the magazine published several long articles about hotels. The design hotel thus became demarcated as a central feature of the magazine, and an important aspect of *RES* as a lifestyle magazine. This type of hotels was even called “lifestyle hotels” (for instance, in December 2001 and May 2003). The hotels that were presented were often newly established and their establishment was described as constituting a fundamental change for the better. In the July/August issue of 2001, a design hotel in Wales was presented in the article “Ur fickan på John Malkovich” (“Out of John Malkovich’s pocket”):

A few years ago, Cosmo Fry and Lulu Andersson checked into a middle-range hotel in Nottingham. They were completely shocked: The service was bad, the interior design was ugly, and the bathrooms were dirty. During that night in an uncomfortable bed, the idea was born of a stylish design hotel that didn’t cost a fortune.

The style of the new hotel was described as “tasteful kitsch.” The design hotels were often located in areas that were undergoing processes of gentrification.

Design hotels gained a dominant position in *RES* because they easily combined travel with the concept of lifestyle and definitions of taste. This is exemplified in an article about how fashion brands such as Armani and Missoni were establishing new hotels. In the article titled “En moderiktig semester” (“A fashionable vacation”), the writer concluded that “today fashion is not just about how we dress but also about how we live” and, he wrote, the fashion houses would like to “provide an entire exclusive lifestyle” available for purchase (November 2007). In *Distinction*, Bourdieu highlights how taste is a taught cultural competence, or

what he calls a taught “code.”²⁴¹ In the words of Thurlow and Jaworski, we are “taught not only how to desire but also what to desire.”²⁴² The travel magazines of my study place great emphasis on defining taste, and in *RES* the design hotel was vital to this task. This was evident in the first long text published on the subject in June 1997, quoted above, which worked as an introductory presentation of what a design hotel is. The educational purpose of the text was implicit in the title, “Inte bara ett hotell” (“Not just a hotel”), and a large portion of the article was dedicated to explaining why the design hotels were different from hotels in general.

In the subsequent texts about design hotels, this separation was based on sometimes very subtle distinctions and elusive ideas about originality, with taste as the dominant concept. At Blakes Hotel in London, the color of the room that the writer stayed in was “beige on beige,” but, the writer claimed, it was a distinct nuance of beige. The design hotel was also defined by elusive characteristics such as “having a soul” and being “smart.” The initial article from June 1997 provided the reader with a few characteristics of the design hotel that were later repeated in the presentation of new design hotels in the section called Room Service. In the presentation of new design hotels, definitions of taste were repeated. The initial article also established the group of people that were associated with the hotels. The educated, creative, upper middle class were the owners, designers, and the potential clientele of the design hotels. Since the hotels were associated with a particular group of people, to read about, visit, or even stay at a design hotel, became a way to associate oneself with that group.

In her article “Home Truths?,” Ruth Holliday writes that in lifestyle media the home is pivotal in the creation of a desired lifestyle.²⁴³ The design hotel came to serve the same function in the lifestyle magazine with travel as a niche, because articles about the interior design of the permanent home would have been out of place. Johan Lindskog wrote in his editorial from October 2001 that the hotel

241. Bourdieu 1986 [1984], p. 3.

242. Crispin Thurlow and Adam Jaworski, “The Alchemy of the Upwardly Mobile: Symbolic Capital and the Stylization of Elites in Frequent Flyer Programmes,” *Discourse and Society*, 17/1, 2006, pp. 99–135, p. 127.

243. Ruth Holliday, “Home Truths?,” in David Bell and Joanne Hollows (eds.), *Ordinary Lifesyles: Popular Media, Consumption and Taste*, Buckingham: Open University Press, 2005, p. 67.

made it possible for the guest to experience his or her “innermost interior design dreams.” In fact, the hotel as a living space is even more suitable for the constant play with identities and tastes than a real home, because it can be chosen and rejected as easily and often as one changes clothes. The hotel is, by definition, a temporary home, and it is more convenient to check into a new hotel than it is to put up new wallpaper.

The initial article presenting the phenomenon of the design hotel, “Inte bara ett hotell” (“Not just a hotel”), also introduced the opposition between luxury and taste that was a recurrent discussion in *RES*. The writer argued that “designer phantoms such as Philippe Starck and Anouska Hempel have replaced luxury with taste” and that the new generation of media workers referred to above “were less interested in the traditional luxury hotels.” The design hotel was the opposite of both traditional luxury, standardization, and the vulgar opulence of, for example, Burj al-Arab. As I have mentioned, the relation between taste and luxury in *RES*, as well as in *Business Traveller A/P*, was ambivalent. The word luxury was often used to describe something desirable and exclusive, as in the editorials referred to above, but it could also be deplorable and seen as something connoting vulgarity. Luxury needed to be controlled by taste, as it was in the design hotels. The tension between luxury and taste, played out in articles about hotels, was also a part of a more general ambivalence about wealth, taste, and luxury that was evident in the many editorials in which these concepts were discussed and negotiated. Through the presentations of design hotels, the writers could discuss definitions of taste, but despite being embodied by the design hotel, taste remained something highly elusive and ambivalent that constantly needed to be redefined. The minimalism of the design hotel was occasionally ridiculed or criticized (for instance, in October 2001 and December 2002), although this mockery did not mark the end of the concept in *RES*.

The lifestyle constructed in *RES* bears some similarities to the educated and cultivated bourgeoisie described by Bourdieu.²⁴⁴ Besides being interested in design, food, and travel the reader was expected to take an interest in art. The section called Transit frequently presented newly opened art galleries or new exhibitions at already established galleries. Occasionally, the design hotels presented had

244. Bourdieu 1986 [1984], p. 293.

their own art exhibitions (for example, in November 2004). Information about art galleries was often presented on the first two pages of *Transit*, indicating its importance. These pages were also quite often devoted to presentations of innovative architecture. Art was often referred to casually as if it could be taken for granted that the reader was knowledgeable about it, as in the above-mentioned example in which the writer compares the restaurateur Thomas Keller with Damien Hirst. This comparison also demonstrates how art was used to make more popular forms of culture legitimate. Not least of all, design was likened to art – in October 2004 a text in *Transit* asked where the border lies between art and design.

The tourist-traveler dichotomy

In defining an identity for the reader, the magazines marked out a distinction between the implied reader and the writers, and those other groups that were excluded. When the implied reader of *RES* was identified as being modern, sophisticated, interested in design, and “intelligent travel,” other groups that were not included were implicitly outlined. Many scholars have commented on the tourist-traveler dichotomy that remains prevalent in travel writing.²⁴⁵ The travel writer draws legitimacy from the claim that he or she is an authentic traveler and not a tourist, as well as inviting the reader to imagine that he or she is not a mere tourist. James Buzard has described how this dichotomy is a reaction to the onslaught of mass tourism that makes travel accessible to larger groups of people, and is essentially based on class distinction.²⁴⁶ Buzard places the development of this distinction in the nineteenth century and the writings of authors like William Wordsworth, Byron, and Charles Dickens, as well as guidebooks.

The tourists are accused of keeping a distance to the foreign cultures they visit and being reliant on the tourism industry, which ensures them safe and comfortable experiences, while the traveler claims to boldly venture into the unknown.²⁴⁷ The traveler seeks to establish a more meaningful relation to the destination visited. This is exemplified in an article from *Wanderlust* in which

245. See, for example, Andersson 2011, p. 60, and Duffy 2004, p. 33.

246. Buzard 1993, p. 6.

247. Buzard 1993, p. 3.

the writer Katherine Tanko returned to rural China: “I wandered down back alleys, ate steamed dumpling and was greeted as an old friend by a guesthouse owner who brought me up to date on local gossip.” For Tanko, who criticized the presence of other tourists at the destination, it was important to point out that she could navigate “back alleys,” eat local food and interact with the locals. The tourist-traveler dichotomy was evident as well in *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P*, even though it was constructed differently than in other travel publications, and this was also connected to the centrality of exclusivity and lifestyle.

In *RES*, one of the groups that was excluded from the definition of the implied reader was the often referred to, but never completely identified, mass tourists. In December 2006, Lindskog wrote in his editorial, “*RES* is not a magazine for the large masses. It is a magazine for the bon vivant that breaks new ground under the banner of curiosity.” In this way, he defined the reader of *RES* as different from the masses without having described the masses in any detail.

The tourist-traveler dichotomy was, however, not as prevalent in *RES* as it is in many other travel magazines, such as, for example, the British magazine *Wanderlust*. *Wanderlust* is also aimed at middle-class travelers but focuses more on adventure and nature tourism. In *Wanderlust*, it is vital to separate the implied reader from the tourist. Many articles promise to take the reader away from the trails of mass tourism and let them experience the authentic destination. In the November issue of 2005, the introduction to an article about China read: “Simon Lewis reveals how you can visit [China] without meeting the masses.”²⁴⁸ The authentic experience that tourists should be kept away from is most often associated with nature. In *RES*, definitions of taste, expressed through texts about hotels, interior design, architecture, fashion, and art, were far more central to a desired identity than definitions of real travelers, natural places, arduous experiences and the true wilderness. The idea of authenticity that was also prevalent in *RES* took on another meaning than it did in *Wanderlust*. As I will show later, in the chapter on the construction of place, the typical use of authenticity in tourist texts was challenged in *RES*, specifically in connection with nature.

In *Business Traveller A/P*, the implied reader was repeatedly described as independent; for example, on the cover of October 1983, one of the cover lines

248. Quoted in Ljungberg 2007, p. 26.

read, “Breakaways: selective leisure ideas for the independent traveller.” There was occasionally a reference to package tourists as an unwanted group, and the business traveler was positioned as the opposite of the tourist, even in articles where the writer made no explicit judgment about the status of different travelers. By defining the implied reader as a business traveler, the magazine marked a decisive difference between the implied reader and the unwanted tourist, since the business traveler was more easily definable than the more ambivalent concept of the independent traveler and, as I have mentioned before, the reader was referred to as being a business traveler even in texts that were about leisure travel rather than business trips.

Whether the implied reader was characterized as a business traveler or an independent traveler, package tourism represented the non-exclusive and something lower in standard. For instance, in an article about hotels in Sri Lanka, the writer claimed that at the “northern end of Bentota Beach are the package tourist hotels, which treat their guests accordingly” (April 1984). The independent traveler, on the other hand, was closely associated with exclusivity. In December 1988, Bali was said to be “catering to the individual and discerning traveller.” In both magazines, the implied reader was differentiated from other groups of travelers that were often defined as tourists. The implied reader was repeatedly described as independent, as opposed to the package tourist, but in contrast to a magazine such as *Wanderlust* and the writers studied by Buzard, the difference was not primarily based on conventional ideas about the authentic but rather on luxury and taste.

The cosmopolitan elite

In both *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P*, the implied reader was imagined to be a member of the global elite of privileged and discerning travelers for whom the world was readily available. From 1982 to 1992, the cover of *Business Traveller A/P* had the tagline “the international travel magazine” while the U.K. edition of *Business Traveller* had the tagline “...because the world is your office.” The reader was referred to as a globetrotter or “globetrotting executive” (*Business Traveller* U.K. 2003), as mentioned above. In both the magazines of my study, the reader was often described as a “savvy” and “independent” traveler. The implied reader

was imagined to be someone who was well traveled and knowledgeable about the world, in other words, a cosmopolitan.

Cosmopolitanism has been a matter of heated debates in the humanities and social sciences for a while, and many such discussions revolve around a definition of what constitutes a cosmopolitan person. Ulf Hannerz argues that underprivileged groups of immigrants are not cosmopolitans since their vulnerable position makes them inclined to avoid confrontation with the foreign. According to Hannerz, typical cosmopolitans are instead “members of translational occupational cultures” such as diplomats and academics.²⁴⁹ Zygmunt Bauman, in *Globalization*, and the anthropologist, Marc Augé, in *Non-Places: An Anthropology of Supermodernity*, likewise mention the privileged classes as the embodiments of globalization and cosmopolitanism. They both emphasize that globalization (even if Augé, writing in the early 1990s, uses the word supermodernity) affects everybody, the elite and the poor, albeit in diametrically different ways.

Both Bauman and Augé imagine the elite as inhabitants of a global space that is defined by being homogenous and emptied of particularities. The emptiness of global spaces is, as I said in the introduction, a crucial aspect of Augé’s theories about so-called non-places that are characterized by abstract commerce, solitary individuality, and the ephemeral. Transit zones such as high-speed trains are non-places inhabited by “the eternal passengers” who fleetingly observe the locals as they pass by.²⁵⁰ Augé includes both shantytowns and refugee camps in his description of the non-place, but his foremost example is the transit lounge at Roissy 1 (Paris-Charles de Gaulle airport), and the prime inhabitant of this non-place is the businessman. The businessman readily gives up his particular identity to inhabit the non-place of the airport. In Augé’s words, he enjoys “the passive joys of identity-loss, and the more active pleasure of role-playing.”²⁵¹

In *Globalization*, Zygmunt Bauman describes the business traveler as the truly global inhabitant of international non-places (even though he does not use the word non-place). Bauman argues that there is a deep divide between the underprivileged “locals” and the elite of “globals,” which has managed to become

249. Hannerz 1996, p. 109, quoted in Frello 2006, p. 6.

250. Augé quoted in Tomlinson 1999, p. 111.

251. Augé 1995, p. 103.

completely extra-territorial. Bauman quotes Agnes Heller's description of a traveling businesswoman who is equally "at home" in any of the international hotels she frequents: "she stays in the same Hilton hotel, eats the same tuna sandwich for lunch, or, if she wishes, eats Chinese food in Paris and French food in Hong Kong."²⁵² For the businesswoman, Heller writes, these places are "not foreign places, nor are they homes."²⁵³ In a fashion similar to Augé, Bauman describes the local, or "the near," as familiar and known, characterized by the routine of daily contact. That which is "far," on the other hand, represents the unknown, which is viewed as strange and evokes no loyalty. It takes courage to venture into "the far away" and effort to learn how to navigate within it. Bauman argues that the elite of today experience no difference between "here" and "there."

Questions of cosmopolitan identities and perspectives were a topic for many travel writers around the turn of the millennium.²⁵⁴ The travel writer Pico Iyer has written about issues of hybridity and globalization in many of his books, for example, *Video Night in Kathmandu and Other Reports from the Not-So-Far East* from 1988, and in numerous articles for *Time*, *Harper's*, *New York Review of Books*, and other publications. He explored the topic further in the book *The Global Soul: Jet Lag, Shopping Malls, and the Search for Home* from 2000. In *The Global Soul*, Iyer uses his experiences from travels around the world to argue for the existence of new cosmopolitan subjects, which he calls Global Souls. With his Indian heritage, upbringing in England, and homes in California and Japan, Iyer positions himself as the prime example of a Global Soul, at home nowhere and everywhere just like Agnes Heller's businesswoman. Iyer's construction of the ideal cosmopolitan bears a resemblance to the ideas of Bauman and Augé, even though Iyer takes a celebratory rather than critical stance. According to Iyer, the true Global Souls are those that are completely freed from old ties and national parochialisms.²⁵⁵ His arguments come close to those of Hannerz when he excludes underprivileged refugees and immigrants from his ideal cosmopolitans on the grounds that they continue to harbor dreams of the homeland and a stable

252. Bauman 1998, p. 90

253. Agnes Heller, "Where are We at Home?", *Thesis Eleven*, 41, 1995, quoted in Bauman 1998, p. 91.

254. Lisle 2006, p. 4.

255. Iyer 2000, p. 19.

home. Iyer's cosmopolitans are the privileged elite, even though they are not as clearly the economic elite described by Bauman and Augé.

Iyer's arguments about the detached Global Souls are based on a vision of what one could call a detached world, a global order in which there is no unilateral power, since, Iyer claims, the American empire has given way to an "International Empire."²⁵⁶ This makes his theories problematic from a perspective on power relations in a global world, as I referred to briefly in the introductory chapter. In the construction of the Global Soul, a colonial heritage of power relations, as well as contemporary expressions of privilege, disappears from view. Cosmopolitanism becomes a liberating stance that the individual, refugees as well as business travelers, can choose. When meeting the writer Kazuo Ishiguro, Iyer discusses hybridity in terms of "lifestyle."²⁵⁷

The placelessness of international travel that Augé imagines and the global elite's ability to navigate international spaces described by Bauman can also be used as an identity resource in the travel magazine. In an article published in *RES* in the February issue of 1998, the writer, Jan Gradvall, imagined the airport as a culturally empty space, similar to the non-place described by Augé but experienced by the writer as pleasurable. At the airport, Gradvall wrote, people are "liberated from their nationalities and professional identities and are for a few hours transformed into being mere travelers." At the airport, everyone is a traveler and the travelers are all equal "before the big black Departures Board." The traveler is liberated from his or her personal identity: "No one knows where you are, who you are. No one can reach you. Instead you can just wander around, psychologically weightless, in this vacuum landscape. A life in transit." Gradvall imagined that the airport, as global space, facilitated a temporary, playful destruction of identity that is inherent to the experience of being a traveler and is experienced equally by all travelers. Thus, in Gradvall's article, and in Iyer's book *The Global Soul*, Bauman's and Augé's theories of a detached elite cosmopolitanism were interpreted in a popular context. The aloof and glamorous cosmopolitan has been explored as well in other forms of popular culture, for example, in the film *Up in the Air* from 2009 in which a businessman flies around the U.S. enjoying a lifestyle of constant traveling.²⁵⁸

256. Iyer 2000, p. 252.

257. Iyer 2000, p. 21.

258. *Up in the Air*, Paramount Pictures, United States 2009, directed by Jason Reitman.

Gradvall's article expressed the dream of becoming the detached cosmopolitan, equally at home anywhere in the world, or at least at any airport. In *RES*, however, this was presented to the reader as a temporary fantasy that the traveler indulges in during a short period of time. The constantly traveling cosmopolitan was instead more fully embodied by the men and women who contributed to the magazine. As I have mentioned before, they were presented to the reader on the editorial page, and the brief presentations of them often emphasized their role as world travelers. The travel journalist or photographer was enviable as someone who could make a living out of travel, and as an expert that could inform the reader on where and how to travel. Through reading the magazine, the reader could copy the lifestyle of the contributor by making use of his or her expertise – their knowledge of traveling – and in that manner acquire some of their status as cosmopolitans without making that lifestyle more than a fantasy. The distinction between the professional writers or photographers and the readers was only sidestepped in the readers' blogs on the web page allowing the readers to be writers.

In both *Business Traveller A/P* and the U.K. edition, the implied reader was constructed by using popular versions of the elite cosmopolitans that are imagined by scholars such as Augé and Bauman, by explicitly defining the reader as a globe-trotting executive. The business traveler and the bon vivant of *RES* were not, however, the deterritorialized travelers described by Augé and Bauman, since the local was just as central in their identity construction. I will return to this in the next chapter on the construction of places. In the following section, I will further explore a discussion about the gender of the implied reader. As I have stated before, in *RES* the implied reader was never explicitly gendered. However, in *Business Traveller A/P* gender played a significant role, which will be described in the following section.

Men in suits: The gendered business traveler

The business traveler of *Business Traveller A/P* was male, which was defined explicitly when the traveler was referred to as “the businessman” or “he,” but also in pictures and illustrations that often depicted the traveler and implied reader as a man in a suit but very rarely as a woman, especially in the 1980s. The business travelers on the cover were almost exclusively men. A majority of them were

white, although Asian men were occasionally depicted. The issue of racism was sometimes discussed in the readers' letters, and in the January and April issues of 1985 racism faced by Asian business travelers was one of the topics of the editorial, but in general the businessman in the early 1980s was a white male.

The fact that the implied reader was a man was expressed in the many articles in the early 1980s about commercial sex. In these texts, the business traveler was clearly defined as a wealthy heterosexual man who was a potential consumer in the Asian sex industry. On the cover of the September issue of 1982, one of the cover lines said "Your inflight fantasy fulfilled" above an illustration portraying a besuited man with a briefcase being dragged into a massage parlor by a woman in bikini. The allure of the sex industry was somewhat contradicted by another article in the same September issue that encouraged the business traveler to safeguard his marriage by bringing his wife with him on the next business trip, titled "Why not take your wife with you?" In both articles, however, it was taken for granted that the traveler was a man.

Women played important parts in the world of *Business Traveller A/P* in the early years, even if they were rarely depicted as business travelers themselves. One such part was played by the flight attendant, who, in the early years of the magazine, was more often referred to as the stewardess or even the air hostess.²⁵⁹ Articles about flight attendants, always implicitly female, revolved around their attractiveness and the potential of romance between the businessman and the flight attendant. The iconic status of the flight attendant relied on the powerful combination of youth, signaling sexual availability, maternal pampering, and the glamour of flying. Around the late 1980s, however, articles on the topic also discussed their difficult work situation, such as the problem of sexual harassment by customers, even though the myth of the flight attendant as a pampering

259. In her book *Femininity in Flight*, Kathleen M. Barry describes the differences between the titles air hostess, stewardess, and flight attendant. Both air hostess and stewardess are feminine titles, while the word flight attendant, increasingly used from the 1970s, is gender-neutral. To advocate the use of the word flight attendant was a feminist strategy to gain respect for the occupation. In the context of *Business Traveller A/P*, the word air hostess carried additional connotations due to the prevalence of so-called hostess clubs in Asia. By calling the flight attendants air hostesses, their occupation is implicitly associated with the women working in hostess clubs. Kathleen M. Barry, *Femininity in Flight: A History of Flight Attendants*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.

temptress never faded completely. The magazine's use of this myth was mirrored by airline advertisement, the best example being Singapore Airlines' consistent use of the Singapore Girl, an ideal young Asian woman in a traditional *sarong kebaya*, representing the company.²⁶⁰

In the February issue of 1985, an article titled "Romance – like time – flies" expressed nostalgia for the air stewardess as sex symbol, while in the March issue of 1989 the plight of the flight attendants was made the cover story. In this later article, the tone had changed considerably and the perspective was firmly on the sexist behavior of the passengers. In the illustrations accompanying the article, the male passenger was depicted as a lecherous gorilla in a suit. The article incited a heated debate on the letters' pages. The flight attendants were generally a recurrent topic in the readers' letters. The fantasy of the seductive air hostess was again the topic of debate in November 1991, in an article titled "Coffee, tea or me?" that was illustrated by the image of a sultry Asian woman in a figure-hugging *qipao* attending to an enchanted-looking Western man. The image very clearly makes reference to the myth of the submissive geisha and the sensual mystique of the East. Just as the business traveler was almost exclusively male, the flight attendant was almost always female. Other similar but less central roles played by women were secretaries, as well as other types of service staff such as hotel staff and waitresses. Another recurring role was the sex worker and, much less often, the wife.

Women business travelers were acknowledged as early as 1982 but throughout the period studied remained a special group as well as a problematic minority. In 1982 and 1983, there were a few long articles about the discrimination faced by traveling businesswomen. In the July/August issue of 1982, one article was titled "Perils of the solo woman traveller," and described such perils as being mistaken for a prostitute by hotel staff. In the December issue, Julia Wilkinson wrote a long article with the title "Watch out! There's a woman onboard," in which the writer criticized the sexism encountered by businesswomen traveling in Asia. The articles, of course, did not criticize the magazine in which they were published. In 2002, the magazine still published articles about the problems of businesswomen. In the January issue, Margie T. Logarta brought up issues that were similar to

260. Martin Lindstrom, *Brand Sense: How to Build Powerful Brands Through Touch, Taste, Smell, Sight, and Sound*, New York: Free Press, 2005, p. 14.

the ones discussed in 1982 in an article titled “Girl power.” In the U.K. edition of *Business Traveller*, the article “The Female Factor: Special Treatment or Equality? Over 40 per cent of business travellers are women, but how well are we being served?” was published in February 2006 under the section title “Women Special”.

The first article where the image illustrating the text depicted a woman without the gender of the traveler being the topic of the article was published in the April issue of 1983. The topic of the article was computers that could be used while traveling. The illustration to the article showed a businesswoman working, although the beginning of the article defined the traveler as male. The August issue of 1988 was the first to show a businesswoman on the cover. In the August issue of 1993, the whole editorial discussed how the travel industry recognizes women travelers. As I stated above, articles or editorials that discussed the situation of women business travelers were a recurring feature of *Business Traveller A/P*. These texts all have in common a problematizing stance to the issue. Women business travelers became more visible in the magazine after the change of style at the end of the 1980s. There were ever more articles on the problems women encountered as travelers and as business professionals, but increasingly there were also articles in which the presence of women was not problematic. However, in the late 1990s, the business traveler was still predominantly male, often referred to as “he” but very seldom called “she.” In the 2000s, *Business Traveller* U.K. often used the more neutral word “businessperson.”

Women were also seldom acknowledged in advertisements. One noticeable exception was an advertisement for Qantas published in June 1982. The full-page image was an ad for Qantas’ Business Class and showed a Western woman sitting alone in an airplane seat enjoying a glass of wine, in contrast to the many ads that showed women accompanied by men. The woman in the ad is well dressed in a long skirt, turtleneck sweater, jacket, and snake-skin vest. She looks affluent and, as opposed to many other women in advertisements, she is not smiling invitingly even though she meets the gaze of the onlooker. Advertisements in *Business Traveller A/P* during the period studied otherwise depicted pampered businessmen, whether it was ads for airlines or hotels. Many of the ads also used the word “businessmen” rather than the gender-neutral “business travellers.” One example is an ad for the hotel The Marco Polo Singapore included in the November issue of 1984, in which the copy read “there is a special promise for businessmen in the

legendary island nation. The Marco Polo Singapore.” The accompanying image shows two Western men and a woman sitting down while they enjoy the attentive service of two Asian women. An ad for a hotel called The Ansett, in Perth, had a cover line that read “These days, a businessman deserves all the benefits he can get” (October 1985). The well-deserving businessman in the ads for hotels and airlines was often in the company of an Asian woman offering service or waiting attentively to give service.

Overall, in its early years *Business Traveller A/P* made use of a static list of roles where the business traveler was almost exclusively a man, and the female roles included the air stewardess and other service workers, the wife, the housewife, sex workers (such as hostesses, strippers, go-go dancers, prostitutes, and masseuses), and occasionally the businesswoman, whose presence in hotels and airplanes was fraught with difficulties. The sex worker was almost without exception an East or Southeast Asian woman. White sex workers, when they were acknowledged in the articles, were often dismissed as being too expensive or sordid (January 1985). The male business traveler, who was the implied reader of the magazine, had a special relationship to Asian women, which was expressed most clearly on the cover of the November issue of 1982, where the image of a young Filipina woman – who is pointing at the reader – was accompanied by a cover line saying: “What Filipinas really think of you.” The article discussed at length the issues of romantic relations between Western men and Filipina women.

Female writers also wrote about prostitution. In the October issue of 1988, the writer Michele Trewick advised the presumably male reader on how to entertain business partners in Seoul. In a comment about *kisaeng* (“hostess”) houses, she wrote: “Also take into account tips for your hostesses which can be anything up to 60,000 won or more. If you want some more romance after the dinner is finished then you’ll once again have to dip into your wallet to the tune of anything between 30,000 to 100,000 won.” In the late 1980s, as women travelers were increasingly acknowledged, a few articles tried to reverse the roles and position the businesswoman as a consumer in the sex industry. In an article from October 1988, Shelagh Marray wrote, “a single woman in Bangkok needn’t hole up in her hotel at night like a miserable outcast.” In the article, she visited male strip clubs in the red-light districts.

Gender issues were also a recurrent topic of heated debate in the letters pages.

Female readers wrote in to complain about the use of sexist images in the magazine, while some male readers wrote to defend the magazine. In November 1985, one reader wrote:

The feminist and women's lib nuts are on the attack against *Business Traveller* (letters from Tina Liamzon in the June issue, Katherine Dunlop in July and Barbara Crossette in August). We have a lot of problems with these dingbats in America. The best, and oldest, bar in New York City used to be McSorley's Old Ale House on East 7th Street near Greenwich Village. For over a century it was a quiet haven and an ideal place to waste an afternoon [...] It was "men only" until the crazies couldn't stand it and made the city force the owners to admit the "fair sex." Now, McSorley's is just another noisy dive.

Implicitly, the reader compared the former men-only bar with the magazine, which he imagined to be a similar enclosed male domain threatened by the demands of women to be included.

After the relaunch of the magazine in 1988, a few readers complained about the new style of the magazine, which they defined as being feminine. One reader that was unhappy about the transformation of the magazine in the late 1980s expressed a clearly gendered perspective when he wrote:

It [the magazine] wrote about going "further into the scene"; about places beyond those where common, gawking tourists go; about how and where to get good deals and try different experiences. Suddenly I find a completely new format. The whole staff seem to be women. The articles are uninspiring, inoffensive and bland. Your magazine has become boring. I appreciate that more females are travelling, but surely there are enough publications to satisfy their needs? Please forget about the poseurs. Stop writing about the president's suite at \$1,000 a night. We can see that in *Women's Weekly*. Please put some guts back into *Business Traveller*.

Just as in the previous quotation, the writer saw *Business Traveller A/P* as a distinctly male domain that should be separated from the feminine domain represented by a women's general interest magazine. Interestingly, the writer of this reader's letter associated the kind of aspirational travel ("The president's suite at \$1,000 a night") that is common in the lifestyle magazine, with femininity.

The Asia-Pacific that was presented in *Business Traveller A/P* during the first

years of publication was an almost exclusively male domain and highly privileged. The world offered to the readers was also an adventurous world, with a distinct colonial flavor. One of the main writers in the early years of the magazine was Auberon Waugh. He was the only writer who was shown in pictures or drawn illustrations and thus he was more visible than the editor. He also had his own section. Waugh's role in the magazine was to symbolize the carefree and experienced playboy, who wrote provocative and controversial articles, including many about the Asian sex trade. In the very first issue of the magazine in 1982, Waugh had written a long article about smoking opium in Asia, in which he described the experience of taking opium as central to being in Asia. The article played on the image of Asia as exotic and dangerous, with pleasures unknown to the West, a well-known trope in colonial representations. There was, of course, a measure of humor in his articles and they were often presented on the contents pages as "provocative", but they were not ironic.

The transformation of the businessman

Over the period of my study, businesswomen were increasingly acknowledged in *Business Traveller A/P*, but a more decisive change was the transformation of the type of masculinity portrayed by the magazine. As I have argued, in the 1980s the gendered identity of the implied reader was that of a white heterosexual masculinity based on the reader's privileged status as a business traveler, sometimes referred to as an executive and hence imagined to be high up in the corporate hierarchy. In relation to Asia, sexual experiences with Asian females were paramount. Asia was repeatedly described as an adventurous playground.

The masculine identity that was later presented was more compatible with the magazine's emphasis on lifestyle. Research on men's magazines has described the changing gender identity in these magazines and the arrival of "the modern man" in the late twentieth century—a change that is tied to the concept of lifestyle.²⁶¹ The modern man was a concept used by men's lifestyle titles such as *GQ* and *Esquire*, which are "style-conscious and self-conscious general interest magazines aimed

261. Tim Edwards, *Men in the Mirror: Men's Fashion, Masculinity and Consumer Society*, London: Cassell, 1997, p. 82. See also Jackson, Stevenson, and Brooks 2001, p. 33.

directly and overtly at a male readership.”²⁶² These titles, both launched in the U.K. in the late 1980s and early 1990s as British versions of long-running American magazines, differed from what had been available before on the British market by offering their male readership content on fashion and design. The implied reader in *Business Traveller A/P* went through a similar transformation in which style, fashion, and so-called “grooming,” i.e. male beauty care, were redefined as legitimate pursuits for the businessman.

In the lifestyle magazine, taking care of one’s body was no longer solely a preoccupation for the businesswoman. In the U.K. edition of *Business Traveller A/P* from June 2001, the main image in an article about spas was of a businessman in a bathrobe enjoying his cappuccino. In 2005, *Business Traveller* U.K. magazine had a Grooming section, informing men on how to take care of their hair and skin, in which Eve Cameron told the male readers “don’t just shave: exfoliate, moisturize and protect” (July/August 2005). The image of the businessman who took care of his skin and indulged his senses at a spa stands in stark contrast to the image published in the April issue of 1982, of Auberon Waugh as the colonial playboy smoking opium in Asia.

Another aspect of the magazines’ transformation into lifestyle magazines was an increased attention on how to use consumer goods as status markers. Perhaps this was most clearly expressed in the U.K. edition of *Business Traveller* in which the “consultant psychiatrist Dr Raj Persaud” taught the reader how to express style and status by displaying the right consumer goods. A “Tanner Krolle suitcase (retail price £1,700),” for example, suited someone “who wants to suggest quiet confidence, timeless style and an in-depth knowledge of modern European art and culture” (February 2001, *Business Traveller*, U.K. edition). Other goods that were analyzed by Dr Persaud for what they could express in terms of status and personal identity were briefcases, pens, and shoes. In this section of the magazine, the business travelers’ need to construct themselves through expensive, and therefore exclusive, consumer goods was made into an explicit and repeated concern.

When comparing the articles published in *Business Traveller A/P* from the early 1980s to those of the late 2000s, there is arguably a shift in the gendering of the magazine. In the October issue of 1982, the magazine published a cover story

262. Edwards 1997, p. 72.

about dangerous “trouble-spots” in Asia that the reader might be interested in if he was “too young for the Korean War and too old for Vietnam.” The article was illustrated by photos of a man dressed as a soldier, and also had a drawing showing a map with a tank, fighter planes, and soldiers on it, easily associated with images in newspapers. This article is at odds with the series of articles that the magazine published in 2009, under the section title “Personal Styling”. In the May issue, the article in the series was about “the art of entertaining,” titled “Even Martha Stewart would agree.” The article started with a quotation from Virginia Woolf’s *Mrs. Dalloway* and was illustrated by colorful photos of dinner tables, food, and a bouquet of bright pink flowers. The article from 1982 about dangerous places in Asia very obviously addressed a male reader that might have had experiences of war. The article from 2009 about entertaining mentioned both a potential host and a hostess, although the only woman quoted spoke of her experiences as the wife of a businessman while the men quoted were experts: a managing director and a general manager. It is less clear whom the article addressed despite the overtly feminine style. However, this change in style and topic does not have to be interpreted as an obvious shift from a masculine identity to a feminine one.

Instead of interpreting the transformation of the magazine into a lifestyle magazine as a feminization process, as one of the readers quoted above clearly did, it can be interpreted in the context of changing ideals of masculinity. Despite increased visibility, it is obvious that women remained a problematic minority in *Business Traveller A/P*, exemplified by the recurrent articles about women travelers and their specific issues. The problems discussed in these articles remained largely the same over a period of almost thirty years. The businessman, however, could go from being a corporate soldier to a modern man enjoying a spa retreat. The sociologist Tim Edwards draws a similar conclusion in his book *Men in the Mirror: Men’s Fashion, Masculinity and Consumer Society*, when he writes that the changing definitions of masculinity in men’s lifestyle magazines should not be seen as an acceptance of progressive sexual politics but rather as the “fostering of an aspirational and narcissistic masculinity [...] encouraging men to spend time and money on developing consumer-oriented attitudes and practices from shopping to leisure activities and to enjoy their own masculinity.”²⁶³ During the period of

263. Edwards 1997, p. 82.

the study, the world of white, male heterosexual privilege in *Business Traveller A/P* was redefined in crucial ways but it remained largely intact all the same.

Identity beyond tourism

Travel magazines provide information about more than how to behave as a tourist and how to evaluate destinations. Both *Business Traveller A/P* and *RES* provided the reader with something that went beyond practices of vacationing. The magazines defined what was desirable and, on a very general level, how to understand one's place in the world. The travel magazine offers the reader a whole identity. This is evident in *Business Traveller A/P* when the editor claimed that the magazine wanted the readers to identify with the magazine "on a personal level" and not a professional one (May 1982). In the lifestyle magazine, this identity construction was made more explicit. The reader was invited to imagine him- or herself as a member of a global elite culture in which travel was an essential, albeit not the only, component.

In *RES*, the need to explicitly define who the reader was arose as a part of the transformation of the magazine into a lifestyle magazine, around the late 1990s and early 2000s. *Business Traveller A/P* went through a similar transformation during the 1990s. From this time, identity was increasingly formed by other concepts than just the act of traveling, such as design, consumption, and taste – concepts that are vital to the lifestyle magazine. In *RES*, the orientation toward a general lifestyle project was expressed, among other things, in the attention given to the design hotels that were presented as expressions of a particular taste rather than a particular geographic place. In *Business Traveller A/P*, the increased attention to lifestyle was evident on the contents page of the magazine in the September issue of 2008 where the lifestyle section featured more articles than the two sections titled Destinations and Special Report put together.

In lifestyle magazines, identity was constructed around notions of taste, and taste was constantly negotiated and redefined, which means that the identity of the implied reader was constantly recreated. In *RES*, the design hotel offered an embodiment of a disciplined style where luxury was justified by taste so as never to become vulgar. The iconic status that was given to design hotels, and what they were made to represent, is connected to the character of

the bon vivant, the discerning traveler who is knowledgeable and enjoys life. Design hotels were also symbols of a form of elite cosmopolitanism, which I will explore further in the following chapter. The elusiveness of taste was an expression of a desire for exclusivity and privilege: only the contributors to the lifestyle magazine could provide the reader with a correct interpretation of taste.

Furthermore, travel in this context should not only be understood as actual journeys across geographical space, but also as the idea of being connected to a cosmopolitan culture whether one is physically moving or not. The implied reader was invited to take on the identity of the elite traveler temporarily, for example, by experiencing the liberation of leaving one's national and personal identity behind at the international airport, as in Gradvall's article. The real cosmopolitans were the people working for the magazine, whom the reader could emulate. In *Business Traveller A/P*, the reader was instead imagined as the competent and discerning cosmopolitan on a par with the magazine's contributors.

The implied reader of *RES* was an elusive character that can be loosely defined as belonging to an aspirational middle class. The identity of the implied reader was kept elusive in that it was an imagined identity based on aspirations rather than actual social status; the reader was invited to imagine him- or herself as an elite cosmopolitan. It is significant that the writers in both *Business Traveller A/P* and *RES*, to some extent, depart from the typical tourist-traveler dichotomy that has been described as an essential part of travel writing.²⁶⁴ Package tourists were occasionally mentioned as an unwanted group, but the writers in both magazines were largely content with being tourists. Status was not based on being an adventurous traveler, as it often is in backpacker and ecotourism.

Distinction from the masses was still essential but was found through exclusive consumption practices rather than through adventures and ordeals. In *RES*, the reader was defined by the word "livsnjutare" (bon vivant), and in *Business Traveller A/P* the implied reader was defined by words such as "executive" and "discerning." The magazines presented the readers with those definitions of style and taste that were essential to the identity of the implied reader.

In contrast to many magazines of the popular press, the implied reader in *RES* had no clearly defined gender, and here there is a decisive difference between

264. Buzard 1993, p. 6; Syssner 2011.

RES and *Business Traveller A/P*. The business traveler in *Business Traveller A/P* was, especially in the 1980s, very clearly defined as male. Instead of the magazine becoming feminized, the changes in the gendering of the magazine implied that the identity of the businessman transformed into a consumer of lifestyle products – the ideal consumer for the advertisers in the magazine. Just like men's style magazines, *Business Traveller A/P* presented an aspirational and narcissistic masculinity.²⁶⁵ Women business travelers were increasingly acknowledged but remained a problematic minority.

To sum up, the implied reader of the magazines was constructed through editorials that explicitly described who the reader was, sometimes based on readers' surveys so that information from actual readers was used in the construction. The implied reader was also constructed implicitly, for example, through visual depictions in *Business Traveller A/P* or in the texts, such as in December 1988, referred to above, when the writer claimed that Bali catered “to the individual and discerning traveller.” The constantly repeated words used to describe the reader – the “bon vivant” in *RES* and the discerning executive in *Business Traveller A/P* – functioned as a way to pinpoint the implied reader. All other ways of defining the implied reader are variations of those concepts. The bon vivant and the discerning executive were interested in exclusive tourism and luxury rather than arduous encounters with nature. They regarded travel as a part of a lifestyle project. The bon vivant especially was also interested in food and wine, design, art, and fashion. They were either imagined to be part of the global elite or admirers of the elite. Even though the magazines avoided using the word “class,” the implied readers were middle-class and affluent.

As lifestyle magazines, *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P* constructed implied readers that were, to a large extent, similar. The bon vivant of *RES* and the discerning businessperson of *Business Traveller A/P* in the 2000s are similar in style in a way that earlier constructions of identity were not. In the following chapter, I will develop some of the themes considered here, such as the definitions of authenticity and exclusivity, in relation to the construction of places and, more specifically, the construction of the local as the antithesis of the global.

265. Edwards 1997, p. 82.

4. DESIGNED AUTHENTICITY: The construction of spa resorts and design hotels as local places

Definitions of places are one of the foremost products of a travel magazine.²⁶⁶ As I have mentioned before, the longer articles about specific destinations are the central material in the magazines, and their centrality is often marked by their placement in the middle of the magazines. In the longer articles, the reader can follow the journey of a specific writer who is often visible in the text, for example, by presenting his or her own experiences. The article describes the place at length: the sights, sounds, and smells of the place, as well as the types of tourism activities available. Places are generally seen as stable entities that the writer can experience and describe. In travel magazines, the world consists of exotic places that are both accessible and knowable.

According to Amanda Lagerkvist, who has written on the subject of Swedish travel narratives about the U.S. in the mid twentieth century, one of the central functions of modern tourism is “to represent the world as something coherent” and to “incorporate fragments into a homogenous experience.”²⁶⁷ The rigid conventions that govern the representations of places in *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P*, as in other tourism products, have the function of presenting the fragments of an unstable and chaotic world into comprehensible entities for tourism con-

266. As I mentioned in the first chapter, tourism fits well into what has been described as the experience economy because of the emphasis on experiences of places in tourism. Travel magazines, and other such products of the tourism industry, define the experiences that are available to the tourist at tourism destinations.

267. Lagerkvist 2005, p. 95.

sumption. I will start this chapter by describing how places are conventionally defined in the travel magazine before exploring further the role of local places in the magazines of my study and how the importance of the local is related to discourses on globalization. Here, I will also explain the notion of what I call a designed authenticity.

The travel magazines of my study constructed local and global places in response to globalization discourses that both challenged and confirmed established notions of places. The local and the global were counterbalanced, and were of equal importance in the global world of the travel magazines. The global place was the international metropolis, where the traveler could experience the thrill of constant development, excitement, connection, and movement, while the local place was the harmonious village or remote spa retreat that provided stability and escape from the chaos and demands of the globalized world.

Our perception of the world is influenced by cultural products such as films and novels, ensuring that we have a mental picture even of places that we have never visited. The presentations of places in travel magazines often rely heavily on wider cultural traditions going beyond the specific genre of travel writing. Travel magazines typically make much use of references from pop culture, literature, and history; countless articles about Middle Eastern destinations have a title that includes something about “The Thousand and One Nights,” giving connotations of the mysterious East. Furthermore, in a travel magazine, places are presented as potential tourism destinations and thus the perception of places is influenced by the conventions of the tourism industry.

One convention belonging to the travel magazine genre is the establishment of what I call a “sales pitch” in every article. The sales pitch expresses the essence of how the writer perceives a place. This is often expressed explicitly in the first lines of the text, comparable to the first lines of a newspaper article that provides the reader with the most important facts. A typical sales pitch is to claim that a place embodies an interesting blend of tradition and modernity, for example, the claim that Singapore seduces the tourist with a blend of “high-tech and tai-chi” (“Travel guide of the month,” *RES* November 2006). Every destination is defined by using a few characteristics. The sales pitch can be, and often is, discussed and negotiated in the text but at the end of the article the writer reaches a conclusion on how to frame the destination. Each article in a travel magazine presents a place

by drawing on, negotiating, and sometimes challenging, conventional ideas about it. When traditional ideas about a place are occasionally challenged, it is in order to establish new ones and not to question whether a place can be described in such a reductionist way.

The “sales pitch” of an article is often connected to the type of tourism that can take place at the destination in question. The categories of tourism, sometimes referred to as “scapes” in the tourism literature, blend into each other in just about every text, but there is usually one that dominates each article, which limits and frames the representation of a place. An article about a ski resort might include descriptions of nature and the cultural life of the place, but the activity of skiing will be central. Places are categorized on the basis of their function as tourism products. Returning to Lagerkvist’s claim that tourism presents the world as coherent, this use of tourism categories also means that a tourist map is established in which the world is divided along the lines of leisure activities, i.e. some places are presented as places of relaxation, others as places for adventure sports, culture, nature tourism, etc.

The reliance on the idea of clearly definable and stable places that a lot of travel writing is structured on is, to some extent, threatened by the notion of globalization processes, since one of the crucial aspects of the globalization discourse is that places are set to lose their particular characteristics. Globalization is sometimes thought to create a borderless world that is primarily defined by mobility. The threat of homogenization was occasionally referred to in the magazines, for instance, in the editorial of *Business Traveller A/P* in June 1990 in which global conglomerates were blamed for causing blandness and standardization. It was also mentioned in *Business Traveller A/P* in July/August 2010 in an article about Bhutan in which “Vivian Liu revisits one of the last of the world’s remaining Shangri-Las and finds that it’s a tough job keeping globalisation at bay.”

With the growing popularity of discourses that emphasize change and mobility, places are perceived as being less stable. However, the idea of homogenization as a possible threat can lead in the opposite direction. Stable definitions of place and an emphasis on the local could gain new importance as a reaction to what are perceived as the negative effects of globalization. Faced with the anxieties of an unstable, constantly shifting world, there is a need to return to something fixed, traditional, and local. The ethnologist Jonas Frykman writes that, as a response

to globalization discourses, the local can gain importance over the national. The local becomes the foremost counterforce and antithesis of globalization. When globalization processes challenge the nation, the local emerges as a potent symbol of authenticity that has been preserved over time. Frykman writes that regions are perceived as having “personality, life, and a ‘soul’” which the nation state lacks.²⁶⁸ Regions are also seen as being more “genuine, original, and ancient” than the nation.

The appreciation of the local, traditional, and the organic bond between culture and nature is, of course, much older than those globalization discourses that became popular around the late twentieth century. The traditional has, for a long time, been imagined as the precious opposite of modernity. This dichotomy can in turn be traced to the age-old distinctions between urban life and the idyllic rural setting. The distinction was reinterpreted in the travel magazines when the traditional was positioned as the opposite of the global. The need to escape from the stress of the global was mentioned in an article by Boboi Costas, published in *Business Traveller A/P* in July/August 2009 in which the writer traveled to an island in the Philippines that offered “total absolution from global warming guilt.” Bohol, the writer claimed, “known for its coral and limestone assets, earns the respect of responsible travellers in this age of carbon footprint consciousness.” However, exactly why the island should have this function remains unclear.

For travel writing, globalization discourses hold out the promise of a world that is more accessible and knowable for the traveler while it simultaneously contains the threat of homogenization. Travel magazines such as *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P* tried to exploit general cultural discourses of globalization, for example, by constructing the implied reader as a well-traveled cosmopolitan, while they simultaneously continued to rely on the idea of places as clearly defined entities, and on established geographical imaginations. Notions of place are malleable resources that the writers could invest with new meaning, as well as conventional perceptions.

The local place in my analysis provides for the traveler the security and relaxation that is traditionally associated with the local. Even though they were

268. Jonas Frykman, “Motovun och tingens poesi,” in Kjell Hansen and Karin Salomonsson (eds.), *Fönster mot Europa: Platser och identiteter*, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2001, p. 89.

presented as local in the magazines, these places were of course also to a high degree global by being products of the global tourism industry. The local place as it was presented in *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P*, as they became lifestyle magazines, was also a highly constructed and unreal place, just like the abstract places that were sometimes presented on the covers, as described in Chapter 2. Their central function in the magazines was to be the exact opposite of the global.

To be able to retreat from a globalized world is described as the ultimate privilege by the media scholar David Morley in his book *Home Territories: Media, Mobility and Identity* from 2000. In contrast to Bauman's and Augé's descriptions of how the global elite enjoys their privileged access to the homogenous environments of globalization, described in Chapter 3, Morley argues that true privilege in a globalized society is not that of having constant access to advanced communication technology but being able to temporarily retreat from such connectivity. Morley writes: "The ultimate issue is not who moves or is still, but who has control – both over their connectivity, and over their capacity to withdraw and disconnect. It matters little whether the choice is exercised in favour of staying still or in favour of movement."²⁶⁹ In the travel magazines of this study, local places were presented as temporary retreats from the negative aspects of the global whether that was a stressful job or feelings of guilt over global warming. Local places are often associated with history and tradition, but also with an almost organic bond between a place and its inhabitants. This bond ensures authenticity, as I will describe in the following, but, as I will also argue, the definitions of the authentic that are typical of the travel-writing genre were renegotiated in *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P*.

Ecological adaptation and authenticity

As mentioned above, the writers of travel magazines perceive places as both specific and stable entities that are easily describable. Furthermore, the travel writers of *RES* often emphasized the connection between the places visited and the inhabitants of those places, which means that human cultures were also imagined to be stable. Repeatedly, writers claimed to find and be able to describe clearly

269. Morley 2000, p. 199.

demarcated national characters. In an article about Turkey, the writer claimed that: “wherever you are in Turkey, you’ll be treated with friendliness. The Turkish are very attentive, friendly, and generous towards strangers” (April 1994).²⁷⁰ Thus, behavior was explained in terms of national characteristics, which were in turn imagined to be bound to a place.

Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, writing about the American magazine *National Geographic*, refer to what they call the “ecological adaptation argument” to describe the perceived connection between cultures and natural environments.²⁷¹ In an article in *RES*, titled “Den ädle vilden och den tillfälliga turisten” (“The Noble Savage and the Temporary Tourist”), the writer used the similar concept of “climatological determinism.” Both terms refer to the belief that “humans adapt physiologically, socially, and morally to the climate in which they reside” (*RES*). In an article in *RES* about Tibet and the history of the Tibetan people, Zac O’Yeah reasoned about why people first came to settle in Tibet. His conclusion was that “they must have liked the barren landscape, and the landscape must have had an impact on them,” thus making an inescapable connection between the people and the landscape (February 2003).

O’Yeah’s quotation also shows that time is essential in this connection between place and people. Travel writing in general takes a keen interest in the past, and the past can function as a guarantor of authenticity. In O’Yeah’s article, the Tibetans belonged to the landscape in which they settled several thousand years ago because over time it had come to affect them and their culture. The same idea was expressed in a text about China, titled “Det stora språnget, del II” (“The Great Leap, Part II”), published in 1995, in which Chinese allegiance to strong leaders was explained by the natural circumstances of the country. To tame the big rivers,

270. The claim that locals are amiably disposed toward tourists can be compared to the colonial practice of characterizing natives on the basis of whether they were opposing colonial intrusion or not. The former were seen as barbaric while the latter were portrayed as being sophisticated. To point out explicitly that the native culture is hospitable is also an implicit justification of tourism, through the idea that tourism is inherent to their very nature.

271. Lutz and Collins 1993, p. 233. Theories about how the climate affects cultures and peoples go back to ancient Greece. The most famous proponent of climate theory is the political philosopher Montesquieu, who argued that climate and geography have a major influence on societies. See, for example, Grinnell 2004, p. 92.

the Chinese had to organize themselves in large groups.²⁷² “Behavior,” in the words of the writers of the article, Göran Leijonhufvud and Agneta Engkvist, was explicitly connected in the text to Chinese nature.

In an article about Rome, published in *RES* in 1996, the inhabitants were tied to a place not through their behavior but through their facial features. The writer took great delight in seeing what she perceived as a typical Italian man in a café: “with his curly, black hair, robust chin, and straight features, he is an example of how history is still alive; he could have been a Roman emperor” (January 1996). The writer also claimed that in Rome “the artists of Romanticism looked for models among the butchers’ assistants and the whores. Here, they found facial features that have been preserved since the time of the Roman Empire.” The man who looked just like a Roman emperor made the place authentic by being a sign of the past and at the same time something specific of that place which enhanced the writer’s experience of travel.

As I have mentioned, the “sales pitch” of an article is often the combination of old and new, traditional and modern. Modernity as well as globalization was imagined to reside in the city. But even in a city that is perceived as being a global metropolis, signs of the traditional are sometimes emphasized, for instance, in Tokyo where the traveler can discover a village mentality among the high-rises. Bangkok is sometimes also described as “a collection of villages,” for example, in *Business Traveller A/P* in October 2000. Most places should have an essence of the old that the traveler can discover. If the writer found no such essence then the destination was often seen as lacking in differentiation. The *RES* December issue of 2003 contained a text about Dubai in which the writer commented on the constructed nature of the country. The writer argued that Dubai had a hyper-international atmosphere and claimed that the specific “Arabic peculiarity isn’t given much space in these air-conditioned lobby milieus.” This absence of obvious national or cultural characteristics was clearly perceived as a lack by the writer. A similar perspective was expressed in an article about Peshawar in Pakistan,

272. In this article the reliance on climate theory is also reminiscent of the historian Karl Wittfogel’s theories on the authoritarian nature of what he calls “hydraulic civilizations,” i.e. societies that rely on large-scale irrigation (Karl A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power*, New Haven, Conn., 1957).

published in *Business Traveller A/P* in November 1991. The writer appreciated the modern face of Peshawar, but the city should not be too modern and clean: “This is all very well but where’s the exotic, flavoursome Peshawar of your fantasies? Where are the sights, the smells? Fortunately, the disenchantment you probably will feel at this point is misplaced.” The writer reassured the reader that Peshawar really was an exotic fantasy.

As I have detailed now, the local is traditionally desired in travel writing for being filled with those specific characteristics that make it the very opposite of the global non-places deplored by Marc Augé. It is where the traveler goes to escape the inauthenticity, homogenization, and stress of the global metropolis. But local places can also be valued for being placeless, i.e. being emptied of specific characteristics. Local places without the specific characteristics traditionally associated with locations were not always the bland non-places of Augé’s super-modernity, but places that gave the traveler a chance to escape a globalized world.

The desire for placelessness in articles about resorts and design hotels

Destinations that lacked the characteristics of places were central in *RES* in connection with two different phenomena that became increasingly conspicuous in the magazine during the 2000s: resort tourism and the design hotel. As I wrote in Chapter 3, design hotels were repeatedly presented in *RES* in the 2000s. *RES* started writing about resorts as holiday destinations in the late 1990s. What I am discussing under the umbrella term “resorts” are often what were called spa resorts and spa hotels in the articles. The spa resorts as a form of tourism are similar to what the cultural geographer Katarina Mattsson discusses as all-inclusive tourism in which everything the tourist needs is provided within the same hotel space.²⁷³ At the all-inclusive, the tourist has often paid in advance for food and drinks. However, the destinations presented in the articles of my study were more up-market than the all-inclusive discussed by Mattsson, and did not necessarily confine the guest to the hotel.

273. Mattsson 2010, p. 79.

In many articles, the resort signified the specific and local, but in some of the articles about resorts they were placeless and belonged to a type of tourism in which the specific geographical place was less important. In those articles, the tourism product was less a specific place than an experience, more specifically, the experience of relaxation. The placelessness of the exclusive resort did not imply a globalized place as the global metropolis did (as I will detail in the next chapter), but rather a space that had no defined locality. Destinations where the place itself is not the attraction are, of course, not a new phenomenon. Types of tourism such as sun-sand-and-sea tourism are one typical example. In a *RES* article from December 2005 about islands, the writer exemplified this when he claimed that “when we think about islands we basically imagine the same thing regardless of whether they are located off the coast of Thailand or in the Pacific,” thus imagining the exotic island as having no specific place.

Places could have an importance in resort tourism through the many imported goods that were available at a resort, and the value that these products were assigned in the articles. When Zac O’Yeah traveled to Mauritius, he marveled over the many items that were made available for the guest, and he wrote: “If you don’t like Lavazza, that can be exchanged for Kenyan or Brazilian coffee, or vanilla tea, cinnamon tea, oolong, or yatawat tea.” Likewise, in an article in *RES* about the hotel Burj al-Arab in Dubai, the writer claimed that the hotel included “Brazilian granite, Irish linen, and marble from Carrara” (April 2000). These goods signified the ultimate luxury, proving that the hotel offered only the best of everything no matter where in the world it came from. The places connected to the products were not important other than in their capacity to signify remote locations.

It could be a sign of luxury in itself that the resort was separated from any place. In an article about the phenomenon of resorts, “Frihet från val – vår tids semesterdröm?” (“Freedom from Choice – the Dream Vacation of Today?”), in the March issue of 1999, the writer Per Svensson claimed that “You don’t go to a resort to see the world. You go to a resort so that, at least for a few days, you don’t have to see it.” The ultimate luxury was to escape the world by being separated from all places. The idea that placelessness was a central part of the product was a recurrent theme in articles about resorts, spa hotels, and all-inclusive hotels. The desire for placelessness was a desire to flee the world, the same desire that was expressed in the editorials in which travel was described as escape, a dream, or fantasy, as

well as the editorial, mentioned in Chapter 2, in which Johan Lindskog wrote that the function of *RES* was to offer the reader bright images in a dark world.

To escape the world in a resort was associated with an elite lifestyle and thus this also functioned as an identity resource that helped to define the implied reader. In “Frihet från val” (“Freedom from choice”), Svensson wrote that the popularity of resorts could be the consequence of “the stressed careerist’s need for a break from decision making.” He also wrote that “a significant difference between the hippie colonies of earlier decades [and the resorts of today] is that here the intention is not to quit your career but to confirm it. Only those who are extremely sought after can be expected to have an extreme need to be unreachable.” By going to a resort, the traveler confirmed his or her privileged position in a stressful global world by temporarily escaping it.

In *Business Traveller A/P*, traveling was from the beginning, and to a higher degree than in *RES*, connected to work. In the first editorial, the publisher wrote that the magazine would present both cities and resorts. The latter were also from the start presented as “breakaways,” and were often short leisure trips in connection with business trips; hence, to leave the city was to take a break from work. In October 1984, there was an article with the title “Where to drop out when you burn out,” in which Tony Wheeler, of Lonely Planet publications, offered advice on “where burnt-out businessmen can take a sabbatical from the stress and strain.” Wheeler claimed to use his knowledge about the kind of travel carried out by backpackers and hitchhikers to advise the business traveler on where to temporarily “drop out.” The article was illustrated by a picture of an exhausted business traveler lying in a deck chair on the beach and, in another image, directly on the sand, still wearing his suit and tie. Just as in Per Svensson’s article for *RES* from March 1999, the article emphasized the break as a temporary retreat from work, a necessity for the stressed businessman. It also exemplifies how the implied reader of *Business Traveller A/P* was referred to as a business traveler even when the texts presented leisure travel, as I mentioned in Chapter 2.

This definition of the resort guest as the stressed Westerner, with a high-powered job where he or she is constantly connected, is in line with Morley’s assertion that true privilege in a globalized society is not having constant access to advanced communication technology but being able to temporarily access places that are void of such connectivity. In the placeless resort, temporary placelessness

and disconnectedness was a status symbol that confirmed one's central position in a global world.

The many design hotels presented in *RES* provided a play with notions of place and placelessness similar to what the resort did. The design hotels were paradoxically associated with something local and specific, while they were at the same time expressions of a globalization of taste. In the first long article about design hotels, "Inte bara ett hotell" ("Not just a hotel"), Rosenqvist claimed that "luxury does not sell anymore." He continued:

the new generation of businessmen is tired of luxury. They are tired of luxury restaurants, where the food tastes the same in Paris, London, Frankfurt, Seattle, or Hong Kong. Or hotel rooms that are vulgar and identical. They want hotels with a personal touch and atmosphere – and restaurants frequented by locals and not just credit card tigers. Hotel owners and restaurateurs have come to understand this. Under the motto "luxury yes, but it has to be fun," they are rebuilding and renovating.

Already in this first article, the design hotel was presented as an antidote to the blandness of the international spaces of the global elite. It represented a new kind of luxury.

At the same time, design hotels were associated with a specific style that they had in common no matter where in the world they were located, and which was foremost characterized by minimalism. Furthermore, just as the resort could combine products from all over the world, the design hotel could be a mix of place markers. In the June issue of 1997, the section Transit included a short text on Anouska Hempel's hotel in Bayswater, London, where the theme of the hotel was "East meets West." The hotel "combines the calm of the East and Oriental simplicity with Italian minimalism and the latest technology." Again, more or less physical places such as "the East," the Orient, and Italy were used for the specific connotations they carried on a global market.

The ethnologist Maria Christersdotter has written about the planning of an exclusive hotel in the Swedish city of Malmö in which she clarifies the connection between boutique hotels and the lifestyle of global elites.²⁷⁴ The article analyzes the

274. Maria Christersdotter, "Mobile Dreams," in Tom O'Dell and Peter Billing (eds.), *Exper-*

planning of a hotel designed by the world-renowned architect Frank Gehry, and how this hotel comes to symbolize the transformation of Malmö into a trendy and dynamic postindustrial city. In discussing the dichotomy global/local, Christersdotter writes that the hotel is “an intertwining of local and global processes.” It is locally grounded by being of both political and economic importance for the city but it is primarily global because, as Christersdotter writes, instead of being intended as a place for the local citizens “it is really meant to be a hotel that belongs to another, more global, category.”²⁷⁵ She then defines this global category as “a certain cosmopolitan elite culture; a minor, privileged, global group for which the world is small.”

Many of the hotels mentioned in *RES* were designed by Philippe Starck, whose name carries the same connotations of a cosmopolitan, postmodern style as Gehry's. In the articles, the design hotels were often said to contain some local connection, which was incorporated into the global context that the hotel embodied on several levels. The hotels were global places in a simple sense because they were places of transit for travelers, but, as Christersdotter shows, the design hotels are also global by being articulations of a cosmopolitan elite culture, both because they are meant to attract a cosmopolitan elite clientele and because they are displays of global design and definitions of taste. The fascination with design hotels in *RES* can thus be understood as a desire for the “cosmopolitan elite culture” mentioned by Christersdotter.

According to Morley, in the previously quoted passage, a central characteristic of the global elite is that they move freely, they have access to connectivity, but can also “withdraw and disconnect” if they choose to.²⁷⁶ In his discussion about privilege and “deterritorialization,” Morley quotes Tomlinson, who points out that it is the underprivileged, for example, in inner city areas, who are exposed to the “most turbulent transformations” brought on by globalization processes “while it is the affluent who can afford to retire to the rural backwaters of a preserved and stable locality.” He also quotes Massey and her analysis of “middle-class hi-tech

encescapes: Tourism, Culture and Economy, 1st ed., Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School, 2005, p. 107.

²⁷⁵. It might seem evident that a hotel is not built to meet the needs of the locals; however, the hotel in question was also supposed to be an arena for local art etc., see Christersdotter 2005.

²⁷⁶. Morley 2000, p. 199.

male scientists” whose working lives are defined by mobility and connectivity, but who balance this with “strong commitment to a very settled form of residential localism.” They retreat to a home in “a cottage in an ‘Olde Worlde’ English village whose symbolic essence [...] is stability and localism.”²⁷⁷ Privilege is to be able to choose between accessing the global world, whether that is communication technologies or the global metropolis, or to withdraw from it through one’s home in a stable local place or temporarily in a remote resort. I argue that the resorts presented in the travel magazines served the same function as the stable localities that Tomlinson and Massey describe, despite the fact that the former offered a more temporary respite from the global. Even the design hotels had that function when they were said to offer something other than the blandness of the international chain hotels.

In *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P*, both global places, such as bustling metropolitan cities and the tasteful design hotels, and local places, such as the serene spa retreat and the harmonious village connected to the traditional and the past, were important for the construction of the ideal reader as a privileged traveler. Notions of local and global places were used as identity resources in the definition of privilege. In the following section, I will explore further definitions of how resorts could also be defined as local places rather than placeless. The main argument presented in the following is that the construction of authenticity in these articles differed from what is conventional in travel writing.

Designed authenticity in the construction of spa resorts as local places

When articles about resorts emphasized the particular place of the destination, the writers constructed it as authentic by grounding it in history and tradition but, curiously, the constructed nature of the authentically local could be made explicit, which is uncommon in tourism. To exemplify this, I will discuss a long article about Asian spa resorts, titled “På asiatisk spaning” (“Searching for the Asian Spa”), that was published in *RES* in November 2007. Spas have been popular

²⁷⁷ Doreen Massey, “Making Space,” in Hugh Mackay (ed.), *Consumption and Everyday Life*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1997, quoted in Morley 2000, p. 200.

destinations through the centuries.²⁷⁸ While the idea of the health benefits of bathing was popularized in the nineteenth century, spas enjoyed a new popularity in the early 2000s, as a part of a larger discourse around wellness.²⁷⁹

In his article in *RES*, the writer, Gary Despy, stressed how the local place of the spa hotels was constructed, without perceiving the construction of place as problematic. This had significant implications for how authenticity was perceived. I understand the “authentic” in travel journalism to be something that is traditionally perceived as authentic within the genre, often something connected to the past (or timeless), the traditional, the original, the local, and nature. I will use the term “designed authenticity” to describe the unproblematic juxtaposition of that which is perceived as constructed and that which is perceived as authentic in a conventional sense. The word design in this context is used to signify something that is purposefully constructed to be aesthetically pleasing.

Previous researchers have written about other forms of constructed authenticity in travel writing. Amanda Lagerkvist writes about how the U.S. was perceived visually as a film.²⁸⁰ She points to the fact that describing the world as a stage is a centuries-old tradition, one example being the Victorian notion of the Orient as theater. What designed authenticity has in common with this older tradition in travel writing is the idea that the foreign can be freely constructed for the enjoyment of the tourist. But while seeing the world as a stage presupposes a distance from what is represented, designed authenticity thrives on the idea of coming closer to the local and natural, without compromising on comfort and luxury. In designed authenticity a distance is constructed in relation to the global world rather than to the place visited. Furthermore, what is distinct about designed authenticity is that the constructed nature of the authentic is emphasized and deemed valuable in itself.

Despy’s article presented eleven different spas located in different parts of Southeast Asia. The specific countries of the various resorts were mentioned, but it was the local and traditional that came to play a central role. One spa in Thai-

278. Andersson 2011, p. 46.

279. Tom O’Dell, *Spas: The Cultural Economy of Hospitality, Magic and the Senses*, Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2010, p. 10.

280. Lagerkvist 2005, p. 89.

land was described as being “designed to look like a Thai village,” and a resort in Malaysia was likewise “designed to look like an idyllic and traditional Malayan village.” Place was thus an important marker in the texts, but the actual geographical location was substituted by an imagined place; Thailand as a physical location was less important than the designed Thai village that provided the guest with a designed experience of local life.

Writing about The Amadari Hotel in Bali, the writer took the construction of a local place to the furthest degree. Despy wrote that when the resort was built the ambition was to “construct it as an isolated traditional Balinese village.” To achieve this “fertile soil was bought from local farmers that were guaranteed to be allowed to farm the land in order to keep or maybe even improve their living conditions, while it simultaneously gives the guests of the resort a chance to live in the midst of an authentic agricultural landscape.” Here, as in the rest of the article, rather than being problematic the constructed nature of a place was instead emphasized as being part of the luxury, just as the imported goods from all over the world were signs of luxury. The traditional Asian villages that the spa resorts imitated were described as being simultaneously constructed and authentic. The farmers were both farmers and part of a product for tourist consumption. It is this juxtaposition that I refer to as designed authenticity.

The paradox inherent in the concept of designed authenticity as it is presented in the article, and in *RES* in general, did not involve a postmodern, ironic reading in which the tourist showed an awareness of the fakery of a tourist site but chose to see it as kitsch, as John Urry has described in terms of post-tourism.²⁸¹ Here, there was a complete harmony between the designed luxury and the natural and authentic; indeed, they enhanced each other, and they were both exclusive. The purpose of designed authenticity was to signify luxury. For example, the Four Seasons Resort in Bali was “constructed out of several traditional Balinese villages,” the hotel had “borrowed from Balinese tradition and design” but it also provided such luxuries as “polished marble” and “golden taps.”

Designed authenticity combined the authenticity of the local place with both luxury and comfort. In an article in *Business Traveller A/P* about the Mai Chau Valley, Margie T. Logarta exemplified the juxtaposition of the comfortable and

281. John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* [3rd ed.], Los Angeles: Sage, 2011, p. 114.

the traditional and authentic, characteristic of village life, when she wrote that she had

come to an age where I value my creature comforts (internet included) even while relishing an opportunity to experience a new place. Fortunately, the Mai Chau Lodge, a venture between two established operators, Buffalo Tours of Vietnam and Jetwing of Sri Lanka, has enhanced the accommodation options without compromising “the sense of place” factor. The staff are locals; the menu makes use of fresh produce from the surrounding farms, and the rooms are enlivened by the vibrant textiles woven and dyed by the women folk (January/February 2010).

The hotel made it possible to access those experiences that are often valued in tourism while also providing comfort and style.

The traditional, as well as the mix of traditional and modern, was often mentioned in *Business Traveller A/P* in the 1980s; one hotel, for instance, had “traditional Thai artefacts” on display (January 1984). The difference between the texts in the early 1980s and the texts of the lifestyle magazine lay in how this combination of traditional and modern was interpreted. Before the magazines became lifestyle magazines, it was not given any specific importance, and did not have the connection to luxury it was later given. As a contrast to this article from 1984, an article from November 2009 that was also a presentation of a hotel in Thailand made much more of the juxtaposition of luxury and tradition. The article is titled “Luxury Makes a Comeback,” and the architect of the hotel “promoted a synergy of luxury and local traditions to complement The Reserve’s secluded location along Phulay Bay. The architectural details – reflecting the ancient Lanna culture – landscape, interiors and accessories (oversized beds, pillow, chairs, baths and doorways) all fuse to create a sense of comfort and welcome to put the most harried executive at ease.” In the article from 1984, the Thai artifacts were only mentioned in passing, as something the reader might find interesting. They were on display as something clearly separated from what else the hotel had to offer. In the article from 2009, on the other hand, what was defined as reflections of traditional Thai culture pervaded the whole hotel. The connection between luxury and traditional culture was made explicit, and it was furthermore this connection that made it possible for the stressed “executive” to relax. It is also typical that the local culture, despite being of importance for the guest’s

relaxation, was present as a mere reflection in the style of the interior design.

While designed authenticity became prevalent in *RES* in the 2000s, these ideas of a juxtaposition of the traditional and the luxurious were noticeable in *Business Traveller A/P* from the late 1980s. In an article about a Japanese *ryokan*, from the late 1980s, the writer expresses that combination of the comfortable and authentic that came to be so coveted in the lifestyle magazine, when she claimed that the ryokan had “the modern luxuries of air-conditioning and private bathrooms, tastefully intermixed with antique Japanese furniture, prints and lacquer-work artefacts” (February 1989).

Returning to Despy’s article about Asian spa resorts published in *RES* in 2007, there was also a juxtaposition of the authentically local and signs of global connectivity. Just as in other texts about resorts and spa hotels, they were said to offer luxuries from all over the world. The Pimalai Resort and Spa, the hotel that was designed to look like a traditional village, served croissants for breakfast. One hotel was described as a “hypermodern boutique hotel.” Here, just as there was no conflict between the designed and the natural, there was no conflict between the local and the global; they were both used as resources of equal importance for the presentation of the spa hotels. Morley asserts that true privilege is to freely choose one’s location and to move between the stability of the local and the excitement of the global. For the producers of lifestyle media this privilege also included being able to construct, define, and balance the dichotomous concepts of local and global, in the same way as they constructed definitions of taste and luxury.

The use of nature in the construction of the local

Another aspect of designed authenticity is the use of nature. Nature plays a central part in the construction of the local. Nature stands as a symbol of the authentic and original, and as I wrote in my initial discussion about how place is constructed, people are seen as more authentic if they have long-standing ties with nature and a specific landscape. Nature can represent stability in a world of change and mobility. In the construction of resorts as local places in the magazines, nature also played an important role as a harmonic and beautiful backdrop. A beautiful and passive natural environment was a necessity for the traveler to relax. The relation between the traveler and nature could assume characteristics that were

almost erotic. Most importantly, as I will show, nature in *RES* was something that could be designed without losing its authenticity. I will continue my analysis of “På asiatisk spaning” (“Searching for the Asian Spa”) to explore further the role of nature in the designing of authenticity.

In Gary Despy’s article about Asian spas, nature was ever present and ever beautiful. The closeness of the hotels to nature was emphasized in the beginning of every presentation of a spa hotel. The Pimalai Resort and Spa was nestled between coconut palm trees and tropical rainforest, and at the Pangkor Laut Resort the exotic villas were edging into the jungle. Closest to nature was the guest who stayed in the Le Mayeur suite at the Tugu Hotel and Spa in Indonesia, since the suite was “floating on a natural lotus pond.”

Furthermore, it was a nature that was above all aesthetically pleasing, described with expressions such as “strikingly beautiful,” “a lush growth of vegetation,” “untouched beaches,” “emerald green water,” and “verdant tropical gardens.” Besides describing how the hotels were placed in stunning natural surroundings, Despy also wrote that the hotels were placed in secluded locations. The other guests were never mentioned, and the service staff was rarely visible. At the Evason Hideaway in Hua Hin, the writer caught a glimpse of the hotel manager, but this was mentioned in the text because the manager was barefoot, a detail that further emphasized the naturalness of the hotel. Nature was also present through the naturalness of the products available. At the Evason Hideaway, the treatments were focused on “skin food,” which means that only edible products were used on the skin. The naturalness of the treatments was emphasized in Despy’s article and other similar articles about spa hotels, for example, when the writer claimed that “local herbs and other natural products” were used (*Business Traveller A/P*, January/February 2002).

In the images that accompanied Despy’s article, there were human artifacts in all pictures but one. In some of the images, nature was only present through a palm tree placed in the background, while in others human artifacts, for instance, houses or huts, were made to harmonize perfectly with nature, so that they were rendered almost invisible, albeit always present. In these images, the human artifacts and the natural surroundings were indistinguishable features of an aesthetic harmony. The images in the spa article were invariably devoid of people in all but one in which a person rowing a boat was visible in the middle of a big lake.

The notion of a simplicity and naturalness that is designed was most clearly expressed in the short presentation of a resort called the Sila Evason Hideaway & Spa Samui, where the “basic design philosophy is to enhance the natural surroundings rather than change or destroy them.” This so-called philosophy is also expressed through the concept of “barefoot luxury.” What the spa hotels offered was an experience of the simple and natural that was at the same time very exclusive. The Balé, an “ultramodern boutique resort” in Bali was designed with a focus on minimalism: “the villas are a mix of Balinese thatched roof, solid dark wood and sharp lines, of both the traditional and the modern.” Likewise, the Phu Chaisai resort had been “cleverly built using natural materials such as dirt floor, bamboo walls and leaf roof. Using these simple materials they have still managed to create a feeling of quality and luxury.” This simplicity is also associated with environmentalism, as I will describe further into this chapter.

Nature was thus essential, but it was a nature that was both highly controlled and perceived as highly natural at the same time. At the spa hotels, nature was designed to be more natural, not changed but *enhanced* (as in the example of Sila Evason Hideaway & Spa Samui, quoted above), in order to fully accommodate the travelers. The ideal of a discreetly altered nature was also described in an article in *Business Traveller A/P* in January/February 2002 in which the Tamarind Retreat on Koh Samui was

developed in such a way as to keep the tranquility of the natural surroundings remarkably intact. Trees, palms and flowering shrubs have been subtly manicured, while huge granite boulders, humped like an elephant’s back, have been left as features in the landscape [...] my house, for instance, was partly built into natural rock.

In the same article, the writer also described nature as a part of the spa treatment when he wrote: “what makes it all so enjoyable, however, are the superb natural surroundings in which you feel pampered.” Likewise, in his description of the Pangkor Laut resort, Despy wrote that “it is not difficult to relax both physically and spiritually in these tropical surroundings.” Thus, nature catered to the guests of the spa hotels just like the hotel staff. Nature should be experienced as wild and untouched, while it was simultaneously wholly in the service of the visitors. The idea of nature as pampering also functioned as a way of hiding the hotel staff

that was responsible for the actual pampering. As much as possible, the traveler should be alone with nature while also being comfortable.

To clarify how the style of the lifestyle magazine differed from an earlier style, Gary Despy's description of the Pangkor Laut resort in *RES* from 2007 can be contrasted to an article in *Business Traveller A/P* from 1986 about the same hotel. When Marc Rouen visited the Pangkor Laut Resort for the August issue of 1986 he wrote:

only six hectares have been developed for the Pangkor Laut Resort; the rest is a backdrop of thick jungle. The 92 twin-bed cabins have solid roofs disguised with nipa thatch and are scattered among the palm trees just a few yards from little Royal Bay. The front row of the two lines of single- and two-storey structures offers the best views, numbers 205–212 (nearest to the squash and tennis courts) are the quietest [...] Meals are taken in the open-sided Palm Grove café, where brass ceiling fans augment the sea breezes that rustle the ferns. Western and local (mainly Chinese) dishes are served, with entrées averaging M\$12. Package guests may want to supplement the canteen-style buffets with some à la carte dishes, especially at breakfast.

Rouen's description was detailed and focused on providing the reader with useful facts to help him or her become an informed consumer. Just like the images accompanying the text, the function of the text was documentary; it tried to give the reader an accurate image of what the destination was like and what could be expected, including prices. The resort was described as beautiful but also as useful. Rouen wrote that: "apart from its tranquillity, Pangkor Laut's biggest draw is its sports facilities. There are six tennis courts, two squash courts, a swimming pool, a gymnasium with basic equipment, sauna and Jacuzzi. Use of all these facilities is free, and squash racquets can be hired for M\$5 an hour." The emphasis on the practical matters expressed in the article in *Business Traveller A/P* from 1986 was lacking completely in the article in *RES* about spas from November 2007, in which the Pangkor Laut was one of the hotels described.

Returning to the article about Amandari from 1989, this text was more similar in style to what later became the dominant style of writing about luxury resorts. What differs was the reminder of the high price: "there's nothing imaginary about the check-out bill that awaits you..." The writer also reported on some practical

problems, such as sliding doors that did not fit and Indonesian milk that seemed unsuitable for making cappuccino.

The intermingling of nature and design was expressed in *Business Traveller A/P* in March 1989 in a text about the Amanpuri resort hotel in Thailand.²⁸² The hotel was the first of the designed resort hotels to receive a lot of coverage in *Business Traveller A/P*, and the writer was quite critical about the concept and asked if it was worth it. He concluded, however, that the architecture and style of the hotel justified the room rate. The resort was:

one of the finest modern interpretations of traditional Thai style to be seen anywhere – in design motifs (tiered roofs, curving eaves, almost exclusive use of woods) and design concept [...] The architect's work has been complemented by the builder's respect for nature. They have constructed around a venerable coconut grove, keeping as many of the old trees as possible. The work was probably a pain in the neck to accomplish, but the end result is the most unobtrusive encroachment of man upon a superb natural setting (March 1989).

Again, the resort enhanced nature rather than destroyed it (to borrow the expression used by Despy in his article from 2007), and nature became an integral part of the construction. The writer devoted much space to the design features of the hotel. However, compared to later texts on resort hotels, this still placed an emphasis on the practical and on providing the reader with useful information about prices and amenities.

It should be noted that the article “På asiatisk spaning” was in some ways atypical of *RES* since it was written by a foreign journalist, Gary Despy, and then translated. The style of the article was more in line with the linguistic style of advertising than what was common in *RES* at the time. However, the relation to nature that was expressed in the article was similar to that expressed in *RES* in general. One example is an article from June/July of 2008 in which the well-known Swedish journalist Alexandra Pascalidou traveled to Yunnan, China, to encounter “China as it used to be.” Nature was once again central; in this article it was the Jade Dragon Snow Mountain, a pond, and the Lijang River that

282. Amanpuri and Amandari are both owned by the company Amanresorts, <http://www.amanresorts.com>, accessed November 5, 2011

were supposed to attract the gaze of the visitor. According to Åsa Thelander, who has written about how nature is portrayed in advertisements for package holidays, mountains represent untamed nature, and for the interviewees of her study, mountains and rocks indicate what Thelander calls accessible wild nature.²⁸³ Accessible wild nature, in Thelander's study, is where the tourist can be (almost) alone with nature and where it is possible to get very close to nature.

In Pascalidou's article, just as in Despy's article about Asian spa hotels, nature was in absolute harmony with the built environment. In the midst of "the enchanted nature," lay the fairy-tale-like Hotel Banyan Tree Lijang. At the hotel the writer found "stone and wood in pleasant union, creating a rustic luxury" while all the comforts of modernity were "discreetly present." The hotel incorporated the view of the mountain; indeed, the view was a part of the interior design of the hotel; the rustic luxury was defined as involving "curved Chinese rooftops, glass windows toward the bamboo garden in one direction and the mountains in the other, an enormous bathtub in black stone" ("Vid drakens fot"/"At the Foot of the Dragon"). Thus, nature and the constructed environment merged.

This ideal harmony of nature and the exclusive resort is prevalent in advertising. In Thurlow and Jaworski's analysis of elite tourism, they refer to a tourism advertisement in which the copy reads: "there is a place where [...] luxury blends perfectly with nature."²⁸⁴ To mention another example from advertising, the Evason, a hotel company that is also mentioned in Despy's article, is described in an ad from the Swedish travel agency Fritidsresor as providing "naturally beautiful luxury" with natural materials such as "wood, cotton, and linen" used in the interior design.

In *Business Traveller A/P*, the idea of hotels and resorts in harmony with nature was first used in advertising. In 1993 and 1994 a resort called The Datai described itself as "a resort so in harmony with nature that even the trees aren't disturbed" (advertisement, October 1993). In August 1994, the same resort used the tagline "Life in the wilderness" in an advertisement illustrated with an image of the resort surrounded by trees. An early example from an article was published in the June issue of 1990, when a writer claimed "The blend of architecture and nature

283. Åsa Thelander, *En resa till naturen på reklamens villkor*, Lund Studies in Media and Communication 4, Lund: Sociologiska institutionen, Univ., Diss. Lund, 2002, p. 128.

284. Thurlow and Jaworski 2010, p. 192.

induces an instant tranquility, making visitors feel they are floating across the highly polished tiles of the lobby after descending, dazed from their cars,” in his description of the Triton Hotel in Sri Lanka. As mentioned above, nature also justified luxury, just as the luxury of the design hotels was controlled by taste. The idea of hotels in harmony with nature implicitly and sometimes explicitly refers to environmental issues.

Nature and discourses of environmentalism

In *RES*, the notion of the local as more authentic, and the specific role of nature, was combined with a growing concern about environmental damage. A restaurant or hotel that was using local products and was built in a local style was valued for being both authentic and environmentally friendly. An association was thus made between the genuine that the local and natural represent and the ecological, and environmentalism was connected to the aesthetic harmony of nature and luxury, expressed for instance in Despy’s article about spa hotels. In her interviews with package holiday tourists, Åsa Thelander found that environmental damage was seldom an issue for them. She also writes that drought, which some of the tourists commented on, is seen as an aesthetic problem that makes the surroundings look less green. The tourists never reflected on the fact that their travels might be a part of the environmental impact that can result in droughts. Environmental damage was instead discussed in relation to the presence of garbage at the holiday destination. In other words, impacts on the environment that are not conspicuous are easily forgotten. Returning again to Despy’s article from 2007, the owners of the Sila Evason Hideaway were said to offer “innovative and enriching experiences in a sustainable environment.” This was connected to their “design philosophy,” mentioned above, which was based on the idea that they enhanced nature, instead of changing or destroying it. This was the only part of Despy’s article in which sustainability was mentioned in the text, but the idea was implicitly present in the description of other hotels when concepts such as simplicity, naturalness, and closeness to the local were emphasized. Aesthetic harmony between human artifacts and nature was interpreted as being sustainable. In this way, environmentalism was interpreted as a matter of aesthetics.

Environmentalism was associated with the kind of tourism favored by the

magazines. In October 2008, *RES* published a green issue solely dedicated to environmentally friendly travel, as defined by the magazine. In the editorial, Johan Lindskog commented on the ethics of travel and what characterizes environmentally friendly travel. He wrote: “Everything we do in *RES* is about travel [...] our position is to prioritize travel that leads to a richer life, rather than a thicker wallet. When there is a life-changing experience to be had, isn’t that when one should travel?” Environmentalism was thus connected to that specific type of journeys that were favored by the magazine. Travel is justified when it leads to an inner experience. Furthermore, to “experience something new” and “enrich one’s senses” was argued to be more justifiable than to “travel to the same place ten times out of habit.” Lindskog also argues that the environmentalist perspective is integral to the magazine because they take an interest in environments, a claim that diffuses the concept of environmentalism.

A concern for environmental pollution went well with the ideal of exclusivity. In May 1989, a writer in *Business Traveller A/P* claimed that “at present Phuket delicately balances remarkable natural beauty and the man-made comforts with which to enjoy it. But if there is much more building the scales will be tipped irretrievably on the side of environmental pollution.” In this quote, pollution was connected to the proliferation of buildings, which symbolizes the onslaught of a large-scale tourism industry. The writer was not striving to be alone with nature; “man-made comforts” were desired but they needed to be controlled and limited. The delicate balance between the beauty of nature and comfort was typical for the kind of tourism depicted in *Business Traveller A/P* and *RES*, although, as the quotation shows, this was a problematic and sensitive ideal.

Luxury tourism was imagined to merge with the local surroundings in a way that the vulgarity of mass tourism was unable to. In an article in *Business Traveller A/P* about the Amandari resort on Bali, the writer claimed that the resort

is not the Bali of Kuta Beach, more paralytic than paradisiac, that has led many critics to wonder whether the island’s position as a major crossroad will one day bury its unique culture beneath a pile of beer cans and fast-food wrappers. If one conceives of a resort that draws so faithfully on local design precepts that its relationship with its surroundings is almost organic, it would be difficult to surpass Amandari, a sybaritic new retreat set in Ubud’s gently sloping rice country some 20km from the

sea. Modelled by Australian architect Peter Muller on a traditional Balinese village and using similar materials and construction techniques, Amandari [...] is as much a community – albeit a privileged one – as a hotel. Accommodation is in 30 walled pavilions whose thatched roofs are indistinguishable from those that early risers see floating on the morning mists above the nearby rice terraces (December 1989).

The writer placed emphasis on the design features of the resort and the cherished combination of “the palatial and the simple,” that was repeated in later texts about resorts, as I have described above. The writer also used the word organic to define the relation between the resort and the local, a word connoting naturalness. However, the word “almost” marked out the difference that ultimately existed between the exclusive resort and the nearby village. The exclusivity of the resort was established in the beginning of the article, in which the guest is given a bottle of Moët. In contrast, mass tourism was imagined to be destroying both the environment and the culture of Bali. The beer cans and fast-food wrappers, as physical waste, are bad for the environment but their presence on Bali was also a cultural and aesthetic affront.

A similar claim that up-market tourism is better for the destination was made in an article about spa hotels in *Business Traveller A/P* in 2002 (mentioned above). The writer argued that Koh Samui had become a destination for the “spa set,” challenging the island’s reputation as a place for backpackers. Being a spa tourist thus became an identity, separate from other types of tourism (the writer of course plays with the notion of the jet set). While backpackers partied in the sun, drank beer, and lay lazily on the beach, the spa set drank herbal tea and did yoga. The writer’s argument that spa tourism was better was supported by the natural setting of the island, which together with Thailand’s heritage of massage was, according to the writer, perfect for spa tourism. This argument was also reinforced by the writer’s recurrent emphasis on the naturalness of spa tourism, in contrast to the interests of the backpackers that implicitly did not fit into the island’s nature or history. Belonging to the “spa set” was hence another way of constructing a distinction from other groups of tourists by arguing for a specific lifestyle, as described by Bourdieu. The spa set was not only imagined to be more sophisticated than backpackers, the writer also claimed that they represented a form of tourism more suited to Thailand.

Discussing designed authenticity as a form of justification can be related to the previous discussion about design hotels and new kinds of luxury. Just as with the design hotels, where luxury was justified by taste, in the spa resorts luxury was justified by being associated with the natural, simple, and traditional. Nature especially connotes simplicity rather than opulence. Designed authenticity is a justification of luxury in more than one way. The closeness to the local, traditional, and natural makes luxury tasteful while it is also imagined to be environmentally friendly.

The resorts and spa hotels were often depicted as empty spaces where the privileged tourist could be alone with nature. They could also be empty in the same way as the airport in Gradvall's article mentioned in Chapter 3, by being emptied of particularities. The local was sometimes reduced to being a design feature. As mentioned in the introduction, Thurlow and Jaworski write about the use of emptiness in advertisements for high-end tourism destinations, and claim that this is an expression of colonial desires to gain mastery over the territory. An empty beach evokes the colonial fantasy of appropriating virgin lands.²⁸⁵ However, in the magazines of my study, emptiness was recurrent, not just in the images of beaches and resorts but also in bars and restaurants. Emptiness was also inherent in minimalism, the international style of the design hotels, and in the uncluttered covers of the magazines. In my material, emptiness thus had a wider significance than that of colonial exploration and appropriation. The empty bars in the metropolis, such as the terrace at the luxury hotel Mandarin Oriental in Barcelona, on the cover of *RES* March/April 2011, symbolized the ultimate in style and luxury, the orderly, stylized, and aesthetically clean.

Place and authenticity in the lifestyle magazine

What I have described by using the term designed authenticity is a specific juxtaposition of the local, seen as authentic, natural, original, stable, traditional, and harmonious, and the designed, symbolizing luxury, exclusivity, style, and comfort. This was already evident in *Business Traveller A/P* in the late 1980s and in *RES* during the 2000s. The unproblematic restyling of the natural was intimately

285. Thurlow and Jaworski 2010, p. 204.

connected to the genre of the lifestyle magazine. Instead of being conceived as inauthentic, a designed nature was perceived as enhanced rather than contrived.

A parallel can be drawn between David Machin's theories about image banks and their impact on the use of photography, mentioned in the discussion about the aesthetic style of the cover images, and the kinds of representations evidenced in the articles about resort hotels and other similar destinations. The construction of authenticity in the lifestyle magazine differs from how authenticity has traditionally been constructed in travel writing and tourism. Designed authenticity means that the desire for authenticity no longer refers to a naturalistic truth but a reality that is malleable and consciously constructed, just like the photographic style of the cover images and photos in image banks. Designed authenticity strives to evoke a desire for relaxation and harmony. The emphasis on harmony in the articles about local places refers to the same desire for cleanliness and order that the cover images express through the dominance of the color blue. The clutter of the global world was countered by the uncluttered spaces that filled the pages of the magazines: the images of tranquil infinity pools and the empty bars of the design hotels evoked dreams of order and beauty as an escape from chaos. The spaces one could escape to were exclusive and the escape only temporary (or, as it probably was for many of the readers, unattainable as anything other than a fantasy). When it comes to the spa resorts, they also functioned as a retreat from the world because of the increased focus on the body. The spa resort as a locally grounded place became primarily a sensuous location to be experienced through the senses of the body.

The use of designed authenticity was, of course, also a result of the magazines' dependency on advertisers and the increased blurring between editorial content and advertising. Designed authenticity, just like the aesthetic style of the covers, was one example of how the editorial material of the magazines increasingly used the language, both visual and verbal, of advertising. Just like advertisements, designed authenticity strove to evoke desire and fantasy in the reader.

Around the same time as the magazines became lifestyle magazines, new discourses entered and demanded attention, such as environmentalism and feminism, both debated in the readers' letters in *Business Traveller A/P*. An article titled "The greening of Asia," published in August 1991, was one of the first in *Business Traveller A/P* in which environmentalism was the main theme of the text.

In the February issue of 1990, there was a reader's letter in *Business Traveller A/P* complaining about the magazine's uncritical attitude to tourism development. The reader asked: "Do travel writers believe in protecting the environment or are they too busy promoting the interests of hotel chains and businessmen? Each issue of your magazine suggests the latter." Environmental damage also became a topic in *RES*, and in October 2008 the magazine had a green issue solely devoted to environmentalism. This new topic challenged the lifestyle of the Cold War businessman constructed in *Business Traveller A/P*, and the leisurely life of the bon vivant of *RES*. The travel magazines' use of environmentalism can be compared to what Richard Ohmann says about women's magazines' attempts to "recuperate" feminism, for example, through the Fun, Fearless Female of *Cosmopolitan* that does nothing to challenge power relations.²⁸⁶

With this in mind, designed authenticity was also an answer to the discourse of environmentalism and incorporated that discourse into definitions of place coming from advertising. Environmentalism became interpreted as the harmonious connection between the built environment and nature, and this harmony was reserved for high-end tourism while environmental pollution was associated with the excesses of a vulgar mass tourism. The idea that high-end tourism with an emphasis on the visual harmony produced by design was better than mass tourism was mostly implicit but it was also occasionally discussed explicitly. The distinction between the "spa set" and the backpackers and mass tourists became a question of what kind of tourism was most environmentally friendly.

The need to escape was defined with reference to the demands of the global world. The local became a place in which the traveler could escape the pressures of the global. While the texts often expressed a traditional perspective on the ties between nature and culture and between a people and the place they inhabit, there were also destinations that were valued for being placeless, such as the retreat and the design hotel. Some places were problematic in their lack of the specific, such as Dubai, which was deemed uninteresting because it was not Arabic enough for the writer. It also became clearer that places served different needs related to the traveler; the resort became a specific place that catered to the implied reader's need to relax, in opposition to the global place.

286. Ohmann 1996, p. 360

Designed authenticity is the opposite of the ecological adaptation argument, since the authentic becomes explicitly constructed, while the primordial perspective expressed in ecological adaptation argument is a claim to the stability of places and the bond between culture and nature. Designed authenticity is connected to the transformation of the magazines into lifestyle publications, although the ideal of primordialism never disappeared. In the lifestyle magazine, primordialism was still used but was not the only way to deal with anxieties connected to globalization and the threat of homogenization. The opposite, a place that was lacking in history and specific characteristics, as some of the resorts were described, could also be used to escape the negative aspects of globalization. The use of a designed authenticity was a markedly different approach to authenticity, as it has been understood in travel magazines and in travel writing in general. What remained constant, however, was the role of the local place, regardless of how it was constructed, as an antidote to the global, cosmopolitan, and chaotic city.

5. THE EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN CITY AS GLOBAL METROPOLIS

Whereas resorts and spa hotels were constructed in the magazines as local places associated with tradition, stability, nature, and harmonious village life, global places were large cities defined by mobility and change. The necessary antipode of the harmonious local place was the bustling global location, the representation of which will be described in the following. First, however, I will define what globalization meant in *RES* and *Business Traveller*. On a very general level, much of what the magazines wrote about could be defined as relating to questions of globalization, especially as tourism itself is one of the ubiquitous aspects of globalization.²⁸⁷ However, the material can be narrowed down to texts that explicitly discuss globalization, and those in which globalization became a central theme. Some articles in *RES* discussed topics that can be said to fit very well into broader definitions of globalization. In the 1990s, there was a lengthy article about Latin America and the political and economic development of the continent. However, this political context was not related to globalization and the concept was not mentioned at all in the text. In the March issue of *RES* in 1994, there was an article about Asian immigrants in Paris that likewise could be said to deal with one of the central issues of globalization, but did not mention the concept. The same can, of course, be said about *Business Traveller A/P* since the overall theme of the magazine is international business travel.

In *Business Traveller A/P*, globalization was mentioned occasionally in the

²⁸⁷. MacCannell 1992, p. 2.

1990s but very rarely discussed at any length. An article in the March issue of 1993 mentioned globalization in a text about the airline business titled “Is bigger better?” The aim of the article was to explain how globalization tendencies in the airline industry would affect the reader. Globalization was interpreted as an economic force while the cultural aspects were only mentioned when the writer Nancy Cockerell wrote: “the confusing ownership structure of airlines is already starting to make it difficult for travellers to choose between airlines according to their traditional national identities. Will Qantas be less Australian now that British Airways is an important minority shareholder?” Global culture was referred to in passing in the editorial in the June issue of 1993, in a discussion about terrorism: “Terrorism is an ugly word anywhere but one increasingly dominating the global vocabulary.” Globalization became the topic for the first time at length in the editorial of June 1990. The editorial was titled “Is it a small world?” and Vergheze started with the question of cultural homogenization, claiming that the “more adventurous will fret as the world turns into a giant, homogenized hamburger,” before he discussed the ever popular topic of airlines. Just like the previously mentioned texts, this text had a clear emphasis on transnational companies and the implications globalization might have for the consumer. Vergheze wrote: “Global. That’s the buzzword these days. Go global. The war cry of neo-buccaneer think-biggers, the notion would appeal to one’s imagination were it not for the fact that the implications, not all positive, were destined for one’s wallet.” Globalization was most often associated with bigger companies and a world market, more often than it was interpreted as an aspect of the cultural sphere. The texts that mentioned globalization typically focused on how it would affect the reader economically, and it was not seen as wholly positive. Vergheze also commented on how airline mergers affected flight routes:

The new B747-400 flies delighted passengers nonstop halfway around the world but, in the hands of super-carriers, it will encourage the atrophy of intermediate-point services. Why? Simply because there is far more money in directly connecting large, high-yield markets than in operating milk runs [...] Globalization can bring the world together. It can also make things annoyingly distant.

I have chosen to focus on texts in which globalization discourses are thematized and employed by the writers, because of my interest in globalization as a discursive construction and as an identity resource. With this criterion, the texts that are chosen for analysis are almost exclusively texts about South/East Asian destinations. In *RES*, the only conspicuous exceptions to this rule are a few articles on the American dominance of the world market, represented by Coca-Cola bottles and the global brand of McDonald's, and a few articles about Dubai. Both *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P* published articles about metropolises such as New York, London, and Paris but the notion of globalization was not discussed in these texts. Articles about South/East Asia clearly marked a perceived shift in international relations. This shift was also discussed explicitly in the texts in both magazines, which I will explain further.

Traveling to a transforming South/East Asia

Among East Asian countries, the primary object of the writers' fantasies of globalization in *RES* was Japan, with China (and Hong Kong) as a close second. The political system and political aspects such as human rights violations influenced the image of China, even though this did not take a prominent place in the texts. When it comes to Southeast Asia, Thailand figured prominently, and this image was highly dependent on Thailand's position as a tourist destination with a large number of Swedish arrivals each year. Other countries that figured less prominently in the texts, but were incorporated into similar discourses, were Vietnam and South Korea and, to an even lesser degree, India. Since the analysis is not aimed at surveying the Swedish or Western image of South/East Asia as such, texts about South/East Asian countries that do not relate to globalization discourses have not been chosen for analysis.

In *Business Traveller A/P*, the Japanese had a special place as a dominant partner in world trade. The insider's guide for the December issue of 1983 was devoted to Japan and Tokyo, and the writer stated that "since the world is now on the threshold of a technological age which the Japanese – through their skills, team efforts and diligence – seem quite likely to dominate, it would seem vital that we make a special effort to understand them." The magazine also wrote much about Singapore (described as "the world's most modern city" in March 1997). China

and, to a less extent, Vietnam and Thailand, were covered as emerging markets.

When the writers of *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P* traveled to South/East Asia in the mid 1990s, it was in many ways a transformed, and transforming, region that they encountered. The latter part of the twentieth century saw some major shifts in many East Asian countries. Tokyo had been rebuilt into a global city within three decades, from the late 1960s to the early 1990s. In the late 1970s, China started its open-door policy, which opened up the country's economy. Shanghai was re-launched as a global city. In April 1990, the Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng announced that Shanghai was destined to become "the symbolic vision of China's future role in the global economy and a material site for accumulating capital."²⁸⁸ Around 1997, the continent was hit by a financial crisis, sometimes referred to as the Asian Financial Crisis or Asian Meltdown, which affected Asia particularly and which was triggered by the bursting economic bubble in Thailand.²⁸⁹

Business Traveller A/P was envisaged in the magazine to have come of age at the same time as parts of Asia became economic tigers, and consequently the Asian metropolis became a global phenomenon in the late twentieth century. This was also the time when Business Class on airplanes was established, as mentioned in a previous chapter, which helped to further establish the business traveler as a distinct identity. One development that was charted at length by the magazine was the rise of China. In the 1980s, China had recently opened up to business with the West but it was still seen as backwards and difficult to navigate for the traveler and businessperson. An article from May 1984 warned that the traveler who chose an organized tour to Canton could expect a "steady diet of revolution, martyrs' monuments and over-optimistic development." In June 1984, the magazine reported that in Beijing "Mao suits are still in, pollution is still out." The writer, Mark Minter, went on to write that "despite its gleaming new Western-style hotels and the English signs at the airport warning passengers to 'Keep Right on the Walkway,' it is basically a Communist outpost 'unpolluted,' as the hierarchy likes to say,

288. Tsung-Yi Michelle Huang, *Amidst Slums and Skyscrapers: The Politics of Walking and the Ideology of Open Space in East Asian Global Cities*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Stony Brook: SUNY at Stony Brook, 2001, p. 135.

289. Karin Bo Bergquist (ed.), *Images of Asia: Cultural Perspectives on a Changing Asia*, Copenhagen: Danish Center for Culture and Development, 2004, p. 17; John Flowerdew, "The Discursive Construction of a World-Class City," *Discourse and Society*, 5/15, 2008, pp. 579–605, p. 601.

by Western influences.” Likewise, in the March issue of 1988, there was an article about Shanghai that dwelled on the many problems facing the city, both from the perspective of the businessman and that of the tourist. With regard to business and tourism, Shanghai, and China as a whole, in the late 1980s was still described as being way behind the West.²⁹⁰

It was only later, around the early 1990s, that Asian destinations became touted as trendy and cool in *Business Traveller A/P*, and sometimes too successful from a Western perspective. In June 1993, one writer praised the transformation of Beijing:

China was a gruelling hardship post, on par with Abyssinia or Upper Volta. What a difference a decade makes. Beijing has become almost cosmopolitan, and quite liveable in its physical comforts, with a wide choice of good hotels, restaurants of many cuisines, English-language publications and international television via satellite. Where once shopping was restricted to cavernous government stores, now all consumer goods are available in this materialistic city, from local silks and crafts to brand-name cosmetics and cameras.

In *RES*, globalization was also mainly a question of economic development, especially in the texts about South/East Asian countries. The economic crisis in the late 1990s did not play a central role in the image of the affected countries portrayed by *RES*; they were invariably seen as examples of economic success. The reality of economic crisis was only occasionally mentioned and then often refuted, as I mentioned in the introduction. In a short text about Tokyo, the journalist wrote: “For over a decade Tokyo (and Japan) has been plagued by a recession that never ends. According to the news, that is. Wrong! Go out on the streets, enter the shops, see what’s being bought, look out at the structures that are being constructed, and discover that this is not a city that is falling apart” (Travel guide of the month, February 2003). A similar perspective was expressed in *Business*

290. In their study of the Western image of an economically successful and technologically advanced Japan, David Morley and Kevin Robins end their analysis by claiming that Japan has become less of a threat while the four tiger economies – Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, and Singapore – represent a new threat. Writing in 1995 (the book was reprinted in 2004), Morley and Robins did not mention the rise of China as a possible threat. Morley and Robins 2004 [1995], p. 173.

Traveller A/P in September 2000, in an article about Nagoya, when the writer claimed that “visitors expecting to find stark evidence of the recession instead find themselves caught up in a shopping frenzy.” The image of Japan as hard working and prosperous was often salvaged from a reality of economic recession by the writers’ references to shopping. In other words, the perception of South/East Asian economic success did not necessarily reflect any real economic trends.

At the same time, however, changing perceptions of South/East Asia were, even in the magazines, reflections of actual market relations, manifested for example by the changing images of South/East Asian consumer products and the associations that were made in connection with them. In the edited volume *Destination Branding*, Simon Anholt writes that Japanese products have moved from being perceived as “shoddy” to being trendy, and he concludes that this is the best example of what he calls a “brand turnaround.” He argues that “Japan has now become enviably synonymous with advanced technology, manufacturing quality, competitive pricing, even style and status.”²⁹¹ He also includes Japan in his list of “megabrand countries,” together with the U.S., Italy, and France. The changed image of Asian products affects the depiction of the region in travel writing as well, which I will return to later.

Hong Kong was also described through its economic success. In the March issue of *RES* in 1994, the foreign correspondent Agneta Engqvist wrote about Hong Kong and chronicled how the city was preparing for the Chinese takeover that took place three years later. While writing for *RES* in the 1990s, Engqvist was also employed as a foreign correspondent for *Dagens Industri* (*Today’s Industry*). Overall, the article, titled “Nedräkning” (“Countdown”), was a positive depiction of East Asian economic success. Engqvist was impressed by the rapid development and wrote that: “the tempo, the dynamism, and the new skyscrapers are the highest and the boldest” (March 1994). The inhabitants of Hong Kong were ambitious entrepreneurs and were characterized by their lack of envy about the success of others. All in all, Hong Kong was described as a city that represents the future.

This positive interpretation was repeated in many of the articles, but the economic boom could also be interpreted as negative. South/East Asian capitalism was, in various ways, described as being faulty and lacking. The most conspicuous

291. Anholt 2004, p. 35.

sign of the economic transitions in South/East Asian countries such as China and Japan was the construction of buildings, and it was used repeatedly in the articles as a metaphor of a development that was very rapid, even too rapid in many cases. This, in turn, was interpreted as a South/East Asian lack of nostalgia, which implied that old buildings were torn down because tradition was valued less than economic success. In an article about Vietnam in *RES*, the writer quoted a man who was unhappy about the development, and who said that “all the skyscrapers, office spaces, and luxury hotels that have cropped up [...] The exclusive boutiques. It has happened fast. Very fast [...] people haven’t adjusted to the economic changes [...] Vietnam is becoming Americanized [...] my countrymen cannot understand that the old can be beautiful.” Likewise, in an article about Shanghai, the journalist posed the question whether Shanghai “has lost its soul in its struggle to regain the position as the region’s most cosmopolitan city” (October 2003). Another article about Shanghai, from March 1995, was given the title “Ingen plats för nostalgia” (“No Place for Nostalgia”). The economic development was making Asian cities inauthentic, according to the travel writers.

In *Business Traveller A/P*, the difference of Asian capitalism was expressed in an article about Taiwan:

From its overtaxed infrastructure to its obsession with conspicuous consumption, the city of Taipei reels with the extremes and contradictions of its own overnight success. Fortunes are made and lost with a phone call, popular trends and culture come and go with dizzying speed and businesses open and close so fast it’s hard to keep track of the constantly mutating skyline. Here is Asia’s most vibrant boomtown – an unabashedly nouveaux riche, platinum-Rolux-meets-polyester-suit kind of place. After decades of hard work and frugality, Taiwan is enjoying the fruits of its labours and a new era of consumerism is in full swing (August 1992).

Despite the many differences between the magazines of my study, their relation to South/East Asia had many similarities. As is evident from this quotation, *Business Traveller A/P* also wrote about Asian capitalism as uncontrolled and too rapid, as well as symbolized by conspicuous consumerism and the erection of buildings, in particular skyscrapers. In the following sections, I will explore the construction of the Asian metropolis as an ambivalent place evoking fascination, condemnation, and fear. I will also write about the writers’ relation to Asians as consumers. The

analysis is then divided into one part that studies a specifically Swedish perspective of South/East Asia, and one part that explores further the relation to South/East Asia expressed in *Business Traveller A/P*.

Skyscrapers and traffic as symbols of wild capitalism

In *RES*, skyscrapers took on significance as symbols of an emerging Asia. The construction of Asian skyscrapers was repeatedly interpreted through metaphors that connote aggressiveness and a lack of control. In an article published in 1995, Shanghai was described as growing “wildly.” Likewise, in an article about Beijing (also called Peking), published in 1996, the writers claimed that the construction of office buildings and housing in the city was “furious.” Other words describing the construction boom were “raging” (July/August 1996) and “anarchistic” (Beijing, September 1996). A metaphor similar to that of the wild city was the metaphor of the organic city. In an article by Anders Rydell, Seoul was a “gigantic, soaking wet octopus” that the writer could not control (May 2007). In *Business Traveller A/P*, Bangkok was also described in almost organic terms when Darryl Pollard started an article by writing: “Sprawling, steaming, booming Bangkok” (December 1987).

Skyscrapers have long been a symbol of modernity and of American cities such as New York and Chicago. The building type was made possible by the industrial revolution and was the quintessential building of the twentieth century.²⁹² Eric Höweler, the author of *Skyscrapers: Vertical Now*, writes that skyscrapers are more than merely tall buildings. Skyscrapers are expressions of the aspiration to link earth and sky. Besides modernity, they also symbolize progress and economic development, and they are closely associated with capitalism and international business. They are also expensive, which means that the construction of skyscrapers is a sign of wealth and the concentration of finances. The skyscraper is the “visual logo” of global capitalism.²⁹³ Höweler also claims that “the skyscraper of today is no longer exclusively a North American phenomenon – the Asian skyscraper has, in some ways, outdone its predecessor”.

292. Eric Höweler, *Skyscrapers: Vertical Now*, New York: Universe Pub., 2003, p. 32.

293. Janet Ng, *Paradigm City: Space, Culture and Capitalism in Hong Kong*, Albany: SUNY Press, 2009, p. 141.

Furthermore, skyscrapers are inherently global because they require specialized expertise that cannot be found locally in Asia. Many Asian skyscrapers constructed in the early twenty-first century are the work of mainly Western, so-called starchitects, such as Sir Norman Foster. Skyscrapers are thus a highly visible symbol of globalization in many different ways, while local conditions and traditions are often incorporated into their aesthetics. The Petronas Towers in Kuala Lumpur, constructed in 1998, translate the geometry and profile of a traditional Islamic minaret into a contemporary office building. According to Höweler, the Petronas Towers signaled a shift in the construction of skyscrapers from North America to Asia. It was declared the tallest building in the world when it was built and “placed Kuala Lumpur in the global collective consciousness.”²⁹⁴ In a similar manner, the Jin Mao Tower in Shanghai, constructed in 1994 to 1998, declared the emergence of China as a superpower. Tall buildings as a symbol of economic success were also described in *Business Traveller A/P*: “you just need to take a glance at Bangkok’s skyline. Ten years ago the 22-storey Dusit Thani Hotel was the city’s only real high-rise building; today there are soaring office blocks, condominiums, department stores and luxury hotels in whichever direction you look” (December 1987).²⁹⁵

In *RES*, the symbolic presence of skyscrapers and the representation of South/East Asian capitalism as uncontrollable were conveyed visually, as well as in writing. The most common image that accompanied the articles about the South/East Asian metropolis was an aerial image depicting a panoramic view of the city center. Pictures such as these were used on the first pages of the article and were often allowed to cover a whole spread, so that the urban sprawl stretched out over the pages and was portrayed in all its vastness. Images further into the article could be a mix between depictions of the typical and exotic, and the global. An image of a Buddhist monk in Bangkok or a sumo wrestler in Tokyo could be placed next to the image of a gleaming white shopping mall. The initial image, however, which sets the tone for the article, was exclusively the panoramic city photo. Sometimes

294. Höweler 2003, p. 24.

295. Because of the different emphasis of the two magazines, the writers of *RES* took slightly more interest in the so-called signature buildings, while in *Business Traveller A/P* the writers also commented on the construction of new office blocks.

the reader got closer to the city so that the chaos of traffic, mixed with the huge crowds, was clearly visible, and in one article about Bangkok the reader was even placed on street level in the initial image, which was a blurry photo showing two pairs of legs and the wheel of a car (October 1997). The aerial shot emphasized vastness while the street view connoted chaos, but no matter how close or how faraway the city was to the viewer, the general impression conveyed was that of vastness, chaos, and constant movement.

Besides the conspicuous skyscrapers, transportation and traffic became recurrent objects when the photographic gaze of *RES* loomed over the new global metropolis, for example, a traffic jam on a nighttime street in Taipei or a sea of bicycles in Shanghai. An article titled “Bangkok Express” was illustrated by an image of a speedy skytrain (December 2006). The train is placed in the center of the image, located over a congested highway, and towering over it is a gleaming complex of glass skyscrapers that reflects the sky. The threatening placelessness of globalization inherent in the many pictures of highways and traffic jams could be lessened by making sure that there was a clearly visible symbol of the exotic included in the image, most often a street sign with non-Western characters.

Most images of the global metropolis displayed specificities that make it possible to identify the destination. An article from December/January 2000/2001 called “Kokpunkt Bangkok” (“Boiling Point Bangkok”) was illustrated by an image of Yawaraj Road in the Chinatown of Bangkok, which covered the whole spread. The picture is panoramic but is nonetheless so close to the street that the reader can identify signs both in Chinese and in Thai, as well as details such as bar signs and street vendors. The reader was presented with a distancing bird’s-eye view, but one that also expressed presence in a particular place. However, a few of the images were constructed to display placelessness. An article about Tokyo, illustrated by the typical panoramic spread depicting the city, exemplifies the truly placeless (June 1999). The city was shot at such distance that very few individual buildings were identifiable and there were no landmark buildings in sight. The title of the article, “96 timmar i Tokyo” (“96 hours in Tokyo”), was in small print and discreetly placed in the upper right corner, which was unusual. Rather than illustrating Tokyo, the image depicted an anonymous metropolis. The impression of placelessness was further enhanced by the fact that the image is in grainy black and white. The image of the skytrain in Bangkok, mentioned above, was another

example of placeless images. Even though the reader came much closer to the city in this image, in comparison to the picture of Tokyo, there are no visible place markers. In the center of the image, painted on the side of the skytrain, are the faces of a young man and woman with Western features. These two images are, however, exceptions. Other pictures that illustrated the articles about South/East Asia demonstrated the balance that must be upheld between the fascination with the non-places of global modernity and the need to present something local, specific, and exotic.

In *Business Traveller A/P*, the writers assigned much symbolic power to traffic and traffic jams. Traffic was an annoying but necessary consequence of development. In September 1993, one writer wrote: “Glance down Jakarta’s traffic-snarled Jalan MH Thamrin towards the high-rise concrete office towers springing up, and you get a sense of the city’s increasing prosperity.” Another writer drew parallels between the traffic and the economic success of Taiwan:

Motorcycles roar down sidewalks, cars belligerently cut each other up and no one pays any heed to signs or signals. Aggressive and undisciplined, Taipei’s point-and-go traffic is like the socio-economic beat of Taiwan itself – a suitable metaphor for the forces driving the island’s economic miracle (May 1993).

Chaos was emphasized in the editorial of March 1993:

Bangkok has grown. Despite the hurly-burly of coups, riots and more coups, it has grown so fast over the past few years that any casual visitor to the city can be forgiven for losing his bearings in the ubiquitous concrete. Huge unfinished raised highways snake around town to link who knows what with who knows where and buildings continue to sprout.

In this quotation the development was once again described as chaotic, organic and the city as impossible to navigate.

Traffic could also be interpreted as expressing the energy and entrepreneurial spirit of Asia: “You only have to step out of your hotel into the rush of Hondas and Suzukis that engulfs Saigon’s streets from morning to night to fathom that 17 years of socialism have not dampened Saigon’s energy one iota. Give it 10 more years and those little *motos* will have metamorphosed into Toyotas” (January 1993). The writers often began their articles with a traffic scene that was used to interpret

the country. Susan Vumback Low started her article about Bangkok with a traffic scene and then wrote that:

The city's traffic jams are legend and this is a scene anyone will witness innumerable times, yet one that is indicative of the state of Thailand as a whole. Although the country has undergone the sort of rapid industrialization that's the envy of many a developing country, there are numerous aspects of Thai society – education and social, for example – that hark back to a pre-industrial age (May 1995).

Traffic congestion was a metaphor but it was also an actual consequence of economic success.

Traffic jams also symbolized a specific dilemma for the Asian tigers that had to transform their economies in order to keep growing. In the June issue of that year, Mark Roberti wrote that

it is perhaps the horrific traffic in Seoul that is the best metaphor for the country's dilemma: prosperity has brought its inevitable problems. Most Seoul residents spend an hour or two each morning, Monday through Saturday, crawling into the downtown area from the huge blocks of flats that line the roads on the outskirts of town. The same economic prosperity that has brought traffic to a standstill brought an economic slowdown in the beginning of the Nineties.

Traffic jams were a symbol, as well as a literal reality, of economic success and dynamism, but they also symbolized the chaotic, as in *RES*, and the disorganized, deficient nature of non-Western capitalism that was impressive but also too rapid and uncontrolled. Finally, traffic could also be a symbol of the blend of modern and traditional. In Bangkok, traffic combined the very modern “shiny new BMWs and Mercedes” and the chaotic represented by “the three-wheeled tuk-tuks and the overcrowded buses” (May 1995).

Just as in *RES*, the South/East Asian metropolis was repeatedly described as both dynamic and chaotic, even though Tokyo was the exception. In an article about Seoul, the writer claimed that:

Foreign eyes are as awed by Seoul's potent chemistry to produce, consume, and grow as they are repelled by its chaotic aspects: the grimy back alleys, shabby housing, traffic nightmares, pollution and, above all, the crowds [...] As an Asian

city, it invites comparison with regional capitals such as Tokyo, whose heart ticks with quartz-timed precision and order (March 1985).

In Chapter 2, I mentioned that travel writing makes use of wider cultural trends in the depiction of destinations. A contemporary pop-cultural example that bears striking similarity to the image of the South/East Asian metropolis, especially Tokyo, in *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P*, is the depiction of Los Angeles in the film *Blade Runner* from 1982. In the dystopian film, Los Angeles has become distinctly Asiatic, expressed, among other things, through the constant presence of a huge billboard featuring the image of a geisha. The cities of the magazines were much less dark and sinister but still had their threats. A central similarity is the uncontrollable and chaotic nature of the metropolis, and the problematic fusion of East and West. In the early 1980s, the images in *Blade Runner* expressed Western cultural anxieties about the superior technology and economic growth of Japan.²⁹⁶

Alert entrepreneurs and money-crazed citizens in the construction of the global metropolis

In their narratives about the globalized metropolis the writers of *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P* placed much emphasis on the average citizens. In her 2001 dissertation on the myths of globalization in Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Tokyo, Tsung-Yi Michelle Huang emphasizes how the Asian global metropolis is a conscious construction brought about by the governing elite in order to attract global capital.²⁹⁷ According to Huang, due to the reorganizing of space that follows on the arrival of global capital in these cities, ordinary citizens have been forced to move away from the city centers and into the cramped housing of the suburbs. Huang claims that the workings of global capital destabilize and restrict the life space of ordinary citizens, thus colliding with the myth of globalization with its promise of vast vistas of open space and unrestricted mobility. It also collides with two central myths in *RES*, the idea of South/East Asian capitalism as wild and

²⁹⁶. Morley and Robins 2004 [1995], p. 169.

²⁹⁷. Huang 2001, p. 138.

organic, and the idea of the capitalist fervor of the average citizen as the driving force behind the growing metropolis.

The idea that global capitalism in South/East Asia is fueled by the money-crazed citizens, who in their wild chase for business success display a complete lack of nostalgia, neglected the struggle over space between the ordinary citizens and the governing elite within South/East Asian societies. But it also hid the travel writers' complicity in the reorganization of space. The destruction of age-old housing in the city centers of the South/East Asian metropolises and the construction of skyscrapers did not only cater to the needs of international businessmen but also to those of tourists. The writers were thus in fact lamenting a process that was in part carried out for their own benefit. In *Concrete Reveries: Consciousness and the City*, Mark Kingwell argues that the, often Western, architects create the chaos in the construction boom of Shanghai.²⁹⁸ While insisting on representing the South/East Asian building boom as anarchistic and the cities as organic, the writers of *RES* neglected the fact that this development was the consequence of a highly conscious effort of the governing elite to launch their cities as global metropolises.

To disregard the perspective of the inhabitants was also a way of appropriating the cities by positioning oneself as the true interpreter of the place; only the travel writer could experience the metropolis correctly and appreciate the correct balance between tradition and modernity. Furthermore, it turned the cities into a spectacle for visual consumption because the nostalgia of the travel writers was focused on the disappearing *sight* of the old buildings and not on their everyday function as housing. Only one article titled "Byggplats Peking" ("Construction Site Peking"), written by Göran Leijonhufvud, acknowledged the perspective of the ordinary citizens in the reordering of the city. In the first part of the text, Leijonhufvud focused on the typical visual perspective by quoting two Chinese architects that deplored the destruction of the old city center from an aesthetic point of view, but he also described the experience of the inhabitants who, he wrote, would be uncomfortable living in a suburban high-rise. This short article was, however, an exception.

According to the writers of *RES*, the deplorable lack of nostalgia was expressed both on a societal and individual level. The inhabitants' participation in

298. Kingwell 2008, p. 99.

economic change was another way in which Asian capitalism was perceived as problematic. Asians were described as being fixated with making money. There was a certain ambiguity here as some writers argued that the economy was driven by the ambitious inhabitants while others argued that it was the economic boom that had had a profound impact on the individuals. Under the heading “Korrespondenten” (“The Correspondent”), Göran Leijonhufvud wrote a one-page article about Taiwan, titled “Var och en sin egen chef” (“Each and Everyone is His Own Boss”), (May 1996). Leijonhufvud claimed that in Taiwan the housing speculation was “feverish” and the middle class was “rapidly growing.” The feverish economy was reflected in the Taiwanese when the writer claimed that everyone in Taiwan wanted to be his or her own boss. The writer exemplified this claim with Wei-Hsin, a middle-aged family man who was working for one of Taiwan’s cable TV-channels. When the writer met him, he was overly excited, and the reason for this was the crisis between China and Taiwan. The crisis had put Taiwan in the spotlight and Wei-Hsin was using the opportunity to make money by acting as a “fixer” for foreign journalists. According to the writer, this was due to Wei-Hsin’s constant preoccupation with business opportunities. Wei-Hsin saw “dollar signs in every situation” which, Leijonhufvud continued, was a spirit that “seeps through the whole island.” Taiwan was thus described as a place where every individual, as well as society as a whole, was obsessed with money. However, the writer refrained from expressing any explicit moral indignation over this.

Similar to both Leijonhufvud’s article about Taiwan and Agneta Engqvist’s articles about Hong Kong (mentioned above), was the claim that a feverish capitalism was saturating the societies of Hong Kong and Taiwan, and that the individual inhabitants embodied this rapid and problematic capitalism. In the article about Taiwan, Wei-Hsin was described as extremely business-minded, but the writer made it clear that he was just one telling example in a country where everybody strove to own their own business. Likewise in the articles about Hong Kong, to be business-minded became a common Chinese characteristic. This was also expressed in an article about Bangkok in which the writer marveled over the “Asian eagerness” that was displayed by a woman he encountered. He wrote: “it might be a stereotypical image, but the strong Asian drive really shines through in her” (October 1997).

The image of Taipei as wild was expressed in *Business Traveller A/P*, in an article

from May 1993: “In fact, much of Taipei’s interest is in laissez-faire economics and wild west atmosphere rather than its ‘sights.’ It is this frantic, go-for-broke spirit in the way the Taiwanese do business, eat and drink and even drive their cars that makes Taipei so fascinating.” In both magazines, the writers vacillated between a positive description of the South/East Asians as alert entrepreneurs and describing them as being overly eager for an economic development that was too rapid. These two opposing views could be present in the same article.

The notion of Asians as efficient entrepreneurs was repeatedly associated with crowds. The image of Tokyo was ambivalent on this account; the city was described as being both chaotic and extremely organized, and sometimes these two images were juxtaposed in the same article. Lindskog wrote that:

crowds in Tokyo are a collective dance. It is a movement that is beyond the will of the individual. No one pushes. Everyone walks fast, just as fast. No one is running [...] Despite the fact that everyone is moving in different directions they all have a common goal – efficiency (June 1999).

In this passage, the movement of the Japanese was associated with the writer’s arguments about the economic production – the economic success was described as a consequence of this Japanese efficiency.

The description of crowds in travel writing is interesting in the context of economic production as well as in the context of a Western image of Asia, since crowds can be assigned very different meanings. In economically unsuccessful countries, crowds can be interpreted as chaotic and disorganized while in successful ones they are a sign of efficiency and a dynamic movement forward.²⁹⁹ As the above-mentioned article about Tokyo shows, the extreme crowds could signify both a lack of individuality and the economic strength of the countries. The crowds in

299. I have observed this in my analysis of the Swedish family magazine *Allers* from 1914 in which the travel writer Holger Rosenberg described a round-the-world-trip. In Asian countries, the masses symbolized the chaos, dirt, and incomprehensibility of the mysterious East, yet when Rosenberg reached New York the masses symbolized a dynamic movement forward. Emilia Ljungberg, “Nittio år av äventyr: Resejournalistik från 1914, 1915, 1956 och 2004”, unpublished undergraduate thesis, Department of Comparative Literature, Lund University, 2005, p. 17. A colonial “fear of society in the mass” and “the monstrous aggregation of human beings [...] both swarming Orientals and working-class hordes” is noted by John Barrell, quoted in Loomba 2005 [1998], p. 118.

Tokyo could be interpreted as an example of the rigidity of Japanese society. In addition, crowds were used as a sign of the enormity and chaos of one of the largest metropolitan areas in the world, but also as an image of success; just like the economic production, the crowds never stopped moving toward a common goal.

The image of the anonymous South/East Asian masses and individuals without individuality is well known in Western representations of Asia. In *RES*, this tradition was preserved while it was also reinterpreted. The crowds were viewed as a sign of the masses moving toward a common goal that was held higher than the individual. Lindskog's article about the well-orchestrated crowds in the Tokyo subway, where no one pushes, is a good example of this interpretation. At the same time, the goal that the crowds were moving toward was economic progress, and this also presupposed a degree of individuality and individual achievement. In Engqvist's articles about Hong Kong, the Chinese displayed an almost extreme individualism. The image of entrepreneurial individualism and the masses was united in the idea of South/East Asian efficiency, for instance, expressed in an article by Mårten Blomkvist from the January/February issue of 1997, when the crowds in Hong Kong were filled with office workers who were hurrying off with their beepers and cell phones. Thus, the South/East Asian masses of the late twentieth and the early twenty-first century were filled with business-minded individuals who were constantly working, both for their own personal benefit and for the greater good of the economy. In Lindskog's article, as well as in other texts, it is clear that this was a cause of anxiety for the European observer, evoking fears of not being able to keep up.

Blomkvist's article from January/February 1997, with the title "Var verkligan Noel Coward här?" ("Was Noel Coward Really Here?"), was based on the notion that the economic boom would change or had changed the relations between East and West. The article centered on the British Handover, the transfer of sovereignty that took place in July 1997, and how this would affect Hong Kong. Blomkvist jokingly questioned his own nostalgic feelings about the British Empire, and visited various places that functioned as reminders of British rule, such as "The Noon Day Gun" and a police museum. He concluded that these had become mere relics. Again, the theme was that Asians lacked nostalgia, but in this article this lack was more explicitly used to interpret the relation between East and West, because of the focus on colonialism. The writer claimed that "the British belong

to the history of Hong Kong and history is not a main interest here,” implicitly evoking the fear of being left behind.

As I mentioned, Blomkvist also chose to use the image of the entrepreneurial South/East Asian and also the image of the Asian masses to reinforce the idea of the business-minded inhabitants: “the streets of Hong Kong are oceans of white shirts, worn by efficient Asians that all look like they just stepped out of a skyscraper and are now hurrying off for a short lunch. Beepers and cell phones – many of them are carrying both – are making a constant noise.” With this efficiency, the East Asians were not only leaving the era of European colonialism behind, they were also creating their own claims to superiority. Blomkvist wrote:

there have been speculations about whether China should keep Hong Kong as some sort of colony. Someone has pointed out that it would mean that the world would get a colonial power that is less developed than the colony. In some areas this seems already to be true when it comes to Great Britain and Hong Kong.

The changing relations between Hong Kong and the British (which in the article also represented Europe as a whole), was due to three aspects: the handover of the crown colony to China that symbolized even the nominal end of the colonial era, the lack of colonial nostalgia on the part of the East Asians, and their economic success.

Although this representation of the East as a place of reckless capitalism might be seen as specific to late twentieth-century travel narratives, it is possible to point to early colonial discourses as a precedent. When commenting on the early colonial discourse about India and, more generally, the Islamic East, Ania Loomba writes that the Western image of this region differed fundamentally from that of, for example, the Americas. While the Americas were constructed as primitive, “the East” was constructed as degenerate and barbaric. The wealth of the Ottoman and Mughal territories inspired an envious “account of Oriental greed.” In relation to the East, the Europeans created “an alternative version of savagery understood not as a lack of civilisation but as an excess of it, as decadence rather than primitivism.”³⁰⁰ The superior wealth of the Eastern rulers led to this image of excessive civilization.

300. Loomba 2005 [1998], p. 95

The Asian consumers

The economic success of South/East Asian countries was presented as a cause of concern for Europeans, mostly in *RES*. This success was chiefly symbolized by skyscrapers and hurried businessmen, but the travel writers' anxieties could also be directed at consumer goods and consumer patterns. In an article from *RES* in 2008, the changed relation between Europe and South/East Asia was made clear by the revealing headline of the text "Designed in China," the implicit contrast being, of course, the familiar label "Made in China," which carries strong associations of cheap products. The writer encouraged the reader to "forget markets with fake goods, DVD sellers and cheap knickknacks. Come along on a tour of connoisseur shopping through the charming design district of Shanghai" (March 2008). Even though in the article South/East Asians were producers as well as consumers, the objects produced were not office buildings but consumer goods such as clothes, and it was the fact that these goods were no longer characterized by being mass-produced and cheap that marked the difference according to the journalist. The word "design" connotes originality and, the journalist wrote, in the design shops one should not try to haggle. Haggling would often be met by "a smile and a 'sorry, this is of top quality.'"

In his article about Tokyo from June 1999, Johan Lindskog commented on the consumer patterns of the Japanese customers. The article, written by Lindskog before he became the editor, marks the beginning of the magazine's attention to Tokyo as a trendsetting metropolis. Lindskog lightheartedly compared himself with the Swedes who immigrated to the U.S. in the nineteenth century. While he cannot claim to be an explorer of virgin territory, otherwise a popular position in travel writing, he nonetheless takes it upon himself to present the city as the new global metropolis to the readers as if he was one of the first to experience it.

Lindskog, who described Tokyo as the future, marveled over the intensity and commercialism of the city in which "everything is being sold, all of the time. Tokyo never takes a break." The intensity and production of Tokyo was the cause of inferiority for the European writer. He wrote:

suddenly it is I who am old, conservative, left behind. My money has no value. My knowledge is not sought after. I am merely a relic from a world that they don't care about. Nobody wants me. They just look at me and then they return to their lives,

their production, their superiority. It is a very unfamiliar experience for a middle-class European (June 1999).

The Japanese were superior also in their consumption. Lindskog quoted a friend who said that:

the American chains have difficulties in Japan. They can't keep up. [...] young Japan gets tired fast and demands something new. McDonald's has a problem because it has a rigid concept on a market that demands constant change. [...] The giant has been forced down on its knees and it [McDonald's] has hired special chefs to cook up the most imaginative hamburgers, one after the other. Everything to satisfy the most demanding market in the world.

Hence, one of the most typical symbols of Western capitalism, McDonald's, has had to change its concept to cater for the Japanese market. Furthermore, it was the Japanese market that had come to symbolize the constant craving for novelties that characterizes capitalist consumption.

India was also described as being transformed by a globalized consumer culture. In an article from October 1998, the journalist Jan Gradvall argued for a perspective on Indians as arbiters of consumer trends. His explicit argument was that when Westerners appropriated Indian culture through trends, Indian culture became more equal to Western culture. In the article "Tandoori Power – Indien, Indien, överallt Indien ("Tandoori Power – India, India, Everywhere India"), he argued that the late 1990s' focus on India as trendy differed from the appropriations of India by Western culture in the late 1960s/early 1970s. The types of tourists that went to India then were interested in "meditation and Hindu non-materialism." According to the writer, this type of tourism gave a prejudiced image of India as "a poor, backward country where the true traveler (not the tourist!) could go to meditate." The new types of Westerners that were interested in India as a trendy country were attracted to such things as "music, fashion, make-up, literature, fabrics, and interior design." Gradvall wrote that the fashionable India travelers of today "step out into the Indian throng to – shop and have fun" and through these activities India would increasingly be perceived as "one of the most modern and creative countries in the world." The article is interesting because of the emphasis placed on consumption and the explicit argument that

the appropriation of pop-culture trends will create a greater understanding of a foreign culture. It also made a clear definition of whom the reader should identify with, i.e. the trendy tourist as opposed to the prejudiced hippie, or “true traveler.”

A sense of equality and similarity could also be evoked by Asian participation in tourist activities. In December 2007, Johan Lindskog wrote about a design hotel on Koh Samui, Thailand, that provided an interesting intermingling of places. Lindskog wrote that the style of the hotel (which was owned by a Thai) was more reminiscent of New York than of Koh Samui, which gave him “mixed emotions.” For Lindskog, the presence of a design hotel on the beach of a Thai island evoked a discussion about authenticity and place in tourism, but it also induced questions about the relation between Europe and Asia. For Lindskog, The Library, as the hotel was called, was in one way highly inauthentic. It was designed in a style reminiscent of a Western metropolis, a style that failed to fulfill the expectations the tourist had of Koh Samui, while it was also associated with the homogenization of globalization. However, Lindskog also thought the hotel was more authentic than traditional tourist representations of Thailand. Lindskog claimed that symbols of Thailand such as Singha beer and bamboo were inauthentic precisely because they had become tourism symbols and were therefore interpreted as stereotypical clichés.

According to Lindskog, hotels such as The Library represented a new world order in which Asia was the future. Thus, even though the hotel was striking, it was more than a mere anomaly – it was a vision of a future in the making. Lindskog wrote: “this is modern Asia, where the international and hypermodern is interpreted by a Thai who is sick and tired of Singha and bamboo. He wants white concrete and vodka tonic.” Furthermore, it was not only the owner who represented a new hypermodern Asia. The guests at the hotel were “mostly Asians themselves, on weekend breaks from Hong Kong and Singapore” who were relaxing by the pool and “reading magazines through their Tom Ford glasses.” Lindskog concluded by writing: “It is a new world order and this is what it looks like.” Lindskog identified the Asians at the hotel, both the owner and the guests, as equals because of their participation in tourism and by their adherence to a specific style. It was debated in the article but in the end Lindskog decided that white concrete, vodka tonic, and Tom Ford were more “international and hypermodern” than specifically Western.

As I have mentioned, the economic boom, often exemplified by the construction of large buildings, could be a cause of distress for the writers that worried over a faulty Asian capitalism, but it could also be perceived as positive. Consumption was likewise dealt with in an ambivalent manner. It could be used as a positive point of identification in which Europeans and Asians were perceived as equals through a shared culture of consumption. But consumption could also be problematic, which was exemplified most explicitly in an article in the June issue of 2007. The text started with the story of a Swedish couple on holiday in Kuala Lumpur who visited a Dior store in order to purchase a pair of shoes. However, they were unable to attract the attention of the shop assistants because a large group of Japanese tourists had entered the store at the same time. The Swedes described their discomfort when they discovered that they were considered second-rate customers because they were Europeans. The title of the article was “Europa – lyxens sweatshop” (“Europe – the Sweatshop of Luxury”), and the writer claimed that in the 2000s European luxury goods were produced in Europe but increasingly consumed in Asia. He wrote that due to the economic boom there was a growing market for luxury items in Asia, and the utmost sign of wealth for the newly rich Asians was European products and brands such as Versace, Gucci, and Dior.

The ideas expressed in the article are also interesting from a perspective on the connection between brands and places that is offered in the volume *Destination Branding*, mentioned in the introductory chapter. The luxury items have a special value because they are European. They are connected to a particular “Europeanness” that connotes style and affluence. Thus, brands such as Dior, Gucci, and Versace are highly place-bound, but when the products are bought in Asia they are appropriated in a foreign context, and separated from their place of origin. Hence, for the writer in *RES*, Europeans have lost their grip on a Europeanness that can be bought and sold freely, and even changed ever so slightly to fit the tastes of Asian consumers. What bothered the writer was not only the fact that Asians were outdoing Europeans in consumption, the act of buying, but also that what they were able to buy was something that was associated with a European identity of superiority. The continuing value of Europe as a brand that signals wealth and high quality meant that in the global consumer culture depicted in the article an elusive Europeanness was stronger than the actual spending power of Europeans.

When the writer claimed that Europe was the “sweatshop of luxury” he was not imagining actual sweatshops with exploited workers producing material goods, but a sweatshop producing *signs* of luxury.

The South/East Asian metropolis as a global future

The themes of production and consumption both incorporated another dominant topic in the texts about economically successful South/East Asian countries, which was the description of these nations as the future. Countries such as Japan and China were expected to become even more dominant economically, as well as more influential with regard to popular culture and consumption. In a short text about Tokyo in *RES* in February 2003, the journalist wrote that: “Tokyo is a laboratory, a constantly ongoing experiment that will show us where the future is heading.” The notion of South/East Asia as the future evoked just as much ambivalence as the themes mentioned above. In a text in *RES* about art galleries in various cities around the world, the writer described Tokyo as a “utopian futuristic (bad) dream” (Transit, March 2002). By placing the word “bad” in brackets, the writer made it an open question whether the notion of Tokyo as the future was positive or negative.

In connection with the idea that South/East Asia represented a global future, one of the recurrent metaphors was youth. South/East Asian cultures were seen as being younger than Western cultures. The depiction of both South/East Asia and South/East Asians as young clashed with an older tradition in European representations of the continent in which it has instead been described as old because of its ancient civilizations.³⁰¹ In the May issue of *RES* 2007, Anders Rydell traveled to South Korea and Seoul, which he described as “the world’s most modern city.” In Seoul, Rydell claimed, “the shops never close,” and the inhabitants of South Korea were avid Internet users. According to Rydell, the intensity of the commerce and use of communication technology were signs of modernity, and both were associated with youth.

Just like Tokyo, Seoul was described as being chaotic and overwhelming. It was a “gigantic octopus” that refused to form a natural center. The vastness of the

301. Anholt 2004, p. 27.

city was intimately connected to technology. The city swept away the writer on “a digital wave [...] beyond time and space” and the air was “red and yellow as if it were electrified.” The chaos and the overwhelming nature of Seoul was jokingly compared to older images of Asia, in a manner similar to how Gradvall compared an older and newer way to appropriate India. Rydell wrote that Seoul was where the world-weary cynics and seekers of the digital generation went, just as Western seekers previously went to India, and whereas before one could escape the world in a Chinese opium den, the traveler could now disappear into the digital confusion of Seoul and succumb to media overexposure. The writer was playing with well-entrenched ideas of South/East Asia as a chaotic and dangerous place where the Western traveler was engulfed. The difference was that now this was the result of technology. The emphasis on technology in Rydell’s article about Seoul is similar to what Morley and Robins call “techno-Orientalism” to describe how high technology is used to assert the difference between Japan and the West.³⁰²

The dominant role of technology in Seoul was associated with the young, but it was when the writer described Sunchin, a part of Seoul, that age became central. In Sunchin, the streets were “bathed in pink youth.” Neighborhoods such as Sunchin were “playgrounds for millions of young South Koreans” and represented “the very young, glossy soul of Seoul.” The youth of Seoul was also implicitly connected to femininity. The foremost symbol of Sunchin was the teenage girls that giggled and flirted with the writer. The giggles of the girls became a symbol for the whole city when Rydell wrote: “Seoul giggles – constantly.” This use of youth as a metaphor occurred as well in Lindskog’s article about Japan from 1999. He wrote: “Youth culture in Japan is very young. The entirety of modern Japan is a young phenomenon [...] Tokyo is a very childish city.” In addition, Lindskog also used the image of the giggling city, in connection with youth and flirting, when he wrote that Tokyo was a city that giggled and flirted. The recurring metaphor of flirting, with its associations of innocent, playful sexuality, established a sexual relation between the cities and the writers, and in relation to the male travel writers (Anders Rydell and Johan Lindskog) Tokyo and Seoul were implicitly (and in the case of Rydell also explicitly) coded as feminine.

In his book about the image of Japan in American popular culture, Ian Little-

302. Morley and Robins 2004, p. 170.

wood writes at length about the conventional image of the Japanese woman, and about the geisha as being the most iconic representation of Japanese femininity. Like so many other exotic and faraway locations, especially in the Pacific, Japan is repeatedly thought of as a land of licentious sexual freedom for the (male) Western traveler to indulge in. Japanese women are accordingly imagined to be sexually available. However, as Littlewood explains, in the representations of Japan, this dream of the sexually liberated natives is combined with the more specific fantasies attached to the geisha as the epitome of servile, diminutive, and dependent femininity. The geisha is imagined to be a woman highly skilled in the art of love, but she is also somewhat paradoxically imagined to be a naïve, shy, and innocent child. Her childlike features, her short stature and delicate limbs, are emphasized in relation to the Western man. In Littlewood's analysis, the geisha as a dependent child-woman is more than just a sexual fantasy, she is also the embodiment of Japan, and the fantasy of possessing the geisha is also a desire to possess Japan.

Lindskog's assertion that Japan was a childish and flirtatious city and Rydell's encounter with the coquettish teenagers in Seoul could be placed within this historical context of Western depictions of Japanese (and more generally Asian) femininity. In Rydell's text, the giggling girls embodied the giggling city, and their combination of childishness and sexuality was emphasized in the description of Sunchin as a pink "playground" in which the most popular playful activity was dating. The Asian Lolita as a modern-day geisha was also present in Japan, but Lindskog gave it a much more negative interpretation by contrasting a sexist Japan where young women were made up "as little girls, but wearing the clothes of a prostitute," with a Sweden where, he claimed, men readily do household chores. Likewise, in another article about Tokyo the writer, Johanna Swanberg, claimed that the childish style of Tokyo should not be interpreted as a sign of innocence. She wrote: "The city might be as cute as can be ["gullifierad"], but it really is not sweet. There is nothing innocent about Tokyo" (September 2006).

According to Littlewood, the subservient and desirable geisha faded into the background as Japan became more powerful. The lack of superiority, felt by the European writers in relation to South/East Asian metropolises, could be an explanation why the image of the flirty and available Asian girls was not more common in *RES*, and why for Lindskog, among other writers, the sexual display

of Asian women was deplorable rather than desirable. In general, the writers in *RES* rejected the possibilities of pleasure inherent in the eroticized symbol of the Asian Lolita and geisha. In *RES*, youth was so persistently associated with superiority, for example, manifested by a technological knowhow and trendiness that the South/East Asian teenagers possessed and the European writers lacked. Youth – of both the individuals and the countries – was more often associated with this superiority than with sexual availability or dependency. Ultimately, the young represented the future.

Swedish writers in the South/East Asian metropolis: An analysis of *RES*

In the construction of a cosmopolitan traveler, nationality was downplayed and supposedly emptied of meaning. In *RES*, nationality was rarely mentioned but, at the same time, the home culture of the writers was, of course, always the implicit norm against which they measured the foreign. This home could be defined as Sweden, Europe, or the West, and the identity of the writers could shift between being Swedish or being European or Western, depending on the context.³⁰³ When the origins of the writers were mentioned explicitly, the Swedish identity carried slightly different connotations from the broader European identity, and could be used to make the contrasts between the West and Asia seem even clearer.

In Agneta Engqvist's previously cited article about Hong Kong from 1994, titled "Nedräkning" ("Countdown"), the nationality of the writer (and the readers) was mentioned and given a specific meaning. Despite the title of the article, the main theme of the text was not the transfer of the sovereignty of Hong Kong, but the contrast between the rich and the poor. Hong Kong was, according to the writer, a city full of contradictions. Some of the high-rise buildings that were "shimmering in white and gold" made even Manhattan look dirty and old-fashioned, but they stood in contrast to the extremely dirty slums. However, the writer explained, few people other than Swedes reacted strongly to this extreme polarization of rich and poor: "the Chinese themselves see the opportunities. The

303. Amanda Lagerkvist makes a similar argument in her dissertation *Amerikafantasier*. Lagerkvist 2005, p. 126.

city is teeming with millionaires and billionaires.” Even though Sweden was not mentioned more than in the previously cited quote, it continued to be present as a comparison when Engqvist went on to write that in Hong Kong “there is no social security, but neither are there any significant taxes.” The Chinese were impressed by “the three M’s: money, Mercedes, and mobile phones.” The moral aspects of the writer’s arguments were obvious and Sweden’s role as a land of social justice and equality was emphasized in comparison to the glaring inequality of Hong Kong. In his thesis on Swedish tourism advertising, Klas Grinell writes about how a Swedish national identity has been associated with modernity. He quotes Arne Ruth who argues that this modernity is characterized by the notion of Sweden as a country that has created a rare combination of “security, freedom, and equality in a modern industrial society.”³⁰⁴ Hong Kong became the opposite of the writer’s country of origin, where the negative aspects of capitalism were supposedly cushioned by the political system and by the solidarity felt by the inhabitants.

This juxtaposition of Asian injustice and Swedish sentiments of equality could also concern gender roles. In his article about Tokyo from June 1999, mentioned above, Johan Lindskog exposed what he saw as clear differences in gender equality through conversations between himself, his girlfriend Anika, and Yumiko, a young Japanese woman. Lindskog wrote:

Yumiko is confounded over the fact that a man knows how to use a vacuum cleaner. At first she thinks that Anika is lying. But Anika tells her that I iron as well. And do the dishes. And the laundry. Yumiko looks at us with bewildered eyes. She can’t believe it’s true. Really? Then she looks at me. – But what about you? Your pride?

As I mentioned before, in Tokyo there were also young women dressed up as little girls “but wearing the clothes of a prostitute.” According to Lindskog, this “Lolita porn-style,” which he found deplorable, was the dominant fashion trend in Japan.

The specifically Swedish perspective that was sometimes mentioned explicitly in *RES* can be compared to what Amanda Lagerkvist describes as the Linnaean gaze. In her 2005 dissertation *Amerikafantasier*, Lagerkvist studies Swedish images of the U.S. from 1945 to 1963, and describes various versions of a specifically Swedish gaze in travel writing. One such type of scrutiny is the Linnaean gaze, the gaze

304. Arne Ruth, “Det moderna Sveriges myter,” quoted in Grinell 2004, p. 30.

of the natural scientist who experiences the foreign with distance and rationality. According to Lagerkvist, the Linnaean gaze constitutes a Swedish tradition of constructing an elevated and neutral position that stands outside of the world.³⁰⁵ This specific gaze is also a claim to innocence in that it is supposedly purely scientific and therefore lacks any imperial ambitions. For the Swedish Linnaean gaze, this separation of imperialism and scientific pursuits is strengthened by the fact that Sweden was largely unsuccessful in colonizing the non-European world.

The perspective of the writers in *RES* was far from the scientific rationality associated with the Linnaean gaze, but what they shared with this gaze were the claims to innocence connected to a specific Swedish identity. In *RES*, the writers could withdraw from their Europeanness in order to claim a more innocent Swedish position when this was desired. Engqvist wrote that Hong Kong was the city that proved Kipling wrong; East and West can meet but, she continued, she was sometimes “the target of Chinese coolness or peevishness,” despite the fact that she “has nothing to do with the British manner of superiority” (May 1994). Her own position might not be one of elevated neutrality but one of innocence and social righteousness.

Mårten Blomkvist claimed a similar position in his article about Hong Kong (referred to above), published in January/February 1997. As he was writing only a few months before the British handover, the transfer of the sovereignty of Hong Kong to China that took place on July 1 that year, this was naturally the theme of the article. As I mentioned, Blomkvist jokingly questioned his own feelings about the demise of the British Empire, which implicitly represented European superiority in general. Blomkvist could take a European viewpoint and construct a European “us” in relation to the “them” of Hong Kong. He wrote, for example, “In Europe we have a tendency to regard houses as being fairly stable. We think that it’s a complex business to build them, we contemplate it carefully before we get to it, and imagine that the result will stand for decades to come.” In Hong Kong, the writer explained, this was not the case. He is also writing from the perspective of a European in his constant evoking of the British Empire, one who was uncertain about whether or not he could express nostalgic sentiments about the era of colonialism. The colonial world that was rapidly disappearing was somehow

305. Lagerkvist 2005, p. 105.

familiar in contrast to the new global Hong Kong of booming capitalism and gleaming skyscrapers.

Simultaneously, he was not British and could therefore afford to effortlessly distance himself from the Empire when needed. Just as for Engqvist, the innocent nature of the Swedish gaze allowed Blomkvist to withdraw from any problematic aspects of a European heritage of colonialism by emphasizing that this was more specifically British heritage. Hence, when the nationality of the writers in *RES* was mentioned explicitly, as a position of innocence, it was often used to mark a clearer distance to both colonial history and contemporary inequalities of South/East Asia than what could be achieved with a European identity. The representation of South/East Asian capitalism, consumer patterns, and the construction of skyscrapers in *RES* was, of course, an image of South/East Asia that was infused with European and Swedish anxieties and desires. It was thus in equal measure an image of Europe and Sweden that was constructed.

Colonial nostalgia and commercial sex in the businessman's South/East Asia: An analysis of *Business Traveller Asia/Pacific*

As I have mentioned briefly in the chapter on the identity of the implied reader, in its early years of publication *Business Traveller A/P* gave a lot of attention to prostitution. I have chosen to place the further analysis of this topic in this chapter on the depiction of South/East Asia because the relation between the businessman and the Asian sex worker was central to the magazine's image of South/East Asia. This is significant because it was connected to perceptions of Asian femininity but also to nostalgic longings for a colonial Asian past, which will be explored further later in this chapter.

Although in the 1980s the sex trade was practically always mentioned in the longer articles about a destination, as I mentioned in Chapter 3, it was often disregarded in Western locations such as Poland, Berlin, Frankfurt, and London while it was given much more attention and approval in Asian destinations, in particular Bangkok and Manila. The prostitutes of London were dismissed as "either very expensive or very sordid" (January 1985). The sex trade in Asian cities was sometimes the exclusive object of an article. A writer calling himself O.D.

Carruthers compared the scenes in Bangkok and Manila in an article titled “A Bar Crawler’s Manifesto,” where he provided the reader with a detailed guide to the red-light districts of Manila and Bangkok (November 1983). He wrote, among other things, that: “prices for drinks and the companion to go with them are reversed in Manila from Bangkok; drinks are cheap and ladies – comparatively speaking – are not.” The sex trade was also given attention in articles that were not about a specific destination but on situations such as how to avoid embarrassment when bringing a paid companion to one’s hotel, and the safety issues of doing so.

Articles about the South/East Asian sex trade were often aimed at providing both a titillating view of the exotic and erotic delights of the East as well as a practical guide. An article in the February issue of 1985, under the section heading “Leisure,” was titled “It takes a seasoned approach now to buy ‘spring’ in Japan,” and informed the reader on how to take part in the Japanese sex trade by detailing the different establishments, the prices to be expected, and useful phone numbers. Likewise, an article in the July issue of 1983, again written by O.D. Carruthers, was titled “The Best Rub in Bangkok” and was a detailed guide to the massage parlors in the Thai capital. For the November issue of 1984, the cover story was a lengthy comparison between the services offered in Bangkok and Singapore. In the early 1980s, the sex trade was often described in the same meticulous and detailed way that the writers described hotels and airports, listing the various services provided and the prices. In one article about Singapore, the writer even included the “billy boys,” transvestite prostitutes. However, besides this brief mention of transvestite sex workers, the prostitute was almost always a South/East Asian woman.

The magazine’s interest in the sex trade was not without controversy. During the 1980s and 1990s, it was repeatedly discussed in the readers’ letters, sometimes criticized and questioned and sometimes applauded by the readership. A female reader wrote: “As a recent female tourist to Bangkok I was quite offended by the blatant promotion by legitimate magazines such as *Business Traveller* and the Thai government of prostitution for foreign businessmen and male tourists [...] As a businessperson, I will also never purchase another one of your magazines” (October 1983). Another reader claimed that if the magazine were to refrain from reporting on the sex trade, it would “result in a massive flow of subscription cancellations” (August 1985). The reader Graham U. Johnson from Manila claimed: “after hours’ information is both interesting and, I am sure, often useful” (October 1985). One

reader, Clifford Hocking from Melbourne, suggested that a “fleshpots” section “would be an enjoyable feature occasionally – where the action is and the tourist traps to avoid” (September 1986). Even though the sex trade was not as popular a topic as the so-called travel gripes, i.e. complaints about the service of airlines and hotels, it was discussed repeatedly throughout the 1980s.

Even in the late 1980s, after the relaunch and when there were fewer articles about commercial sex, there were complaints from readers about the references to the sex trade. In the January issue of 1989, a Ferdinand Mauser from Japan complained that the magazine was underestimating the target audience. He wrote:

You wrongly assume that the typical business traveller is under 35 years, oversexed and under-educated. That image is an insult when applied to most travellers I see and regularly talk to on business and first class Pacific flights. Most of us are middle-aged and older, well educated family men. Contrary to what you may think, we are not preoccupied with whoring around and fast living [...] Pictures of red light districts as leadings to your article, quotes with the word Sodom, as in your October issue, are sorry indeed.

Interestingly, Mauser associates the sex trade with a specific group of travelers and argues that the business traveler does not belong to this group. In the March issue of the same year, another traveler wrote to the magazine to defend the publication of articles mentioning the sex trade and describing these articles as being “light and entertaining.”

In the 1990s, many of the articles, especially those about nightlife in Bangkok or Manila, explicitly distanced themselves from the red-light districts. An article in the October issue of 1992 was titled “Stalled at the red lights?” and the writer started by writing: “Believe it or not, Bangkok nights aren’t solely devoted to the flesh.” Despite this explicit aim to present something other than Patpong, the article was illustrated by a large, red-tinted picture of a bikini clad “Patpong bar girl” blowing a kiss at the reader. Further into the article was a smaller picture of two scantily clad dancers on a stage. Likewise, an article about Manila claimed that the city’s nightlife offered more than the famed red-light district of Ermita, but the writer still began the text with references to the girlie bars. The article was also illustrated by a large, red-tinted picture of four women in bikinis dancing on a stage. Most of the articles that intended to inform the reader about alternatives

to the red-light districts were illustrated by pictures of go-go dancers.

Even in the late 1980s and in the 1990s, the magazine still published texts about the sex trade, for example, massage parlors were occasionally mentioned in the destination reports, but it did not command the space it had before the relaunch of the magazine in 1988. A titillating article from July 1990 about prostitutes in Taipei hotels claimed that “Taiwanese women are renowned for their charms, and those who ply them for a living abound in Taipei’s busy hotels.” The sex trade could also be mentioned in passing. In an article about Vietnam, the writer presented a destination by writing: “Halong Bay is definitely a daytime place, though karaoke bars and other nightspots are lively during summer months. There’s even a glittery massage parlour behind one of the main hotels” (February 1993). Information about prostitution was often mentioned briefly toward the end of the longer articles, which hints at discretion. In an article about Shanghai, the writer concluded by writing: “Shanghai’s cruisers are notably more glamorously attired than the average local women. Many approach prospective clients by asking for a dance” (August 1991). In December 1996, the writer ended an article about Kaohsiung, Taiwan, by writing: “few streets seem to be without barbers’ shops. For those not in the know, if the windows are open to view and people are getting their hair cut within, it’s a hairdresser’s. Otherwise, and the tell-tale sign is a particularly festive barber’s pole, you’re in for a less conventional close shave.” The tone was humorous and noncommittal. It was up to the reader whether the information was meant to target potential clients or those who strove to avoid it, or if it was perhaps just meant to entertain. In an article from March 2002 about Saigon, however, prostitution was removed from any association with entertainment and harmless fun when it was placed under the title Safety and mentioned together with drug dealers and drug users.

At the end of the 1980s, there were also a few nostalgic articles about the demise of the sex trade. In the April issue of 1989, John Hoskin wrote wistfully about Wanchai, the infamous bar district of Hong Kong, in an article titled “Goodbye Susie Wong.” He wrote: “The true Wanchai was never a physical entity; it was an atmosphere, a flavour, a sense of seediness.” In the 1990s, however, the sex trade was increasingly berated and criticized. Toward the mid to late 1990s, the information about massage parlors and escort services that was a common part of destination reports before had all but disappeared. The disappearance of

the sex industry from the pages of *Business Traveller A/P* was connected to the general change of identity in the magazine. As I mentioned in the third chapter, the identity of the businessman changed from being a postcolonial playboy to a modern man, and the businesswoman became more visible in the magazine. Furthermore, the magazine itself transformed from being “the businessman’s tome” as one reader described it, to a stylish lifestyle magazine. Articles about the sex industry became unsuitable.

Casual colonial nostalgia

From the early 1980s, when *Business Traveller A/P* began publication, to the end of the Cold War period and to the end of the 2000s, Asia as well as the rest of the world changed in fundamental ways. In the early 1980s, Hong Kong was still a British colony, the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc still existed, the Philippines was ruled by Ferdinand Marcos and China had just opened up to business with the West. Japan had yet to be plagued by a major economic crisis. It was still possible to presume that the business traveler was a man. There was no discussion about environmentalism and the impact of jet travel, and globalization was never mentioned. Even though one of the writers contends that the British Empire was “defunct,” the worldview of *Business Traveller A/P* in the early years was very much formed by a culture associated with the colonial elite and with colonial privilege. South/East Asia was a region where this could be played out.

In the early 1980s, nostalgia for colonial times was prevalent in *Business Traveller A/P*. Hong Kong was repeatedly referred to as the Colony (June 1982). Colonialism was sometimes mentioned in a casual and humorous manner, as in an article with the title “Who Were Asia’s Best Colonisers?” (December 1982). The colonial era was imagined as a time of adventure. The colonial adventurer was best embodied by the writer Donald Wise, who chronicled many of his adventurous travels in colonial Asia. In the June issue of 1983, he wrote about his memories of traveling on the Malayan Railway during the Malayan Emergency (1948–1960), the conflict between the colonial authorities and the Communist guerrillas in Malaysia. In the July issue of the same year, he “captures the spirit of adventurous travel as he recalls his epic journey through the historic Suez Canal.” In the November issue of 1983, he “recalls long-gone days of the Raj, when dreams were sweet but

reality often harsher.” The article, titled “Privileged Days when a Chap Didn’t Have to Dress Himself,” began with the experience of being dressed by a servant. The travel writer was sometimes walking in the footsteps of the colonial elite, traveling to destinations they had established. In an article about Malaysia, the writer claimed that breaking away from Kuala Lumpur “is nothing new – people here have been doing it for over a century [...] it was the British who built the hill stations in Malaysia more than a century ago” (August 1984). This is comparable to what Tim Edensor writes in *Tourism at the Taj*, about how the same buildings that were constructed for colonial officials are now used by the tourist industry.³⁰⁶

The character of the business traveler is a distant relative to the postimperial English gentleman abroad that Holland and Huggan find in their analysis of British postwar travel writers such as Eric Newby. The postimperial gentleman is nostalgic about “Empire” but expresses it through self-deprecating humor and amateurism. By using parody, it becomes possible to relive the glories of imperialism. Holland and Huggan write: “Reading at times almost like an inventory of Orientalist myths, the narrative is suffused with affectionate memories of Britain’s civilizing mission in the East.”³⁰⁷ The writers of *Business Traveller A/P* have their causal and romanticizing perspective on colonialism in common with the post-imperial gentleman. Another British character that provides a more pertinent comparison, however, is James Bond. According to geographer Jason Dittmer, James Bond embodies a British Cold War fantasy, in which the demise of the empire is ignored, and the presence of Britain in exotic non-Western places continues to be essential. Dittmer even points out that “when Bond is undercover he often travels as a salesman, the conceit being that British businessmen overseas are so natural, so expected, that he can go anywhere in the world and not seem unusual.”³⁰⁸ In *Business Traveller A/P*, the Cold War identity of the business traveler was comfortable, providing meaning to the role of the business traveler in the world and his relation to Asia.

There was a constant presence of what might be best described as casual colonial

306. Edensor 1998, p. 152.

307. Holland and Huggan 2000 [1998], p. 34.

308. Jason Dittmer, *Popular Culture, Geopolitics and Identity*, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010, p. 63.

nostalgia in the magazine. Colonialism and the colonial era did not occupy a central place in the articles but it was repeatedly mentioned and very rarely in a negative sense. Colonialism served as a frame of reference and, in its capacity as a long-gone historical era, as something perceived as authentic in the same manner as the traditional and the local. In an article about Ipoh, the writer expressed a nostalgic attitude to the town's colonial past:

for a feeling of old Ipoh, take a taxi to the playing field, where local cricketers sweat on Sunday outside the Ipoh Club. Along one side is the rickety FMS bar and restaurant (2 Jalan Sultan Idris Shah; tel: 540591), the only part of the old FMS (Federal Malay States) hotel still open. Bills still bear the road's old name – Jalan Brewster – and shortly after opening time at 10am staff assume Westerners want beer or whisky. The place is rich with atmosphere; swing half-doors open onto the street and air conditioning has not replaced the wall fans.

As the quotation exemplifies, casual colonial nostalgia was not a political statement in support of colonial administration; it was rather an attitude of longing attached to symbols of a British presence in Asia.

Colonialism was also a style, often architectural, that the writers, as well as the readers, could comment on favorably. Another way to connect to the historical was to make reference to a well-known writer that was associated both with adventurous travel and with a specific historical period. The author most frequently referred to in *Business Traveller A/P* was Joseph Conrad. In an article about traveling by boat on the Chao Phya, the writer made ample use of Joseph Conrad as a link to the past, for instance when he wrote: "I didn't come face-to-face with the ghost of Joseph Conrad at the Oriental, but I did feel some of his excitement as his ship edged its way up-river and he saw Bangkok for the first time" (November 1988). He even stayed at the luxurious Joseph Conrad suite at the Oriental.

There were also places that conjured memories of the colonial era, often destinations in India. Articles about hill stations almost always mentioned the days of the Raj. In an article about Bombay, the writer, Malavika Sanghvi, claimed that: "you can revel in nostalgia – in the days of the Raj – at places like the Yacht Club, the Gateway of India or the Victoria Terminus" (May 1985). An article about Tasman, in the September issue of 1993, was titled "Colonial Chic," but it was an article about Vietnam in the same issue that took the reminiscence of colon-

ialism furthest with its title “Forever France” (September 1993). An article about Malaysia, where the ambience of two hotels in the highlands “captures a bygone age,” was titled “The Raj revisited” (February 1990). An article about resorts in Sarawak was titled “The Last White Rajah” (June 1989).

Another way of referring to colonial history was to utilize old names that were no longer in use. Sri Lanka was repeatedly referred to as “Serendip” and the word Raj was continually used in articles about India and in texts in which the writer expressed nostalgia about colonial history. In the 1980s, there was a discussion on the letters pages about which names should be used, Peking or Beijing and Bombay or Mumbai. The magazine defended the use of the Westernized versions although a few years later the indigenized names were used widely. In September 1985, a writer used the name Canton, while the city was called Guangzhou in 1987. In the September issue of 1988, in an article about Guangzhou, the writer placed Canton in parentheses. In response to a reader that asked why the magazine still used the name Peking, the editor answered that “Peking has been the accepted English name of the Chinese capital for centuries [...] When Chinese speakers start saying ‘Washington’ and ‘Paris’ in conversation instead of ‘Huashengdun’ and ‘Bali,’ we will consider using Beijing” (August 1995).

The colonial past was even referred to in an article about environmentalism, to represent more innocent and romantic times in contrast to the harsh reality of the present. The writer claimed that: “The Asia of the late 20th century, however, is not that of Kipling, Conrad or Maugham. That haze above the city is less heat and dust than diesel fumes [...] the rivers are not pungent with rotting vegetation but choking from chemical pollution” (August 1991). Colonialism was often referred to as a part of Asian history. In an article about Penang from December 1988, the writer made a passing reference to colonial history when he wrote: “Tourists still bask on Penang’s Batu Ferringhi beach, but the island where Captain Francis Light founded a British trading post in 1786 is working hard to re-establish itself as a commercial centre after being long overshadowed by Singapore.” In this quotation, colonialism was not given any specific meaning or role to play in the text but was mentioned as merely a historical fact that placed the tourist destination in a historical frame that the writer and the readers understood. In an article from August 2000, about Cebu in the Philippines, the colonial history overshadowed any previous history when the writer said: “Start

where things began is the obvious advice. In Cebu, this means the spot on the shore that Miguel Lopez de Legazpi decided would be an ideal springboard from which to launch Spain's colonisation." European colonization was the beginning despite the fact that the writer had previously in the same text mentioned how Cebu was a significant pre-colonial center.

The writers could compare themselves with a colonial adventurer or explorer. In an article about the Kinabalu, the highest peak in Southeast Asia, the writer, Jane Hepburn, wrote:

Times have changed considerably since the early explorers were guided to the summit by local Kadazan people, who also carried up basket-loads of chicken to sacrifice to the spirits of their dead. Sir Hugh Low, a British colonial officer who made the first recorded climb in 1851, found getting to the mountain through dense jungle from the coast harder than the climb itself. [...] On the whole, we had an easier time of it than Sir Hugh (March 1988).

The colonial traveler became a reference that the contemporary writer could make use of in order to situate herself in a history of travel, but he was not mentioned again in the text. The colonial history of traveling in the region was not in any way the theme of the article, but merely something the writer made a casual reference to. This text also exemplifies that women writers could make reference to male colonial explorers just as easily as their male counterparts.

In the January/February issue of 2010, Margie T. Logarta used colonial history in a similar way when she wrote:

During the colonial times, word-of-mouth praise lured French soldiers from their distant outposts in Dien Bien Phu to the area for some well-earned R&R [...] Following in their footsteps in later years were those intrepid backpackers, the Lonely Planet generation, who kept the spirit of adventure alive, enjoying homestays in the traditional wooden stilt houses and spending their days trekking or biking through the countryside.

Tourism was imagined as following in the footsteps of colonial travel. The casual reference to "colonial times" further trivializes colonialism by neglecting the realities of anticolonial warfare otherwise associated with Dien Bien Phu. War is associated with the "spirit of adventure" that backpacker tourism continues.

Occasionally, the colonial reference was the main theme of the text, as exemplified by a text about an Indian hill station in which the writer dwelled on the remnants of the Empire. She visited a graveyard and wrote: "As I pass by, I wonder idly who remembers them, resting on the hillside above Ooty Lake" (September 1988). A reference to colonial travelers as predecessors could also be more mundane. In an article from November 1987 about the expatriate community in Kuala Lumpur, the writer described how life for the expats used to mimic that of older colonial elites: "expatriates had lived much in the style of the British estate managers or colonial officials. The men's bar at the old Selangor Club was the focus of social life (women were forbidden to enter it)." The articles in *Business Traveller A/P* used colonial history in a casual manner, but it was in an advertisement that these ideas could be expressed more directly. In an ad for Airlanka, the copy read: "Admit it. Deep in your soul there's a pompous colonial just dying to put on a safari suit and pith helmet and bark orders at the hired help" (*Business Traveller* U.K. edition April 1999).

The flight attendant and the go-go girl as representations of Asia

The relation between the business traveler and Asian women as it was constructed in the editorial material of *Business Traveller A/P*, in texts and images, was mirrored in the advertisements for Thai Airways and Korean Air. In the 1980s, both companies made reference to the myth of Asian hospitality as something rooted in a specifically national character. Thai and Korean women were depicted as the bearers of an ancient, yet also somewhat paradoxically national, culture that was essential to the modern flagship carriers. This was shown in the advertisements by a combination of traditional and modern. In an advertisement for Thai Airways published in *Business Traveller A/P* in October 1985, a large picture shows an elderly woman and a child in a traditional Thai setting wearing traditional clothes. The woman is teaching the girl how to perform the Thai greeting, *Wai*. In a much smaller picture, a young woman is showing the same gesture. The copy reads:

Centuries old traditions are still handed down from generation to generation in Thailand. A perfect example is the Thai greeting of Wai. It is made with hands clasped together, head bowed as if in prayer, indicating respect and a willingness to serve others. Passengers of Thai are greeted with this same graceful gesture as they are welcomed on board. And it is this natural aptitude for hospitality which has made Thai's Royal Orchid Service the envy of every other airline.

The ads for Korean Air used the same combination of the traditional and the modern, and the same claim that traditional, as well as implicitly natural, characteristics of the nation's women were essential to the service onboard. The images depicted women wearing traditional clothes and occupied with customary chores. The traditional Korean woman from the adverts is meticulous, graceful, and skilful, warm if perhaps "a little shy" (August 1985), as are the female flight attendants that are sometimes shown in the images. In both the advertisements for Thai Airways and Korean Air, it was the picture of traditional life that was emphasized by being much larger than the image of the modern equivalent. The ads tried to establish a close connection between the national spirit, the women as embodiments of tradition, and the flag carriers as the modern-day keepers of a national spirit.

It is also worth mentioning an advertisement by Royal Brunei that expressed the same idea of traditional hospitality personified by the young women working for the airline. The large image of the ad shows an air hostess serving a male passenger. The text read: "She may only be 23 years of age, but her training began centuries ago." The copy also mentioned "a rich heritage of gentle caring manners," typical of the Bruneian culture (*Business Traveller* U.K., February 1995).³⁰⁹

Flight attendants, portrayed as young, attractive, yet motherly and attentive women serving male customers, are the most common theme in airline advertising, but it is only in the ads for Asian companies that this close connection is made between women, tradition, and service. Even though it is never explicitly present

309. Another airline that is famous for using female flight attendants in its advertising is Singapore Airlines, which from 1972 has built a concept around the Singapore Girl as the "epitome of Asian grace and hospitality," according to the website of the company. http://www.singaporeair.com/en_UK/flying-with-us/singaporegirl/, accessed January 17, 2012.

in the text, the claim that Asian culture is naturally hospitable and courteous implies a Western culture in which there is no such tradition or in which such a tradition has been lost. The opposite of the Asian air hostess is the Western woman, representing Western society. These ads in which Asian women continued the traditions of their cultures also communicated that the companies retained their traditions and hence their connection to specific national characteristics despite being global businesses.³¹⁰

The casual colonial nostalgia expressed by the writers of *Business Traveller A/P* should also be connected to the relation between the male business traveler and South/East Asian women, or rather the myth of South/East Asian femininity that I detailed in the section on gender. Prostitution, as described in the magazine, was very much a part of the myth of the exotic and erotic East, and intimately associated with the colonial era. The sex trade was linked with the myth of Asia as wild, and associated with, for example, the image of Shanghai as the Paris of the Orient. In the article “On a Shanghai High,” the writer made extensive use of the myth of Shanghai, and the city was itself a prostitute:

In its glorious decades before the Second World War, Shanghai was the “Paris of the East,” “The Whore of Asia,” the richest, wildest, most decadent of the five China Coast Treaty Ports. Every sin, every delightful pleasure of the East was here: opium dens, brothels, casinos, jai alai stadiums, grey-hound and horse tracks (July 1994).

The sinfulness lay in the sheer plenitude of pleasures.

Several Western ideas about the Orient are reflected in the image of the beautiful and diminutive Asian woman. She is the accommodating air stewardess who embodies traditional Asian culture, i.e. she is inherently apt at giving service and, more implicitly, inherently subservient, trained throughout the centuries. At the other extreme stands the bar girl and go-go dancer who symbolizes the chaotic Asia, belonging to the same Asia where Auberon Waugh smoked opium. These two characters can be interpreted as being less of opposites and more of two sides

³¹⁰. Thurlow and Jaworski have commented on this dichotomy between the national and the global in connection with airlines in their article “Communicating a Global Reach: Inflight Magazines as a Globalizing Genre in Tourism”. Thurlow and Jaworski 2003.

of the same sexually available Asian woman, while also serving the function of marking out the difference of Asia. Returning to my arguments in Chapter 3, the image of Asia, and more specifically Asian women, functioned as a way to define the implied reader as a Western businessman enjoying exotic pleasures.

The ambivalent depictions of a transforming South/East Asia

East and Southeast Asia played a crucial role for both magazines, albeit in somewhat different ways and for different reasons. In *RES*, South/East Asia was already in the early 1990s the region where a new global world came into play. During the late 1990s and early 2000s, South/East Asia also came to symbolize the style and consumerism that was held high in *RES* as a lifestyle magazine. Tokyo became the very symbol of a global metropolis in the geographical imagination of *RES*, seemingly bypassing Western cities as the center of the global world. Asia as a new global leader was treated as a cause for much fascination but at the same time as a threat. The writers strove to create a global consumerist identity while they also expressed feelings of inferiority as Europeans. A superior European or Swedish identity was made use of when the writers criticized the rapid, chaotic, and cold-hearted Asian capitalism. South/East Asia thus embodied the threat of globalization as a lack of control.

In *Business Traveller A/P*, the role of Asia was drastically transformed during the period of the study. From the wild and exotic Asia where the business traveler could indulge in forbidden pleasures, for example, in the British colony of Hong Kong, Asia came instead to represent economic development, as it did in *RES*. This is significant for *Business Traveller A/P* in a more general sense since it was so fundamentally connected to the identity of the implied reader. It was in the relation to South/East Asian females that the business traveler was defined as a privileged white man. Even if the servile Asian woman, the air stewardess or the go-go dancer, never disappeared completely, she lost her central position in the world of *Business Traveller A/P*. The writers of *Business Traveller A/P* were on location when previously “closed” communist countries were opened up for business. The destination that changes the most in *Business Traveller A/P* is China, which goes from Mao uniforms to trendiness in around two decades.

When compared to other studies of similar material, the image provided in the two magazines challenged the traditional dichotomy of East and West. The changing Western relation to Asia in the late twentieth century has been described both by Killander-Braun in her thesis *På resa med Vagabond* and by David Morley and Kevin Robins in their book *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries*. Both studies comment on the question of an Asian modernity that challenges the West. Killander-Braun analyzes an article about Tokyo and one about Kuala Lumpur, and in these articles the Asian post-modern cities are flawed but also “ridiculous and tragic.”³¹¹ As opposed to the articles in my analysis, the texts studied by Killander-Braun present an image of Asia as being behind the West, and worn out rather than youthful. By discussing various Western media representations of mostly Japan, Morley and Robins point more toward Western reactions of inferiority and fear of a future ruled by the East. What they do not find, however, are those more positive reactions and a sense of identification through global consumer culture that the writers of both *Business Traveller A/P* and *RES* expressed. Their analyses do not take into account the expressions of fascination and awe that are evident in my material.

The response to the rise of the East, in my material, is ambivalent, containing both fear and enthrallment. This positive side of the discourse and the recognition of the supremacy of the Other are seldom acknowledged in postcolonial readings. And even less so the identification between the self and the “Other,” which is, however noncommittal and temporary, also present. The positive portrayal is to some extent due to the genre of travel journalism in which the destinations presented are described in a positive and inspiring mode; there is none of the darkness of a film like *Blade Runner* as an example. On the other hand, Killander-Braun finds a much more negative portrayal of Asian cities in her analysis of a travel magazine. Furthermore, *Business Traveller A/P*, as I have mentioned, could afford to have more negative depictions of destinations due to the emphasis on business travel.

The transformation of Asia was followed closely by the two magazines and became a part of how the magazines changed, one example being the changing identity of the business traveler. In *RES*, a transforming Asia became the location

311. Killander-Braun 2006, p. 53.

of a global consumerist identity celebrated by the lifestyle magazine. In the following chapter, I will summarize the main themes of the study and return to the issues relating to colonial discourses discussed above, among other themes.

GLOBAL LIFESTYLES AS ESCAPE ROUTES

Globalization discourses were utilized by the magazines in their construction of a tourist world that is exotic, harmonious, comfortable, and, increasingly over the years, stylish and luxurious. Globalization was presented as a largely positive development that needed to be safeguarded from terrorism, among other things, and tourism was the best way to ensure an open world. Seemingly paradoxically, the lifestyle magazine provided an escape from the world while engaging with the world. Especially in *RES* there was an increase in articles presenting design hotels and spa resorts as destinations in themselves. The local, specific, and traditional was often incorporated into, for example, the spa hotel through interior design details. Globalization discourses were used to understand the shifting power relations in South/East Asia that caused both fascination and anxiety. By studying *Business Traveller Asia/Pacific* and *RES* over a period of nearly thirty years, I have been able to show how they became lifestyle magazines and what this change implied. I have also shown how the concept of globalization was filled with meaning, as well as how the discourses around identities and places transformed.

In this concluding chapter, I will start by returning to the two magazines to further describe why they were chosen and how it has affected the conclusions that have been reached, i.e. the limitations and gains from choosing this material. I will also mention how they compare to other magazines and pop-culture products. Finally, I will provide a summary of what the analysis has resulted in and from that refer to the more general cultural discourses that the texts should be placed in.

I will also return to my critique of postcolonial theory, touched upon in the

introductory chapter, and how my reading differs from a conventional postcolonial analysis. As stated in the introduction, I first came to take an interest in travel writing because it made it possible to combine postcolonial studies with media studies. I therefore started with the perspectives of postcolonial studies. Through the analysis of the two magazines that have been chosen for the thesis, however, I have found that a conventional postcolonial discourse analysis, in which a text is studied to find a colonial discourse, has been insufficient by itself and that there are aspects of the material that, to some extent, contradict it. Later in this chapter, I outline the limitations but also the benefits of postcolonial analysis.

The magazines were chosen because they were quite dissimilar in the 1980s and 1990s while they later became much more alike in style, content, and general aesthetics. The many similarities between the magazines in the 2000s exemplify the global reach of the lifestyle genre, since the two publications are produced and consumed in different parts of the world. *RES* was chosen because it represents a specific Swedish perspective, mostly expressed implicitly but sometimes explicitly. The magazine presents a local outlook on the global, as becomes clear in the section on Swedish writers in South/East Asian metropolises. *Business Traveller A/P*, on the other hand, represents a much more international outlook, and increasingly so during the nearly thirty years of my study. Furthermore, *Business Traveller A/P* was directed at a more specific group of business travelers while *RES* targeted a less defined group of leisure travelers that was over time increasingly defined by lifestyle. However, as lifestyle magazines, the publications both defined the readership as discerning and aspirational consumers. It is because of this combination of differences and similarities that it is interesting to study them together and to compare how they transformed into lifestyle magazines.

Due to the transformation of the magazines into lifestyle magazines, travel became a lifestyle project aimed at relaxation and escape. The writers moved from being the tourist guides of the reader to primary travelers. The magazines addressed and defined the readers in new ways, and the construction of an implied reader grew more explicit. The magazines became highly stylized and ever more glossy publications. There was an increasing use of images, while the long lists toward the end of the magazines disappeared. The photographic images had less of a documentary function; they instead had the task of expressing an exclusive lifestyle. The photos could represent luxury that was not necessarily connected to

a foreign destination as such but were rather images of the good life in general. There was a progressive blurring of editorial material and advertising but even more significantly, the editorial content increasingly copied the style and aesthetic conventions of advertising so that the world view expressed in the magazines becomes similar to that which is expressed in advertising.

The two magazines were both quite high-end and targeted at an upper middle-class readership, even though *RES* did not have a well-defined profile in the early 1990s. What has been left out of this study are additional types of magazines or products of the tourism industry that single out other kinds of tourists, perhaps most notably the budget niche. By choosing to analyze these magazines during this particular period, the transformation into lifestyle magazines became obvious as both *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P* explicitly made use of notions of exclusivity and lifestyle, which are probably less notable in media products aimed at budget travelers.

The results would also have looked different had I chosen to study articles about, for example, African or Latin American destinations. Articles about these destinations often evoke more of a traditional colonial discourse. Africa, for instance, is often envisaged as being timeless or prehistoric, in stark contrast to the South/East Asian metropolises imagined to be the future.³¹² I have consciously chosen texts in which globalization discourses are used both explicitly and implicitly, and this excludes texts that adhere to a more traditional colonial narrative, with the exception of the texts in *Business Traveller A/P* expressing a colonial nostalgia in South/East Asia. This choice can be justified by the fact that earlier studies have made the opposite choice.³¹³

The discourses found in the magazines can be obtained in other pop-culture products as well, not least in advertising. The magazines have many similarities to the travel programs on TV studied by Anne Marit Waade.³¹⁴ These different media outlets express a common worldview and celebration of leisure travel. The world

312. Grinnell writes that Africa is positioned as the absolute opposite of modernity in Swedish travel advertising. Grinnell 2004, p. 31

313. I have referred to Killander-Braun's study of the magazine *Vagabond*, Simmons' study of travel magazines and Lutz and Collins' study of *National Geographic*, among others.

314. Waade 2006.

is presented as filled with exotic and exciting experiences. The magazines can also be compared to other journals, both travel publications such as the American magazine *Travel+Leisure* and other magazine genres. What the two magazines studied in this thesis have in common with, for example, *Travel+Leisure* is an emphasis on up-market travel, lifestyle, and style. I have also mentioned how the magazines give attention to a wider range of activities as they become lifestyle magazines, and in that way they become more similar to other genres of lifestyle publications, such as those that target a male or female readership.

RES is also comparable in style to design magazines through its stylish cover and spacious layout. I have pointed out a few times in the analysis that this distinguishes *RES* from magazines such as the Swedish *Vagabond* and the British *Wanderlust* that have a different type of layout, in particular the color red behind the logo of *Vagabond* and the profusion of cover lines, often in pastel shades on the cover. *RES* differs from most other travel magazines through the stylishness of its covers, including other luxury magazines such as *Condé Nast Traveler* and *Travel+Leisure* that have more conventionally styled front covers.

Choosing to study only two magazines influences the kinds of conclusions that can be drawn. A study that made use of more magazines would have been able to give a broader perspective of the genre of travel magazines, but it would have made it difficult to provide a comprehensive perspective on each magazine over a period of almost thirty years, as I have in my research. In this study, it is after all not travel and lifestyle magazines themselves that are the ultimate objects of analysis but the cultural patterns that they give expression to, and in particular their use of globalization discourses, and this necessitated a closer reading of the material.

Identities and places: A summary

Before returning to the critique of postcolonial analysis and some of the assumptions of tourism studies, I will summarize the results of the analysis and how the themes of the study can be read together. The presentation of the analysis has been divided into three themes, in the third, fourth, and fifth chapters, but these are combined in all three chapters. In the third chapter, the analysis concerns the question of identity and the implied reader. The implied reader has been

studied through an exploration of both explicit and implicit constructions made by the magazines, such as visual representations of the readers and the words that were repeatedly used to describe the readership. The fourth and fifth chapters are about different types of places, but the two issues of identities and places have been a constant concern throughout all of the chapters. Identities and places are inherently connected since tourism destinations are used to construct the identity of the implied reader. The implied reader was linked to a particular geographical order of local and global places.

Other related themes that are constant are the associated issues of luxury, class, and lifestyle. This is central to the identities of the implied reader since they are based on these themes. They are also central to the arguments about local places, resorts, and designed authenticity as these places are constructed to give the consumer an experience of luxury. It is furthermore a luxury that is inherently exclusive and not available to everyone. In *Business Traveller A/P* especially, these places are positioned in contrast to the culturally and environmentally destructive practices of vulgar mass tourism, and sometimes the backpacker tourism that preceded mass tourism. These themes hence tie together the third and fourth chapters, and are explored throughout the analysis.

The fifth chapter contains the case study in which South/East Asian metropolises are examined as global places. This is where postcolonial analysis is used most in the study, not least in the section on casual colonial nostalgia. This chapter is, however, connected to the fourth chapter because it is concerned with the construction of another type of place, the global metropolis, contrasted to the fourth chapter about local places. Identity, the overarching theme of the third chapter, also plays a role because the relation to South/East Asia raises questions of the cultural identity of the West, Europe, and more specifically Sweden. Here, the emphasis lies on a more general cultural identity rather than merely the identity of the implied reader.

In the interpretation of *Business Traveller A/P* in the fifth chapter, the identity of the implied reader is also very much connected to a changed relation to South/East Asia, since the region was, in the early 1980s, portrayed as a playground for the Cold War businessman. It is also in this chapter that questions of gender are most visible in the analysis. The relation to South/East Asia in the magazines was redefined along with the identity of the implied reader. The reader of

Business Traveller A/P in the early years was very clearly a man while the identity was later gendered in more ambivalent ways. The presence of the businesswoman was still problematic, and the themes of the articles that were specifically about businesswomen hardly changed at all over a period of nearly thirty years. It was instead the businessman who could transform himself from a colonial adventurer to a modern spa-loving man. The transformation of the businessman and hence the implied reader of the magazine is also connected to the conversion of the magazine into a lifestyle magazine. With the advent of lifestyle magazines, the emphasis on building an identity through consumption was also a legitimate pursuit for men, as was evident from the fact that the late twentieth century saw the rise of lifestyle magazines for men.

Issues of lifestyle are also present in the fifth chapter since a changed relation to South/East Asia, especially in *RES*, was based on an idea of a new global consumer culture that included affluent Asians but, needless to say, excluded many even in the affluent West. The implied reader was defined through a specific exclusive lifestyle that he or she could share with other tourists, including wealthy Asians. In summary, this is how the three chapters in which I present the results of the analysis are connected through the themes of places, identities, and lifestyles. As I have stated, my critique of some of the conventions of tourism and travel-writing studies comes from my reading of the magazines.

Tourism studies and postcolonial theory

The writers of both magazines expressed a fascination with the economic miracle of South/East Asian cities through the 1990s and early 2000s (somewhat earlier in *Business Traveller A/P* than in *RES*). In this captivation lies a sense of admiration and identification that has not been accounted for in other academic studies of similar material, for example, Lisa Killander-Braun's study of the Swedish magazine *Vagabond* and David Morley and Kevin Robins' analysis of a Western pop-cultural image of Japan. The wide-eyed fascination disappeared sometime during the early 2000s in *Business Traveller A/P*, while it continued in *RES* well into the 2000s. In both magazines, South/East Asia became established as a place of trends and economic strength around the 2000s (even though in *RES* it was still explored as a new development in the 2000s).

The texts about South/East Asian metropolises in the two magazines thus differ from singularly negative portrayals of the Asian economic miracle at the end of the twentieth century. The material of the study also challenges the tourist-traveler dichotomy that has been described as a constant aspect of the typical tourist discourse and identity in tourism research. In fact, the writers sometimes referred to themselves or to the readers as tourists. Exclusivity was more important as a way to construct distinction than the concept of a real traveler taking part in authentic travel practices. Exclusivity was formed through definitions of taste and consumer choice, and hence Bourdieu's theories about distinction have been useful to analyze the construction of an implied reader. Even though there is a certain amount of ambivalence regarding whether the implied reader was a tourist or not, there is still a significant departure from the typical tourist-traveler dichotomy. The analysis therefore adds to tourism research by emphasizing the role of exclusivity in the distinction of tourism identities, which has not been fully accounted for.

Authenticity is another constant issue in tourism theory that is challenged through the analysis. It is still a key concern in a lot of travel writing, and discussions about travel writing today often raise the question of whether it is possible to find something truly authentic in a postmodern, globalized world.³¹⁵ Lifestyle magazines present another perspective of that issue, and I discuss this using the term "designed authenticity." Authenticity is reinterpreted when the traditional and natural is merged with the comfortable and aesthetically pleasing. Authenticity does not disappear as a valuable discursive resource, but the actual content of the concept is renegotiated, as I argue in the discussion about the construction of local places.

The dichotomies of Self and Other, central to postcolonial theory, are challenged in the magazines, but this needs to be further explained, as an exoticizing view of the Other never disappears in the material of the study. The claims of the magazines to present something exotic are fundamental to what they offer. The people visited (to the extent that there are people other than tourists at the destination) need to be the Other in some way. Even so, the writers' excitement over a global consumer

315. See, for example, Rory Maclean, "How to Travel in a Discovered World," *The Guardian*, November 12, 2008. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/travel/2008/nov/12/travel-books-rory-maclean>, accessed December 15, 2011.

culture and minimalism as the style of an international elite challenges an absolute dichotomy, especially when Asians, who have traditionally been seen as being an Other in Western travel narratives, become both consumers and producers of that same culture which denotes that a design hotel or stylish bar in Thailand can look the same as one in Manhattan. This is, however, always dependent on an elite culture governed by taste and is not an emancipatory embracing of a shared global future.

To the extent that the magazines can be said to argue for cosmopolitanism at all, it is reliant on a certain lifestyle, i.e. if the community imagined extends beyond Westerners it only includes an elite of Others. An example of this is Johan Lindskog's musings on identity and global style in the design hotel in Koh Samui in which the Asian tourists wearing Tom Ford sunglasses are seen by the writer as equals. Again, this aspect is missing in Killander-Braun's and Robins and Morley's analyses of Western images of Asia. What their analyses do not show are the pleasures taken in being awed by the Asian miracle and by sharing one's consumer culture with the distant Other, and through that imagining oneself as a kind of cosmopolitan and member of the global elite. Instead of merely analyzing the relation between the Self and the Other by using a conventional postcolonial viewpoint, I have used a perspective of exclusivity and lifestyle.

As I mentioned in the first chapter, Edward Said's theories in *Orientalism* are limited in the sense that they discuss the Middle East and that the texts exclude tourism if not travel writing, as Richard White and Jane Taylor point out.³¹⁶ Said's theories have also been criticized from other standpoints, for example, for not giving enough agency to the colonized people, but his influence remains strong. Furthermore, scholars have shown that the relation between the West and South/East Asia has differed greatly from the relation to the Middle East. There have historically been significant differences, and the late twentieth-century rise of Japan and later the so-called Asian tiger economies have further affected this relation. It was also in the texts about South/East Asia that I found an active use of the concept of globalization. The period I have studied has been a time of great change that put the region firmly on the map as an entrepreneurial as well as cultural hotspot of the contemporary world.

316. White and Taylor 2007, p. 2

A postcolonial perspective was most useful to my study in the chapter that describes the image of South/East Asian metropolises, and in the reading of *Business Traveller A/P* in the first years of publication. Even so, some of the tropes in this chapter contradict the typical tropes of a colonial discourse; the South/East Asian destinations are, for instance, seen as the locations of the future, of being ahead of the West in time, while in the colonial discourse the exotic Other is always located in an earlier era or as standing outside of historical time. As I have pointed out, the economic progress of South/East Asia is a matter of anxiety for the Western traveler, even though the texts are no less an expression of privilege and power. A conventional postcolonial discourse analysis cannot fully account for the discourses found in the texts I have chosen to study, but the magazines are nonetheless exoticizing and exclusionary.

Postcolonial theory has, of course, developed a lot since Said's *Orientalism* from 1978, but in the study of tourism and pop-cultural texts the attention is still very much on trying to find a colonial discourse, sometimes defined in rather static terms. As I have shown in my analysis, a conventional postcolonial inquiry does not account for the empty hotel bar, the design hotel, and the changing aesthetics of the front covers. A narrow postcolonial interpretation, for example, Beverley Ann Simmons' or Killander-Braun's readings of travel magazines, excludes focus on contexts and discourses other than the colonial.

The strength of postcolonial theory is in the attention it gives to issues of power and privilege. With postcolonial theory it is possible to trace the many repetitions and continuations that have been carried over into the contemporary era. It exposes the history of representations, which contemporary texts often develop as well as challenge. Travel writing is, after all, mostly a conservative genre, constantly regurgitating old images and stereotypes. Postcolonial theory emphasizes the structures of power, such as through the concept of the Other and how the Other functions as a way to define the self. Postcolonial studies, furthermore, acknowledge the presence of colonial discourses in texts that have not previously been read in that manner, one example being Said's analysis of British literary classics and how the relation to the colonies is present in various ways.³¹⁷ Said shows how colonialism is a principal part of Western culture

317. Said, *Kultur och imperialism*, 1995.

no matter how geographically remote they are from the colonies.

I started the thesis project with the idea that globalization discourses can take the place of older colonial discourses, but this idea has been thoroughly revised. Globalization discourses and the emphasis on lifestyles add another layer of possible identities and ways of constructing places. It is not that older colonial discourses disappear but they are relativized and challenged by newer constructions that rearrange conceptions of the world and our place in it. This research builds on a tradition of postcolonial studies in more than one way, the most central aspect being the emphasis on power and privilege.

The lifestyle magazine presents many places in which the local peoples and cultures remain out of sight, especially in poor regions of the world. In his overview of Swedish magazines, Mats Wingborg mentions an article in *RES* from November/December 2010 in which the local inhabitants, a community of the minority people Himba in Namibia, are very much in focus in a way that is uncommon for *RES* at that time. This article is problematic in its pseudo-anthropological and Eurocentric gaze. When *RES* and *Business Traveller A/P* challenge colonial discourses and the colonial gaze, they do so mostly by removing from sight the people that were subjected to that gaze. According to Killander-Braun, *Vagabond* presents a Eurocentric and inaccurate image of the world while the magazines of my study eliminate the world from view and retire into a fantasy of luxury and sensual experiences. It is difficult to see how travel magazines could provide an inclusive and accurate image of foreign peoples and cultures given their role as commercial products and their close links to the tourism industry.

Designed authenticity, environmentalism, and hygiene: The slippery discourses of magazines

As mentioned before, the magazines were chosen as objects of analysis because of what the transformation of the magazines can say about larger cultural currents. Magazines of this kind are good at recognizing general cultural trends and channeling them. The changes of the magazines are connected not least to the increased influence of advertising in journalism and other cultural products. It is not just a matter of how the advertorials blur the boundaries between editorial content and advertising, but of the adaptation of a visual aesthetic and a style of

writing. Some of the discourses that I have described in my presentation of the analysis have been noticeable first in advertisements published in the magazines, for example, the harmonious combination of nature and luxury.

The blurring of editorial content and advertising was, among other things, expressed in the ubiquity of the lifestyle concept that became one of the key buzzwords. Lifestyle, as I wrote in the chapter on identity, was a way of dealing with class issues by concealing them. Lifestyle was presented as something the reader can acquire, as knowledge that constitutes the *bon vivant*, but the lifestyle presented in both magazines is also something that requires a certain amount of wealth to aspire to. The ambivalence about lifestyle and its relation to class was shown in the equivocal relation in *RES* to luxury as being something desirable but also something that needs to be controlled by taste so that it does not become vulgar. The popularity of the word lifestyle shows a general interest in issues of class, status, and exclusivity. In a broader cultural perspective, the word lifestyle is widely propagated and is used in many different ways, such as in health care.³¹⁸ This usage might seem to be remote from the material of this study but it does connect to the associations with good health, being active, and taking care of one's body that are used in the magazines, mostly in articles about spa tourism.

In Chapter 2, I refer to David Machin's theories about image banks and the increasing cultural cachet of advertising. By utilizing Machin's ideas, it is possible to place the use of images in the magazines in a broader cultural context of changing aesthetics and, ultimately, new ways of perceiving the truth claims of photographic images. These changes are also related to what I have described as a designed authenticity. Machin's theories about photographic images and my notion of a designed authenticity both point to changing perceptions of the authentic and of reality as something malleable. Through designed authenticity in texts and images, the magazines presented an overall aesthetic vision of an escape into a world of order and harmony, contrasting to the chaos, violence, and poverty of the global reality that was occasionally discussed in the magazines.

The desire for harmony was chiefly communicated through emptiness and lack of clutter. The emptiness of tropical beaches can invite the traveler to ownership

318. Bell and Hollows 2005, p. 2.

of virgin territories, as Thurlow and Jaworski point out, but when it is read together with the emptiness of bars and restaurants in the global metropolis it also takes on another meaning of order, cleanliness, design, and style that goes beyond the colonial desire to possess the foreign. The empty hotel bars are not even foreign since they signify a kind of trendiness and style that is global in reach. Hence, a conventional postcolonial analysis in which emptiness is understood as a desire for ownership is further elaborated in the analysis by being combined with a perspective on the aesthetic conventions of the lifestyle magazine. These two perspectives do not necessarily contradict each other but should be seen as different discursive layers present at the same time. The texts and images of the magazines were an endorsement of the need to escape that justifies the desire to withdraw from the chaos of the global world.

Another general context for the discussions about luxury in the magazines is a re-evaluation of luxury, expressed in texts about luxury as an inner experience (for example, the article in *Fokus*) and green luxury (for example, the Swedish lifestyle magazine *Eco Queen* about sustainable glamour). These are attempts at making luxury more justifiable and less vulgar. The notion of connoisseurship, introduced in *RES*, makes it possible to justify luxury consumption by being knowledgeable. The upper classes were described as vulgar because they consume luxury without being connoisseurs and without restraint. Hence, *RES* especially expressed a middle-class perception of luxury as something that needed to be controlled, for instance, by taste.

The reading of the two magazines brought out how they made use of abstract concepts and more general discourses. Through my analysis, I was able to study the rise of discourses around environmentalism and how these ideas were co-opted into the magazines, by being discussed explicitly but, even more significantly, by being referred to implicitly and associated with the aesthetically pleasing and comfortable. Environmentalism represented an obvious challenge to the prevailing discourses of the magazines and the lifestyle that the magazines espoused, and as such it needed to be addressed. The challenge posed by this new discourse (as it was around the late 1980s in *Business Traveller A/P*) was met by associating environmentalism with what the lifestyle magazines promoted, such as exclusivity, design, and the aesthetically pleasing. The use of nature is central in designed authenticity, and in these texts environmentalism was often referred to

through ideas of a harmony between the man-made environment and nature. The use of environmentalism as a discursive resource is one case of how the magazines seized general cultural and political discourses and interpreted them according to the profile of the magazines.

In general, the writers of the magazines had a more distanced relation to the destinations they went to than, for example, the writers in *Wanderlust* in which it is often important to reach a deeper connection to the place visited.³¹⁹ What instead characterizes *RES* in particular, but also *Business Traveller A/P*, was a desire to keep the world at a distance, even paradoxically, when one is experiencing and encountering the world through traveling. At the exclusive spa resort the writers expressed a desire to come close to the local and natural, but only as long as it was also comfortable and stylish. Furthermore, resort tourism was presented as a way to escape the pressure of the global world. This construction of distance can be compared to how the travel writer Pico Iyer argues that a new kind of cosmopolitans, the Global Souls, stand above old conflicts by their dispassionate relation to the world.³²⁰

In the articles describing places through the notion of a designed authenticity, it is the comforts of the body and the inner experience of the tourists that are fundamental, rather than the destination as such, and this renders places redundant. Designed authenticity, the minimalist style of the design hotels, the emptiness of beaches and bars, and the uncluttered covers of the magazines were all ways of isolating oneself from what was perceived as the negative aspects of the global world. The distance that the writers kept was also connected to the desire for a kind of hygiene and control.

Hygiene has been discussed in postcolonial studies in terms of the control of the Other, and of keeping the Self and the Other apart.³²¹ In the magazines of this study, hygiene is a way of relating to the world. Hygiene keeps out the unwanted aspects of the global world, as I have argued, and this includes those people that were never mentioned, those that do not fit into the tourist discourse,

319. Ljungberg 2007, p. 26.

320. Iyer 2000, p. 258.

321. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, London: Routledge, 1995, p. 33.

be they the cleaners at the hotel or the lower classes barred from the design hotels and spa resorts. The construction of hygiene also ties in with the uses of environmentalism. Environmentally friendly travel is constantly confused with the hygienic, for instance, the kind of exclusive resort tourism in Bali that keeps the vulgar mass tourists out, or with the aesthetic perfection of a beautifully shot cover photo. It is confused with the harmonious relation to nature central to a designed authenticity that enhances nature rather than changing or destroying it, as Gary Despy writes in his article in *RES* in November 2007.

Peter Jackson, Nick Stevenson, and Kate Brooks argue that magazines express ideas about class and gender in a playful and indirect manner.³²² I would like to emphasize this playfulness and indirectness as a general characteristic of the magazines and their worldview, and also as a kind of escape route in itself. Jackson, Stevenson, and Brooks also write about the use of irony in men's magazines and how this can be used as a defense against critical analysis of the magazines. To analyze these texts is to reveal that you just do not get the joke. I see a similarity between what they describe in their analysis of men's magazines and what I call the slipperiness of the magazine style. This slipperiness is noticeable when editor Johan Lindskog plays with words and concepts. In his editorial for the green issue in October 2008, he plays with the word environment when he writes: "everything we do in *RES* is about the environment. To experience new environments is the very essence of travel." Hence, environmentalism is interpreted as being synonymous with places and as something a travel magazine is naturally interested in and something that permeates all of the issues. To take pleasure in the exotic delights of the world is understood as being synonymous with taking an interest in environmentalism as a political issue.

The playful slipperiness or indirectness is also connected to the use of abstract concepts, such as globalization and lifestyle, which are never really defined in the travel magazines. Through the slipperiness of the discourse, the writers can make use of these concepts without having to fully explain them and thus place them in a problematic political context that would challenge the magazines' emphasis on pleasure and harmony. I have also mentioned how the concept of lifestyle made it

322. Jackson, Stevenson, and Brooks, p. 156.

possible for the writers to write about luxury, taste, and wealth without referring to the politically charged class concept. This can also be linked to David Machin's article about image banks and advertising. The images described by Machin have an emphasis on the emotional. Freedom is, for example, represented by people jumping and by blue skies, rather than something connected to the world of politics. The magazines used a soft-focus lens in their depiction of everything from destinations to the globalization debate and class issues.

Globalization discourses as escape

Globalization has been a main concern from the beginning of my thesis project, which first started with the question of how globalization was filled with cultural meaning. This came out of a notion of globalization as a buzzword, not least in politics where globalization can be a promising future, a reality that one must acknowledge or, for Europe's increasingly vocal xenophobic nationalist parties, a downright threat.

The globalization discourses that I have studied are both those that the magazines expressed explicitly in their discussions of the concept, for instance, the development toward a global consumer culture and a global economy, and implicitly such as in the desire for the international style of the design hotel. In travel magazines, globalization is largely seen as a positive force even if it is also mentioned as a hazard to the authentic and local. In the *Vagabond* editorial from 2008, it is close to a political statement when the editor exclaims "Globalisera mera!" ("More globalization!").

Although the magazines gave a largely positive image of the destinations they present, an image in which the problems of the global world have been removed in order to construct safe tourism havens, the violence sometimes makes itself heard even in the glossy pages of lifestyle magazines. *Business Traveller A/P* wrote about the massacre on Tiananmen Square in Beijing in 1989. The European edition of *Business Traveller* wrote about the terrorist attack in London in 2005. The solution was always to keep on traveling and enjoying the lifestyle that was presumed to enrage the terrorists. Travel was, therefore, justified also as a response to terrorism and other forms of violence.

Here it is possible to draw a connection to John Urry's claim that to be a

tourist is vital to modern society, because to travel (and in *Business Traveller A/P* to invest and do business) is seen not only as a given right but as an essential part of Western culture; travel is both something threatened by terrorism and something that functions as its antidote. Globalization is used as a main resource, because the ideal world envisioned by the writers is one dependent on global consumer culture and its elite. It has become essential in the magazines' justification and celebration of travel.

To obfuscate the abstract concepts of environmentalism, lifestyle, and globalization fits perfectly in with the general discourse of the magazines, which places the emotional and sensual before the factual, as in much postmodern advertising in which the image provided by a certain product is more important than information about the qualities of the product. The magazines could utilize these concepts as discursive resources without having to define what they meant. The concepts could mean different things in different contexts or for different writers. Without ever being clearly defined, these concepts were still filled with meaning that the readers were invited to share.

Through the discourses of comfort, harmony, and aesthetic beauty as well as cosmopolitanism and exclusivity, powerful narratives about the global world and one's place in it were repeatedly told. The design hotel provided an escape route into a world of style and order, often characterized by minimalism as an international style promoted by star designers such as Philippe Starck. But the ultimate escape route was the spa resort characterized by designed authenticity in which the local was present through the tasteful interior design. Here, the tourist was encouraged to focus on his or her inner life as well as his or her pampered body. That which was perceived as authentic, local, and traditional was molded into being stylish and comfortable in order to create an ideal place. Escape was not only provided through specific tourism destinations but also through the aesthetics and layout of the magazines.

The editors and contributors had a privilege in defining globalization, and used this to further defend their privileged position and that of the readers. In *RES* especially, a desire for luxury was justified by the concept of taste and connoisseurship that separated the designed and tasteful from the vulgar, and that was used to separate the implied reader from other tourists. Taste and exclusivity took the place of the conventional tourist-traveler dichotomy when the implied

reader was distinguished from backpackers, package tourists, and the vulgarity of the upper classes. Ultimately, the overarching discourse of the magazines is a justification of a middle-class lifestyle and the escape from the demands of an increasingly interconnected world.

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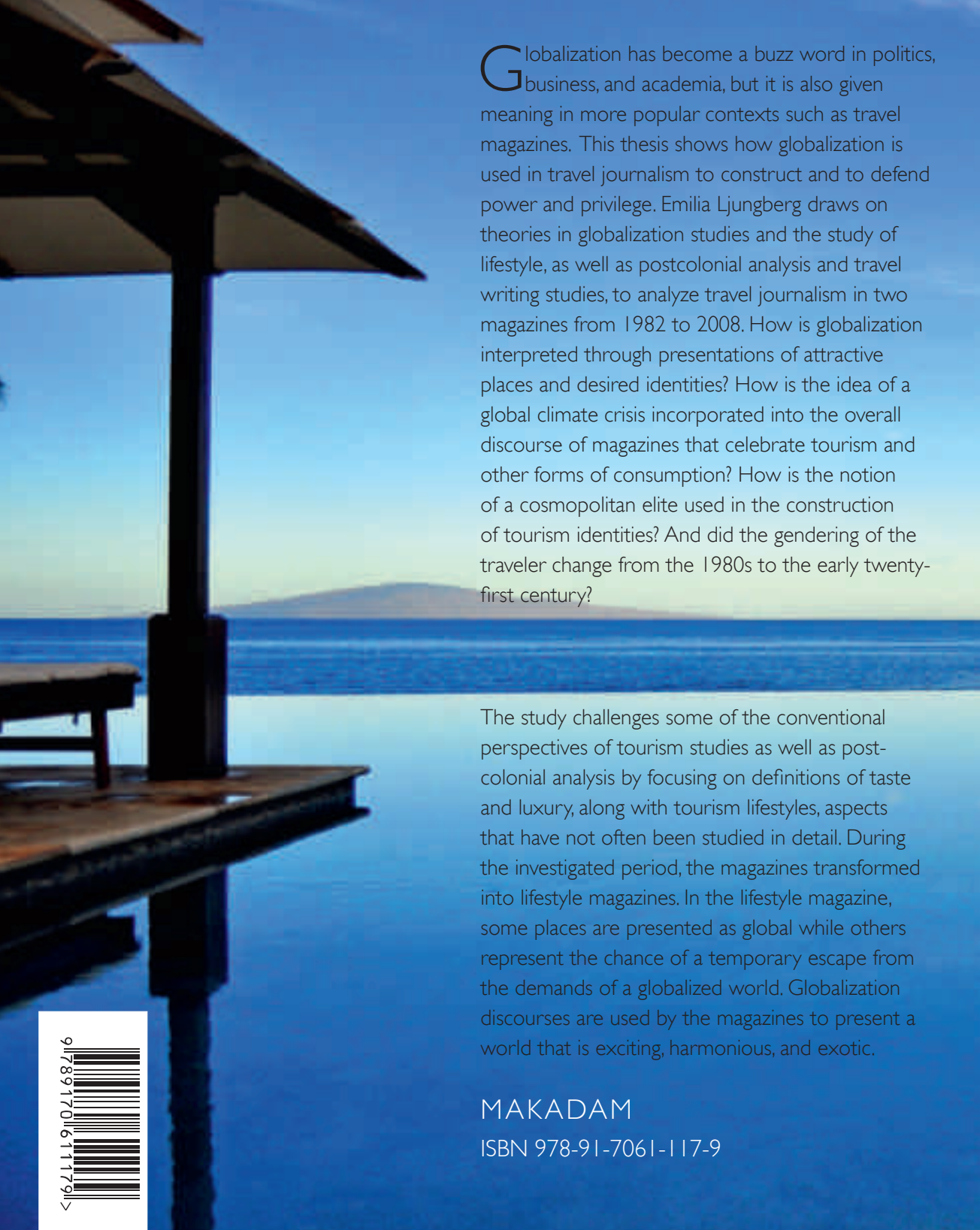
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Globalization has become a buzz word in politics, business, and academia, but it is also given meaning in more popular contexts such as travel magazines. This thesis shows how globalization is used in travel journalism to construct and to defend power and privilege. Emilia Ljungberg draws on theories in globalization studies and the study of lifestyle, as well as postcolonial analysis and travel writing studies, to analyze travel journalism in two magazines from 1982 to 2008. How is globalization interpreted through presentations of attractive places and desired identities? How is the idea of a global climate crisis incorporated into the overall discourse of magazines that celebrate tourism and other forms of consumption? How is the notion of a cosmopolitan elite used in the construction of tourism identities? And did the gendering of the traveler change from the 1980s to the early twenty-first century?

The study challenges some of the conventional perspectives of tourism studies as well as post-colonial analysis by focusing on definitions of taste and luxury, along with tourism lifestyles, aspects that have not often been studied in detail. During the investigated period, the magazines transformed into lifestyle magazines. In the lifestyle magazine, some places are presented as global while others represent the chance of a temporary escape from the demands of a globalized world. Globalization discourses are used by the magazines to present a world that is exciting, harmonious, and exotic.

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