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OD PUTOPISA DO "PUTOBLOGA": REDEFINIRANJE IDENTITETA TURISTA

FROM TRAVELOGUE TO TRAVELBLOG: (RE)-NEGOTIATING TOURIST IDENTITY

SAŽETAK: U svjetlu recentnog napretka u dostupnosti interneta glas turista dobija na važnosti, a stara praksa jednostrane komunikacije od gore prema dolje, kojom se koristila turistička industrija, zamjenjuje se demokratskim oblicima online komunikacije od dolje prema gore. Nigdje ova zamjena uloga nije tako dobro vidljiva kao kod "putobloga" (travelblog), dnevničkog zapisa iz prve ruke koji je u stalnom porastu i čije neprestano ažuriranje i interaktivne kvalitete doprinose evoluciji javne samo-začete verbalne razmjene koja se odvija među jednakima. Ova studija preispituje nekoliko primjera iz ovog žanra. Istovremeno želi dati alternativni teorijski temelj koji bi prihvatio popratne promjene koje se ubrzano događaju u odnosu na identitet turista.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: "putoblog", identitet turista, turistička komunikacija, teoretiziranje

SUMMARY: In the light of recent advances in internet accessibility, the tourist has been given far greater "voice", and the old pattern of top-down, unilateral communication from the industry has been substituted with more democratic forms of bottom-up conversations online. Nowhere is this role reversal more evident than in the "travelblog", a dramatically increasing first-hand, diary-like account whose constant updating and interactive qualities contribute to the evolution of public, self-initiated verbal exchange among equals. This study examines a few examples of the genre. At the same time, it seeks to provide an alternative theoretical grounding that can accommodate the concomitant changes that are rapidly occurring with respect to tourist identity.

KEY WORDS: Travelblog, tourist identity, internet, tourism communication, theorising.

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UVOD

Veza između turizma i identiteta važno je pitanje (Jules-Rosette i Bruner, 1994; Lanfant, 1995b; Lanfant i drugi, 1995) koje zaokuplja znanstvenike gotovo toliko dugo koliko se turizam smatra legitimnim poljem znanstvenog ispitivanja. Ipak, značaj spomenute veze kao da je obrnuto proporcionalan s obzirom da ostvarenje identiteta kroz turizam postaje tema na koju se mnogi referiraju sa nejasno definiranim granicama. Na primjer, postoje znanstvenici koji naglašavaju da je identitet u eri globalizacije blisko povezan s dinamikom lokaliteta (Meethan, 2001) i stoga ovisi o promotivnim kvalitetama jedinstvenosti i različitosti mjesta (Dann, 2000). Ostali više povezuju identitet sa prirodom (Pedersen i Viken, 2003), posebice u zemljama kao što je Norveška koje obiluju prizorima divljine i gdje se osobito vrednuje prirodni okoliš. Međutim, nekoliko je komentatora sklonije usredotočiti se na ljude iz određene destinacije i na to kako turizam utječe na njihovu kulturu (i shodno tome na identitet) (Burns, 2005; Greenwood, 1989). Poneki se usredotočuju na lokalne stanovnike zaposlene u turizmu (Crang, 1997) ili one koji zabavljaju turiste u neokolonijalnim posjetiteljskim centrima (Bruner i Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1994). Neki naglašavaju interaktivnu dimenziju turizma podvlačeći istovremeno pojavljivanje izvornog i turističkog identiteta kroz proces pregovaranja o ulogama (Karch i Dann, 1981; cf. Desforges, 2000; Lanfant 1995a). Iskustvo je stoga više od pukog turističkog bijega; ono je bilateralno "drugi postaje dio njih" (Wearing, 2002, str. 252). Nasuprot njima, postoje promatrači koji se više bave vlastitim identitetom i postojanjem stvarne razlike između etnografa i turista (Bruner, 1995; Crick, 1985, 1994, 1995).

Ipak, najviše se ističu oni koje zanima odvojeni identitet turista jer potonji doživljavaju brojna iskustva. No, i ovdje izgleda

INTRODUCTION

The link between tourism and identity is an important issue (Jules-Rosette and Bruner, 1994; Lanfant, 1995b; Lanfant et al, 1995), one that has preoccupied scholars for almost as long as they have regarded tourism as a legitimate field of inquiry. Yet the significance of the association seems to vary inversely with the adequacy of its framing, since the achievement of identity through tourism appears to be a multi-referential topic with blurred boundaries. For example, there are those academics who emphasise that, in an era of globalisation, identity is closely related to the dynamics of locality (Meethan, 2001), and hence to the promotional qualities of a place's uniqueness and difference (Dann, 2000). Others more specifically connect identity with nature (Pedersen and Viken, 2003) particularly in countries such as Norway that are replete with images of wilderness and where great store is set on the physical environment. Several commentators, however, prefer to focus on the people of a given destination and how their culture (and hence identity) is affected by tourism (Burns, 2005; Greenwood, 1989). A few concentrate on those locals directly employed by the tourism industry (Crang, 1997) or who perform for visitors in neo-colonial settings (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1994). Some stress the interactive dimension of tourism by underlining the simultaneous emergence of indigenous and touristic identity through a process of role negotiation (Karch and Dann, 1981; cf. Desforges, 2000; Lanfant 1995a). The experience is thus more than mere touristic escape; it is bilateral – 'the Other becomes part of themselves' (Wearing, 2002, p. 252). By contrast, there are those observers who are more concerned with their own identity and whether or not there is any real distinction between being an ethnographer and being a tourist (Bruner, 1995; Crick, 1985, 1994, 1995).

da postoji znatna različitost i ne postoji je-
dan autoritet koji bi nudio cjelovitu sliku.
Među ranim teoretičarima na ovom polju,
MacCannell (1989) na primjer, govori o tu-
ristu koji traga za svojim identitetom u au-
tentičnom pred modernom "Drugom".
Cohen (1979) govori o potrazi za turistič-
kim identitetom u neobičnosti "tamo nekog
središta", Bourdieu (1984) govori o prikup-
ljanju kulturnog kapitala, te Bruner (1991)
koji govori o stvaranju identiteta kroz jezik i
one performanse "Drugog" koje odražavaju
(Lacan, 1997) ono što turisti žele. Nešto re-
centnije, Desforges (2000) govori o stvara-
nju turističkog identiteta kroz tjelesna
iskustva (Jokinen i Veijola, 1994) i promat-
ranje (Urry, 1990) jer se to odnosi na moti-
vaciju (Liebman, Parrinello, 1993) i izbor
odredišta. U tom smislu se Desforges (2000,
str. 931-932) poziva na Giddensovo (1990,
1991) ostvarenje vlastitog identiteta kroz
autobiografiju i proces samo-aktualizacije
koji koristi prošle priče o sebi kako bi se
omogućio izbor među budućim mogućim
životnim stilovima. Na sličan način McCabe
(2002) povezuje turistički identitet više s
praksom svakodnevnog života nego s bije-
gom od nje. Njegovim riječima "turistička
iskustva prožimaju svakodnevnicu i obratno
u odnosu na razvoj i održavanje društvenih
identiteta osoba" (McCabe, 2002, str 61).
Stoga za njega distinkcija između turista i
putnika nije stvarna, i dom kao spremište
suvenira je taj koji turistu daje identitet a ne
destinacija (McCabe, 2000, str. 64-65, 71).
Tu su zatim znanstvenici (Palmer, 2003,
2005, Pretes, 2003) koji govore o identitetu
turista u smislu nacionalizma (Anderson,
1991), posebice kada se govori o prošlim
ikonama pojedinih nacija (npr. Battle
Abbey, Haver Castle i Chartwell u slučaju
stanovnika V.Britanije (Palmer, 2005).
Promatrano u ovom svjetlu, identitet se
transformira u nostalgičnu potragu za izgub-
ljenim korijenima (npr. priroda, mudrost,
djetinjstvo, porijeklo i sloboda (Lanfant,
1994; Squire, 1994). Identitet se također do-

Nevertheless, by far the greatest emphasis
is found among those who are interested in
the separate identity of tourists as the latter
undergo manifold experiences. Yet, here too,
there seems to be a great deal of variation
with no single authority obtaining a complete
picture. Among the early theorists in the field,
MacCannell (1989), for instance, speaks of
the tourist as looking for self-identity in the
authentic pre-modern Other. Then there is
Cohen (1979) who refers to the quest for
touristic identity in the strangeness of the
centre-out-there, Bourdieu (1984) to the ac-
quisition of cultural capital, and Bruner
(1991) to the construction of identity through
language and those performances of the Other
that mirror (Lacan, 1977) what tourists desire.
More recently, Desforges (2000) speaks of
the formation of touristic identity through
bodily experiences (Jokinen and Veijola,
1994) and the gaze (Urry, 1990), as they re-
late to motivation (Liebman Parrinello, 1993)
and choice of destination. In this regard, Des-
forges (2000, pp. 931-932) refers to Giddens'
(1990, 1991) acquisition of self-identity
through autobiography and a process of self-
actualisation which uses past narratives of the
self to enable choices from among future pos-
sible lifestyles. In a similar vein, McCabe
(2002) links touristic identity with the praxis
of everyday life rather than as a flight from it.
In his words, 'touristic experiences infuse the
mundane, and vice-versa, in relation to the
developing and maintaining of an individual's
social identities' (McCabe, 2002, p. 61).
Thus, for him, the distinction between tourist
and traveller is unreal, and it is the home as
repository of souvenirs, rather than the desti-
nation, that provides the tourist with identity
(McCabe, 2000, pp. 64-65, 71). Then there
are those (e.g., Palmer, 2003, 2005; Pretes,
2003) who speak of tourist identity in terms
of nationalism (Anderson, 1991), particularly
as it relates to past icons of nationhood (e.g.,
Battle Abbey, Haver Castle and Chartwell in
the case of UK citizens (Palmer, 2005)). Seen
in this light, identity becomes transformed

življava kao više oblikovana realnost (McCabe, 2002) koja se mijenja prema karakteristikama profila kao što su rod, društvena klasa, vjera (Palmer, 2005; Pedersen i Viken, 2003) i etnicitet (Stephenson, 2002).

Glavnina ovog naglaska na turistički identitet (koju možemo pratiti sve od vremena Grand Toura - (Wearing, 202, str. 242)) može se koristiti u smislu prethodnih socioloških teorija na kojima je bazirana. Na primjer, pojava Sebe kao dijela dijaloškog procesa između "Ja" i "Ja" - ega i alterega, koji dovodi do izvođenja analiza i ideje o turistu kao djetetu (Dann, 1996), može se promatrati kao da proizlazi iz Meadaovog (1934) simboličkog interakcionizma. Slično tome se i semiotička potraga za autentičnošću kroz dramaturško uključivanje s pozadinskim oznakama (MacCannell, 1989) oslanja na Goffmanova (1959) saznanja. Fenomenološki kontinuitet, koji se proteže od rekreacijskog do egzistencijalnog turizma (Cohen, 1979), također ovisi o saznanjima posuđenim iz Formalizma Schutza i Simmela kao i koncepata iz Eliadeove (1969, 1971) sociologije religije. Štoviše, ostvarivanje identiteta kroz autobiografsku samo-aktualizaciju (Desforges, 2000; Giddens, 1990, 1991) ima svoje teorijske temelje kod Schutzove (1972) projicirane akcije i motivacije koje onda zavise o refleksijama o prošlosti i ta refleksivnost podupire etnometodološke analize turizma kao svakodnevnog ponašanja (McCabe, 2002).

Ovaj se rad također usredotočuje na identitet turista, a glavni razlog tomu je da svi prethodni pokušaji, ma koliko hvale vrijedni, 'nude tek djelomičan uvid u realnost. Što je još važnije, oni ne uzimaju u obzir recentne promjene "u jeziku turizma " (Dann, 1996) koji se kreće od zavisnosti od tiskovnih medija prema zavisnosti od elektroničkih oblika komunikacije. Za takve promjene se drži da trebaju biti utemeljene na novim teoretskim oblicima koji se bave istovremenim napretkom postignutim u kibernetičkoj antropologiji.

into a nostalgic roots quest for what has been lost (e.g., nature, wisdom, childhood, origin and freedom – (Lanfant, 1994; Squire, 1994)). Identity is also conceived as a pluriform reality (McCabe, 2002) that varies according to such profile characteristics as gender, class, religion (Palmer, 2005; Pedersen and Viken, 2003) and ethnicity (Stephenson, 2002).

Much of this emphasis on touristic identity, (which is actually traceable to the time of the Grand Tour – (Wearing, 2002, p. 242)), can be usefully understood in terms of the prior sociological theories on which it is based. For example, the emergence of the Self as a negotiated dialogical process between the "I" and the "Me" of *Ego* and *Alter*, which is conducive to transactional analysis and the idea of "the tourist as child" (Dann, 1996), can be seen as deriving from the symbolic interactionism of Mead (1934). Similarly, the semiotic quest for authenticity through the dramaturgical involvement with back-stage markers (MacCannell, 1989) relies on the insights of Goffman (1959). Then, too, the phenomenological continuum stretching from recreational to existential tourists (Cohen, 1979) depends on insights borrowed from the Formalism of Schutz and Simmel as well as concepts from the sociology of religion of Eliade (1969, 1971). Moreover, the achievement of identity through autobiographical self-actualisation (Desforges, 2000; Giddens, 1990, 1991) has its theoretical foundations in Schutz's (1972) projected action and in-order-to motivation that, in turn, depend on reflexivity on the past, and it is that reflexivity which underpins ethnomethodological analyses of tourism as everyday behaviour (McCabe, 2002).

This paper also focuses on tourist identity, the main reason being that all these previous attempts, however laudable, at best offer only partial glimpses of reality. More importantly, however, they fail to take into account recent upheavals in "the language of tourism" (Dann, 1996) as it moves from a

Ostatak argumentacije možemo razdvojiti u dvije faze. Prva je, da ni jedna do sada objavljena "teorija" identiteta turista ne spominje interaktivne elektroničke medije. Danas je jedan od glavnih sredstva artikuliranja identiteta turista "putoblog". Daju se adekvatni primjeri kako ovaj dnevnički način komuniciranja putem interneta može izazvati reakcije drugih kolega putnika, i na taj način pretvoriti monološki karakter putnog zapisa u dijalošku situaciju. Spominju se, zatim, recentne teoretske spoznaje Levya, de Kerckhove i Castellsa. Tvrdi se da se stvaranje novog elektroničkog identiteta putem aktivnog slanja, primanja i odgovaranja na poruke sa World Wide Web-a može smatrati oblikom post-modernog "bivstvovanja" koje se stalno preoblikuje kroz turizam i verbalnu razmjenu turističkih iskustava.

STUDIJA

"Putoblogovi" kao interaktivni kanali komunikacije jezika turizma

Brzi prelet kroz sve prethodno citirane teorije odmah otkriva da su one ili artikulirane prije javno raširene dostupnosti interneta ili nakon što je internet postao dostupan Zapadu i ostatku svijeta. Dok se u prvom slučaju nije moglo aludirati na internet, osim na spekulativan način, kod potonjeg nije jasno zašto se internet tako studiozno ignorirao. Jedina iznimka je bilo nekoliko provizornih referenci o internetu u "The Language of Tourism" (Dann,1996). Drugim riječima, internet se jedino spominjao u kontekstu indirektnog ostvarivanja turističkog identiteta kroz pozitivne odgovore (potencijalnih) turista na promotivne akcije turističke industrije. Međutim, čak i u takvim situacijama najveći naglasak je bio na tiskovnim medijima, pristupu od gore prema dolje, monološkom načinu razgovora koji je pokazivao turistu kako se "ja" može transformirati (Bruner, 1991). Turističkim prospektima, oglasima, katalozima nije se moglo

situation of dependency on the print media to electronic forms of communication. Such changes, it is maintained, also need to be grounded on new forms of theory that address the parallel advances made in cyber anthropology.

The remainder of the argument takes place in two stages. First, it is shown that when all of the previously outlined "theories" of tourist identity were enunciated, none of them made any reference to interactive electronic media. It is further demonstrated that today one of the main vehicles for the articulation of tourist identity is the "travelblog". Appropriate examples are provided of how this type of diary-like interactive communication over the internet can elicit reactions from fellow travellers, thereby converting the monological character of the travelogue to a situation of dialogue. Second, reference is made to the recent theoretical insights of Lévy, de Kerckhove and Castells. Here, it is argued that the acquisition of a new electronic identity by actively sending, receiving and responding to messages on the World Wide Web may be considered to be a type of postmodern "selving", one which is continuously being reformulated through tourism and the verbal exchange of touristic experiences.

THE STUDY

Travelblogs as Interactive Channels of Communication of the Language of Tourism

A quick perusal of all those "theories" that were previously cited soon reveals that either they were articulated before the popular availability of the internet or after it had become accessible to the West and the rest. Whereas in the former case clearly there could be no allusion to this form of communication beyond that of speculation, in the latter it is not so obvious as to why it should have been so studiously ignored. The only exception, it would seem, were a few tentative references to the internet in *The*

odgovoriti i nije bilo dijaloga ili mogućnosti da primatelj kritizira pošiljatelja. Jedini komunikacijski kanal gdje je postojala mogućnost degradacije (uz kvazi univerzalno promoviranje odredišta) bio je putni zapis. Međutim, čak i tu je bilo malo mogućnosti da se budući posjetitelj složi ili ne složi s izraženim stručnim sentimentima, osim možda sporadičnog pisma uredniku časopisa ili novina u kojima je putni zapis objavljen.

Pojavom interneta takva unilateralna komunikacija jednostavno nestaje. Njeno mjesto zauzima predaja putem računalnog miša, što se vidi po brzo narastajućim internet stranicama za e-reklamacije i e-turističke vodiče. Nigdje ovaj prethodno tihi turistički glas nije postao tako vidljiv kao na "putoblogu", posebnom putnom zapisu koji postavlja pitanja i pozivana na komentare ostalih sudionika virtualnog svijeta. Uskoro su se počele pojavljivati besplatne stranice, ali i one na čiji se pristup trebalo plaćati. Najstarija od ovih stranica Travelpod.com, koja je nastala 1997., objašnjava da je "putoblog" putni zapis ili dnevnik gdje turisti mogu podastrijeti svoja iskustva i fotografije s prijateljima ili s obitelji koja je kod kuće. Uz besplatan pristup i arhiv od gotovo 204 zemlje stranica rangira ponudu svojih autora (amatera) prema broju posjetitelja. Recimo najčitaniji "putoblog" 18. travnja 2005. kojeg je posjetilo 97.474 posjetitelja bio je "putoblog" "Whereshegoes" (zanimljivo je da gotovo svi autori koriste pseudonime). Naslov je bio "lutam besciljno svijetom da vidim što ću pronaći, bez stvarnog plana u glavi" i zasigurno je to zapis koji se odnosi na potragu za identitetom. Još jedna besplatna stranica je Travelpost.com koji za sebe tvrdi da ima pretraživački stroj koji obuhvaća 4 milijuna gradova i dnevničkih zapisa i omogućuje putnicima da na stranicu stave i svoj trenutačni pravac putovanja. Ovdje se ponovno radi o razmjeni iskustava s osobama sličnog razmišljanja i ponovno se sugerira da je identitet pitanje od iznimne važnosti. Tu nalazimo očaravajući zapis jedne "Odiseje" koja je sa svojim

Language of Tourism (Dann, 1996). In other words, the sole mention of the internet appeared in the context of the indirect attainment of touristic identity through the positive response of (potential) tourists to the promotional appeals of the industry. Yet even here, the greatest emphasis by far was on the print media, a top-down, monological discourse that showed the tourist how the self could be transformed (Bruner, 1991). There was no answering back to these brochures, advertisements and catalogues, no dialogue and virtually no critique of the sender by the addressee. The only channel of communication where there was the possibility of demotion (in addition to the quasi-universal appeals to destinational promotion) was the travelogue. Yet even here, there was little scope for the future visitor to agree or disagree with the expert sentiments expressed, apart maybe from the sporadic letter to the editor of the magazine or newspaper where the article first appeared.

With the advent of the internet, however, all such unilateral communication disappeared. In its place came word-of-mouse (the electronic equivalent of word-of-mouth), as seen, for example, in the mushrooming sites of e-complaint and e-guidebooks. Nowhere was this previously silent voice of the tourist more evident than in the "travelblog", a special type of travel account that raised questions and invited comments from others in the cyber world. Soon, free and fee-paying sites began to appear. The oldest of these sites, Travelpod.com, originating in 1997, explains that a "travelblog" is a travel journal or travel diary in which tourists on the road can share their experiences and photos with friends and family back home. With free access and an archive comprising some 204 countries (with states and provinces where applicable), it ranks the offerings of its (amateur) authors according to the numbers of hits they receive. The top "travelpick" for 18 April 2005, for instance,

bolesnim ocem putovala u Nepal; zapis dobiva ocjenu 5 zvjezdica od posjetitelja stranice. Posebno je korisno zabilježiti jednu opasku vezano za identitet a to je njena opservacija nepalskih tinejđera. "Bila sam im jednako egzotična kao što su i oni bili meni".

Bootsnall.com također spada u kategoriju besplatnih stranica čije djelovanje potpomažu komercijalne ponude putovanja oko svijeta, putna osiguranja, hotelske rezervacije, zrakoplovne karte itd. Kako je u mogućnosti komunicirati sa članstvom iz preko 90 zemalja Bootsnall.com daje "mogućnost da se možete uključiti u zajednicu slobodoumnih putnika koji uživaju u razmjeni svojih iskustva i pružanju pomoći drugima na njihovim putovanjima" (naglasak na originalnom, pokazatelj osobine oblikovanja identiteta). Članovi ne primaju samo redoviti letak s novostima o putovanjima i novinama na stranici, već mogu dobiti besplatan smještaj u sjedištu tvrtke u Portlandu, savezna država Oregon. Pretraživanje kroz listu njihovih "putoblogova" koji su poredani po kontinentima otkriva da ih veliki broj ima maštovite, aliterativne i zabavne naslove koji su povezani s identitetom (npr. The People's Republic of Paxton, Wander woman, Travels with my Angst, Angkor What, Helga Goes e-Viking, Serial Adventure Seeker, The Future's Bright, the Future's Orange). Naročito je zanimljiv jedan zapis "Povratak kući biciklom iz Sibira" koji opisuje put od više od 15.000 km od Magadana (Staljinovih "vrata za pakao") do Londona. Rob Lilwall, britanski učitelj želi skupiti novac u dobrotvornu svrhu i shodno tome poziva čitatelje da prate njegovo putovanje i daruju priloge. Osobito treba zapamtiti razmišljanja o identitetu koja prožimaju cijeli zapis. Lilwall na primjer kaže "bit ćeš ista osoba za deset godina kao što si i danas, izuzev knjiga koje pročitaš i ljudi koje upoznaš" te dodaje "premda se ne slažem s njom, zanimljiva misao".

had 97,474 visitors to a travelblog written by "Whereshegoes" (interestingly, nearly all authors use aliases). It was entitled "wandering around the world to see what I can find, aimlessly from place to place with no real plan in mind," surely a piece relating to a quest for identity. Another free travelblog site is Travelpost.com, which claims to have a search engine encompassing 4 million cities and journal entries, allowing travellers to post route maps as they go along. Here, once more the emphasis is on sharing experiences, with like-minded individuals, again suggesting that questions of identity are paramount. It contains a fascinating account of one "Odyssei" who journeyed to Nepal with her ailing father, a blog that receives a 5-star rating from visitors to the site. One identity-related remark in particular that is worthwhile recording is her telling observation about Nepalese teenagers, 'I was as exotic to them as they were to me.'

Also in the free category is Bootsnall.com, whose operations are subsidised by commercial offers of round the world trips (RTW in travelblog text-speak), travel insurance, hotel bookings, airfares, etc. By being able to communicate with signed up members in over 90 countries Bootsnall.com provides the "opportunity to *be involved* in a *community* of open-minded travellers who *enjoy sharing their experiences* and *helping others* enjoy their journey" (emphasis in original indicative of identity formation qualities). Not only do members receive regular newsletters with travel news and site updates, but they can also be accommodated for nothing at the organisation's headquarters in Portland, Oregon. A trawl through the list of their travelblogs arranged by continent reveals that quite a few have imaginative, alliterative, and amusing identity-related titles (e.g., "The People's Republic of Paxton", "Wander woman", "Travels with My Angst", "Angkor What", "Helga Goes a-Viking", "Serial Adventure Seeker", " The Future's

Prebacujući se na neke od pretplatničkih stranica nalazimo, na primjer, Myworldjournal.com. Pretplata od £ 9.99 omogućuje putniku da bilo gdje u svijetu obnovi svoj zapis, automatski elektroničkom poštom obavijesti prijatelje o promjenama, unese fotografije s digitalnih kamera ili skenera, popravi veličinu i boju slika i po povratku ponudi kopiju svog putopisa na CD-u. Ovdje pažnju privlači "putoblog" čiji su autori ženski par "Catandpenny". Tipičnom kronologijom unatrag (gdje je posljednja informacija prva) zapis opisuje put oko svijeta započet u Južnoj Africi a nastavlja se kroz Tajland i Kambođu. Na svakom dijelu putovanja "knjiga posjetitelja" ohrabruje sljedbenike odiseje da unose svoje komentare. Njihovi doprinosi obiluju razmišljanjima o identitetu ovih budućih putnika. Vezano za Južnu Afriku, jedan upit od "Agea" (unesen 15. siječnja 2005.) pita "Catandpenny": "možete li nas izvijestiti da vam je tako loše da se nama sado-Britancima zaglavljenima ovdje učini da se dobro provodimo?" Tom (uneseno 13. siječnja 2005.) jednostavno navodi: "sjedeći mamuran ovdje u kišnom Norwichu, prilično sam vam zavidan", dok "Mum, Dad i Sylvie" (unos 12.siječnja 2005.) dodaju kao šaljivi post scriptum: "poručite Marku Thatcheru da ga pozdravlja mama".

Nešto skuplji je Mytripjournal.com čije se cijene kreću od $19 do $89, zavisno od duljine vremenskog razdoblja koje pokrivaju i od količine unesenih slika. Tu nalazimo prekrasnu sagu o putovanju obitelji Parlow kroz Kinu. Njihova razmišljanja o načinu života ljudi u Yangshou i Guilinu su tako dirljiva da se bilo koji čitatelj može vrlo jednostavno poistovjetiti s njima. Uporaba osobnih imena od strane članova obitelji omogućava dodatno identificiranje. Vodič, koja se jednostavno naziva "Daisy" dovede Parlowe u svoju kuću. Tu im majka skuha "ukusan ručak uključujući i neke lokalne specijalitete", što je zanimljiv način

Bright, the Future's Orange"). One account in particular, "Cycling Home from Siberia" chronicles a 15,000 mile journey from Magadan (Stalin's "gateway to hell") to London. It is undertaken by one Rob Lilwall, a British teacher who wishes to raise money for charity and accordingly invites readers to follow his trip and to donate. What are especially noteworthy are the reflections on identity that intersperse his account. For example, he says that 'You will be the same person in ten years as you are today, apart from the books you read and the people you meet' (anon), an observation to which he adds, 'I don't really agree with this one but it is an interesting thought.'

Turning to some of the subscription sites, there is Myworldjournal.com, for instance. An outlay of £9.99 allows travellers to update their accounts from anywhere in the world, automatically e-mail friends about these updates, upload photos from digital cameras or scanners, re-size and re-colour images and, on return, offer them a copy of their journal on CD. Here, a travel-blog authored by a female couple, "Catandpenny", is quite attention grabbing. In typical reverse chronology (with the latest information first), the account details a RTW trip commencing in South Africa and continuing via Thailand and Cambodia. At each stage of the journey, a "guest-book" encourages followers of the odyssey to insert comments. Its entries are replete with reflections about the identity of these would-be travellers. In relation to South Africa, one in particular from "Age" (posted 15/01/05) asks "Catandpenny", 'can you report that you're having a bad time so it makes us sado Brits feel we're having a good time stuck here?' Another posting from "Tom" (13/01/05) simply says, 'sitting here hung-over in rainy Norwich, I'm quite jealous,' while "Mum, Dad and Sylvie" (12/01/05) add as a humorous postscript, 'tell Mark Thatcher that his mum sends her love.'

oblikovanja identiteta kroz interakciju sa Drugim.

Ipak, možda najintrigantniji od svih internetskih unosa koji nosi temu identiteta nalazimo na Europtrip.co.uk. Premda nije putni zapis, sam po sebi ipak se odnosi na probleme dvadesetogodišnjeg američkog studenta koji pokušava uvjeriti roditelje da mu dopuste da samostalno otputuje na put po Europi. Njegovo pitanje veoma dobro odjekuje kod posjetitelja stranice od kojih je većina bila već suočena ili je savladala sličnu poteškoću te su u mogućosti savjetovati druge kako riješiti problem ovakve naravi. Kao prvo, autor koji se identificira kao "Outofstep" razmišlja je li izabrao pravu stranicu za iznošenje svoje nevolje. Nakon što je ta sumnja otklonjena, objašnjava da u trajanju od oko mjesec dana želi samostalno posjetiti Europu i nastavlja: "radije bih putovao sam, jer bih želio da to bude osobno putovanje kako bih otkrio tko sam i što želim s ostatkom svoga života, ako to ima smisla. Većinu svog života proveo sam u strahu od društva i mislim da bi me putovanje dovelo u situacije gdje bih morao upoznavati nove ljude i družiti se s njima".

"Outofstep" unosi ovu poruku 21. ožujka 2005. u 17.35:43. Već za nekoliko minuta dobiva prvi odgovor, a do 24. ožujka do 21.22:35 dobiva dodatnih 49 odgovora od još 19 osoba. Cjelokupna razmjena zauzima 17 stranica A4 formata. On dobiva savjet od toga da treba pripremiti plan za svoju mamu i tatu gdje će ih upoznati gdje namjerava odsjedati, koliko sigurno će to putovanje biti, zatim odlazi na kraći izlet u blizini kako bi demonstrirao da je sposoban otići na dulje putovanje i donijeti natrag suvenire kako bi se njegovi roditelji mogli hvaliti njegovim poduhvatima, do održavanje veze putem elektronske pošte i najvažnije putem "putoblogova". Neki naravno preporučaju da bi "Outofstepovi" roditelji trebali biti upoznati s nekim od "putoblogova" s iste stranice i tako sebe uvjeriti da je i njihov sin sposoban brinuti se o sebi na sličan način.

More expensive is Mytripjournal.com that has rates ranging from \$19 to \$89, depending on the length of period covered and the quantity of uploaded pictures. Here there is an enthralling saga of a trip round China by the Parlow family. Their observations of the life-ways of the people of Yangshuo and Guilin, for example, are so poignant that any reader can readily identify with them. The use of first names for members of the family allows further identification to take place. The guide, simply referred to as "Daisy", takes the Parlows to her home. There her mother cooks them "a delicious lunch including some of the ethnic group's specialities", an interesting instance of identity formation through interaction with the Other.

However, perhaps the most intriguing of all of these identity-laden internet postings is one found on Eurotrip.co.uk. Although not a travel account *per se*, it nevertheless relates to the perceived problems of an American 20-year old male college student who attempts to persuade his parents to let him go on a solo trip around Europe. His posted query has plenty of resonance with visitors to the site, many of whom have faced and overcome such a difficulty themselves and are thus able to advise the others who have yet to deal with an issue of this nature. First, the author, identified as "Outofstep", wonders aloud whether he has selected the right site to air his predicament. That doubt resolved, he explains that he wishes to visit Europe on his own for about a month. He continues, 'I'd rather go solo because I want this trip to be a personal journey to find out who I am and what I want to do with the rest of my life, if that makes sense. I've lived with social anxiety most of my life and I think travelling would put me in situations when I'd have to meet new people and socialize.'

"Outofstep" posts this message on 21 March 2005 at 17.35:43. Within just four

Sve ove i još neke druge sugestije barem se dodiruju pitanja identiteta.

Međutim, četiri odgovora su još preciznija. "Auher", na primjer, kaže "Outofstepu": "tvoja ideja da samostalno otputuješ je skroz "cool". Mislim da će to biti izvrsno iskustvo. Ja sam stvarno uživao sam putovati. Mislim da ti pomaže da odrasteš kao osoba i proširiš horizonte i čini te prilagodljivim na sve vrste situacija". Osobni rast, širenje mišljenja i prilagodljivost zasigurno su ključni sastojci osobnog identiteta. Zatim tu je "Nadrazi" koji navodi: "kao samostalan putnik često ćeš u hostelima upoznati veće grupe ljudi nego što bi ih upoznao da putuješ s prijateljem. Samostalni putnik često ljudima djeluje dostupnijim i lakše je s njim započeti razgovor". Ova primjedba je vrlo važna pogotovo kada legitimno postavlja pitanje realnosti samostalnog putovanja (Mehmetoglu, 2003). Isto tako postavlja se pitanje koliko je teško razviti identitet kroz interakciju s drugima kada je individualno "Ja" kompromitirano od strane *égotisme à deux*. "Nadrazi" završava podsjećajući "Outofstep" da on mora uvjeriti svoje roditelje da je putovanje zbog njega i da će ostvariti osobni rast za kojim traga. Nalazimo tu još i "Kiwiroba", naravno Novozelanđanina, koji je dom napustio u 21. godini i slijedećih 30 mjeseci proveo samostalno putujući po Europi. On, uz dozu autoriteta, kaže "Outofstepu": "u pravu si, puno ćeš naučiti o sebi". Konačno tu je i "Clunker" koji cijeloj situaciji daje dozu humora. Njegov savjet je: "reci roditeljima da u 20. godini trebaš nešto da bi "pronašao" sebe te da si to sveo ili na samostalno putovanje u Europu na nekoliko tjedana ili na buljenje u homoseksualne porno filmove. Kladim se da će platiti tvoj let i pokaz za željeznicu. Nekoliko dana kasnije, 9. travnja, Clunker obavještava o sretnom završetku i objašnjava ostatku grupe da je "Outofstep" slučajno unio zapis pod novom temom, ali da je uspio uvjeriti roditelje tako da je sve pod kontrolom.

minutes he receives his first response and by 24 March 2005, 21.22:35 he has received 49 additional replies from a further 19 persons. The full exchange takes up 17 A4 pages of print out. Here he receives advice ranging from the need to prepare a plan for his mother and father showing where he intends staying and how safe it will be, undertaking a short trip nearby in order to demonstrate that he is capable of a longer journey and bringing back souvenirs so that his proud parents can boast of his exploits, to keeping in touch via e-mails and, most importantly, travelblogs. Indeed, it is recommended by some that "Outofstep's" parents could be usefully shown some travelblogs from the same Web-site, thereby reassuring themselves about their son's ability to take care of himself in a similar fashion. All these and several other suggestions are at least tangentially related to identity.

However, four of the responses are even more to the point. "Auher", for instance, says to "Outofstep", 'your idea for taking a personal journey is cool. I think you'd have a great experience. I've really enjoyed traveling alone. I think it helps you grow as a person and really broadens your horizons and makes you adaptable to all sorts of situations.' Personal growth, broadening the mind and adaptability are certainly key ingredients of self-identity. Then there is "Nadrazi" who notes, 'Being a solo traveler you will often find yourself among larger groups of people that you met at the hostel than you would've had you gone with a friend. A solo traveler often seems much more approachable to people and much easier to strike up a conversation with.' This observation is also very pertinent, especially when it legitimately queries the reality of solitary travel (Mehmetoglu, 2003). It also raises the question of how difficult it is to develop identity through interaction with others when an individual's Self is compromised by an *égotisme à deux*. "Nadrazi" ends by reminding "outofstep" that he needs

"Re-teoretiziranje" turističkog identiteta

Uzimajući u obzir da je "putoblog" nedavna pojava, potrebno je istražiti pretpostavke ovog relativnog novog mehanizma identiteta turista preispitujući ga unutar interneta kao vida komunikacije. Pošto je termin kibernetička antropologija sada ušao u znanstvenu upotrebu, prvi je zahtjev razmatrati internet i novosti iz Komunikacije putem računala (CMC) u odnosu na antropološke aspekte virtualnog prostora. Sukladno tome, sljedeći zapis bavi se konceptom identiteta baziranog na antropološkoj vezi između ljudske prirode, kulture i tehnologije prije diskusije o identitetu turista.

Na samom početku "The internet galaxy" Manuel Castells ažurira čuveni i provokativni McLuhanov navod "Mreža je poruka" (Castells, 2001, str.1). Castells podsjeća čitatelje da mreže, kao međusobno povezani čvorovi, nisu samo vrlo stari oblici ljudske društvenosti "već su dobile novi život u naše vrijeme postajući informacijske mreže koje pokreće internet" (Castells, 2001, str 1). Štoviše, on naglašava da uvođenje informacije temeljene na računalu te komunikacijskih tehnologija, posebice interneta, omogućava mrežama da rasporede svoju fleksibilnost i prilagodljivost tako potvrđujući njihovu evolutivnu prirodu" (Castells, 2001, str. 2).

Jedna od razlikovnih karakteristika interneta je kontrast između otuđujuće i neotuđujuće uporabe medija. Što se tiče prvotnog, naglašava se prateća društvena praznina; a vezano za potonje, informacijska tehnologija se izdvaja kao instrument za stvaranje, planiranje i doživljavanje unutar okvira materijalne i konkretne stvarnosti.

Još dublje razmatranje proizlazi iz sociologije komunikacije koja izdvaja komunikaciju putem računala kao hibridni instrument koji se razlikuje od među-osobne

to reassure his parents that this trip is for him and that hopefully he will find the personal growth for which he is looking. The there is "Kiwirob", not surprisingly a New Zealander, who left home at the age of 21 and spent the next 30 months travelling on his own throughout Europe. He tells "Outofstep" with some degree of authority that, 'you are right, it will teach you a lot about yourself.' Finally, there is "Clunker" who adds a touch of humour to the situation. His advice to "Outofstep" is, 'tell your parents that at 20 years old you need to do something to "find" yourself, and you've narrowed it down to either going to Europe for a few weeks on your own, or starring in a line of gay porn videos. Betcha they pay for your flight and rail pass!' A few days later, on April 9, and by way of a happy ending to the electronic exchange, the same "Clunker" explains to the rest of the group that, '"Outofstep" accidentally posted it under a new topic, but he convinced his parents to let him go, so all is well.'

Re-theorizing touristic identity

Bearing in mind the recent appearance of the travelblog, it is necessary to explore the assumptions of this relatively new vehicle of tourist identity by examining it within the context of the internet as a form of communication. Since the term "cyber-anthropology" has now entered academic usage, the first requirement is to consider the internet and the novelties of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) in relation to the anthropological aspects of cyberspace. Accordingly, the following account turns on the concept of identity as based on the anthropological association between human nature, culture and technology, before moving on to a discussion of tourist identity.

At the outset of *The internet galaxy* Manuel Castells updates the famous and provocative statement of McLuhan in "The network is the message" (Castells, 2001, p.

komunikacije, i komunikacije masovnih medija. Dapače, oba ova oblika komunikacije moramo uvijek imati na umu jer "niti jedan od novih načina komunikacije ne preuzima mjesto već etabliranih medija, nego ih nastoji asimilirati. Danas je lako vidjeti da internet svojim korisnicima nudi brojne online dnevne zapise sa sofisticiranim alatima za pretraživanje koji nisu dostupni tradicionalnim tiskovinama, elektroničkim knjigama, televizijskim kanalima, web radio stanicama, telefonu sa glasom ili bez njega i ostalim brojnim hibridnim vrstama komunikacije koje manje ili više nastaju iz postojećih medija (Paccagnella, 2004, str. 124; prijevod drugog autora).

Kod komunikacije putem računala ona može biti između dvije osobe, jedne osobe s više osoba ili između više osoba. Ako koristimo među-disciplinarni pristup, i to onaj koji obuhvaća sociologiju, psihologiju, antropologiju, spoznajne znanosti, ekonomiju i informatiku, sljedeći kronološki pojednostavljeni slijed počinje sa 80-im (prva generacija) kada su komunikaciju putem računala proučavali samo psiholozi. U to vrijeme navodili su da je komunikacija putem računala bila razložno efikasna kada je trebalo prenositi precizne i točne informacije (npr. upute za upravljanje), ali je imala puno nedostataka što se tiče striktno društvenog odnosa među sudionicima komunikacije. Devedesete su godine antropologa i etnografa koji pokušavaju razumjeti novu kulturu koju razvijaju online grupe. Njih slijede sociolozi (treća generacija) novog milenija koji su nastojali ocijeniti promjene koje su se događale u cijelom društvu, promjene koje je pratilo uvođenje komunikacije putem računala u svakodnevni život svih stanovnika zapadnog svijeta (Paccagnella, 2004).

Usprkos nekim negativnim naznakama glede pitanja pristupa raznih grupa, klasa i nacija te, iako kulturološke studije pravilno upozoravaju na zlouporabu moći koja se ko-

1). Castells reminds his readers that networks, as interconnected nodes, are not only very old forms of human sociability, 'but they have taken on a new life in our time by becoming information networks, powered by the internet' (Castells, 2001, p. 1). Moreover, he emphasises that the introduction of computer-based information and communication technologies, particularly the internet, 'enables networks to deploy their flexibility and adaptability, thus asserting their evolutionary nature' (Castells, 2001, p. 2).

One of the distinguishing features of the internet is the contrast between the alienating and non-alienating use of the medium. Regarding the former, the accompanying social void is underlined; in the case of the latter, information technology stands out as an instrument for creating, planning and experiencing within the framework of a material and concrete reality.

A more in-depth consideration derives from the sociology of communication, which singles out CMC as a hybrid instrument that differs from interpersonal communication, and communication from the mass media. Indeed, both of these forms of discourse have to be kept constantly in mind, since 'none of the new communication means takes the place of already established media but tends to assimilate them. Nowadays, it is easy to see that the internet offers its users numerous on-line daily journals with sophisticated search tools unavailable to traditional newspapers, e-books, television channels, web radio, telephone with or without voice, and many other kinds of hybrid communication, more or less deriving from current media' (Paccagnella, 2004, p. 124; translation of second author).

In CMC, communication can be one-to-one, one-to-many, or many-to-many. If an interdisciplinary approach is adopted, one that embraces sociology, psychology, anthropology, the cognitive sciences, economics and informatics, the following

risti kroz komunikaciju, ipak izgleda prevladava sveobuhvatni optimizam glede tvrdnje o medijskoj univerzalnosti. Kao što navodi deKerchove, internet ne istražuje samo potpuno nove modalitete memorije i distribucije informacija, on ustvari pokušava osigurati pristup što korisnijim informacijama za što je više ljudi moguće" (deKerchove, 2005).

Premda je "kibernetička-antroplogija" veoma jasan termin za mnoge ljude, on još uvijek predstavlja prijetnju koja zaziva futurističke i nehumane znanstveno-popularne perspektive kibernetičkog prostora. Nasuprot tome ovaj rad nastoji termin pratiti unatrag do njegovih samih korijena naglašavajući na taj način kontinuitet i evoluciju ljudske prirode, kulture i tehnologije.

McLuhanov navod "medij je poruka" ima ustvari više implikacija nego što se to obično misli. "Ovim samo želimo reći da osobne i društvene konzekvence bilo kojeg medija, tj. bilo kojeg proširenja nas samih, rezultira iz nove skale koja se uvodi u naše odnose putem svakog širenja nas samih ili putem bilo koje nove tehnologije" (McLuhan, 1967, str. 15). Ako ljudi ovo pažljivo pročitaju, ubrzo će shvatiti da McLuhan ujedinjuje antropološki razvoj, medije i tehnologiju u globalnu raspravu. S jedne strane tehnologiju zasigurno možemo smatrati proširenjem čovjeka, kao što to podnaslov "Razumijevanje medija" navodi. S druge strane antropološka je veza vjerojatno nešto kompleksnija.

Prema Geertzu ljudi su nezavršene ili nedovršene životinje koje sebe dovršavaju kroz kulturu: ne općenito putem kulture već kroz vrlo specifične oblike kulture (Geertz, 1987). Od biološke nedovršenosti imamo odmah prijelaz do kulturne osobitosti. Nema među-stupnja, razina općenitosti ili univerzalnosti (Remotti, 2003).

Ovdje je potrebno pozvati se na Gehlenovu filozofsku antropologiju, doprinos koji mnogi znanstvenici tek posredno priznaju.

chronologically simplified sequence begins with the 1980s (first generation) as the period when CMC was studied by psychologists. At that time, they stated that CMC was reasonably efficacious when it came to transmitting precise and punctual information (e.g. managerial instructions), but that it was hopelessly lacking as regards the strictly social relationships between communicating parties. The 1990s were the years of anthropologists and ethnographers, who attempted to understand the new culture developed by on-line groups. They were followed by the new Millennium (third generation) sociologists who tried to evaluate the changes taking place in society as a whole, changes that were accompanied by the introduction of CMC in the everyday life of all citizens in the Western world (Paccagnella, 2004).

In spite of certain negative overtones concerning issues of access for various groups, classes and nations, and even though cultural studies rightly warn against the abuses of power which is exerted through communication, an overall optimism seems to prevail regarding the claim of the medium's universality. As de Kerckhove puts it, the Net is not only exploring a completely new modality of memory and information distribution, 'The Net is really trying to provide as many people as it can reach with access to as much useful information as can be accessed' (de Kerckhove, 2005).

Although "Cyber-anthropology" is a very precise term, for many people it still represents a kind of threat evoking the futuristic and dehumanizing science-fiction perspectives of cyberspace. Here, by contrast, the aim is to trace the term back to its origins, thereby stressing the continuity and evolution of human nature, culture and technology.

McLuhan's statement "The medium is the message" has in fact more implications than are usually considered. 'This is merely to say that the personal and social conse-

Putem pojednostavljivanja on tvrdi da potreba za tehnologijom dolazi zbog nesavršenosti ljudskih bića (Gehlen, 1984; 1993). Tehnologiju, dakle, možemo smatrati u antropološkom smislu kao neku vrstu ortopedskog pomagala koje nije samo zamjena za, nego čak i povećava potencijal ljudskih mogućnosti. Ljudsko biće je individua koja proizvodi alate, a istovremeno svijet tehnologije možemo, dakle, smatrati nekom vrstom "Velikog čovjeka". Gehlen govori o zamjeni, jačanju i olakšavanju uloge ljudskih organa. Internet možemo promatrati kao neku vrstu intelektualne proteze. S ove točke gledišta njegovu funkciju možemo smatrati vrstom jačanja i intenziviranja mentalnog organona (Lepore, 2003).

Internet u osnovi pojačava tri ljudske težnje – glumljenje, komuniciranje i socijaliziranje (cf. Austinov i Searlov tretman jezika kao aktivnosti kroz koje ljudi žele postići višestruke ciljeve). Među najrecentnijim pozicijama znanstvenika koji su zainteresirani za antropologiju virtualnog prostora i kibernetičke tehnologije Pierre Levy naglašava da napredak spoznajne proteze uz digitalnu podršku dubinski modificira ljudske intelektualne kapacitete kao da su one mutacije u njihovom genetskom nasljedstvu. Štoviše, on naglašava evolutivni proces kod ljudske vrste, koji ne samo da još nije završen, već je mjesto gdje se mogu primijetiti iznenadna ubrzanja (Levy, 1996).

S više sociološkog pogleda, netko bi, poput Paccagnelle, mogao upitati dovodi li tehnologija do promjene ili samu tehnologiju treba smatrati društvenim proizvodom, rezultatom stalnih mutacija u društvu (Paccagnelle, 2004). Ovaj upit se veže na još jedno važno pitanje odnosa tehnologije i svakodnevnog života. Prema ovom tumačenju, ako je svakodnevnica uvijek bila u odnosu sa svakom vrstom tehnologije, internet bi mogao djelovati kao savršeni tehnološki prozor koji se, uz pomoć ekrana, otvara naredbom.

quences of any medium – that is, of any extension of ourselves – result from the new scale that is introduced into our affairs by each extension of ourselves, or by any new technology' (McLuhan, 1967, p. 15). If people read these words carefully, they will soon realise that McLuhan is uniting anthropological development, the media and technology into a global discourse. On the one hand, technologies can certainly be considered as *The extensions of man*, as the subtitle of *Understanding media* reads. On the other hand, the anthropological connection is probably a bit more complex.

According to Geertz, humans are incomplete or unfinished animals that refinish themselves through culture: not via culture in general, but through very specific forms of culture (Geertz, 1987). From biological incompleteness, there is an immediate passage to cultural particularity. There is not an intermediate stage, a level of generality and universality (Remotti, 2003).

Here it is necessary to refer to Gehlen's philosophical anthropology, a contribution that is only implicitly acknowledged by many scholars. By way of simplification, he asserts that the need for technology is due to the imperfections of human beings (Gehlen, 1984; 1993). Technology can thus be considered in an anthropocentric way as a kind of orthopaedic prosthesis, which not only substitutes for, but also increases the potential of human abilities. The human being is a tool-making individual and, at the same time, the world of technology can hence be considered a kind of "Great Man". Gehlen speaks of substitution, strengthening and relief of the human organs. The internet can then be seen as an intellectual prosthesis. From this point of view, its function should probably be considered a kind of strengthening and intensification of the mental organon (Lepore, 2003).

The internet principally intensifies three human pursuits – acting, communicating and

No, ispada da Castellsova dubinska analiza koncepta identiteta koji je povezan s turizmom nije baš od prevelike pomoći. Njegovo temeljno zanimanje je "u kontradiktornoj logici između mreže i "Ja", između moći kapitalističkih mreža i moći identiteta, između korporativne globalizacije i alternativnih globalnih pokreta (Castells, 2004, str. xviii). Castells se naročito usredotočuje na društvene pokrete i politiku i ne propitkuje najdublju prirodu identiteta već više tradicionalno smatra da se moć identiteta sastoji od roda, religije, nacije, etničke grupe, teritorija i socio-biologije (Castells, 2004). Potrebno je stoga koristiti se alternativnim izvorima.

Prema Remottiju "teorija da je čovjek nedovršena životinja odmah postavlja pitanje identiteta (Remotti, 2003, str. 17; prijevod drugog autora). Ova izjava vodi do Geertza, a od njega do Gehlena tako poravnavajući put do Levya te iznad svega do de Kerchove. Pod ovim okvirom identitet sadržava tri različita sloja. Prvi predviđa protok i promjenu, drugi veze i alternative a treći izgradnju identiteta. Ovaj inovativni pogled odbacuje nepromjenljivi i u kamenu isklesan karakter ljudske prirode: "Koncept ljudske prirode kao već gotove strukture ne ostavlja prostor samoj kulturi". Suprotno tome koncept koji naglašava mane i ograničenja čovjekove biološke strukture daje posebne razloge za preispitivanjem i kulturnih i posebice "modela identiteta" (Remotti, 2003, str. 12; prijevod drugog autora).

Izgradnja identiteta, koja se događa tijekom komunikacije putem računala, od velikog je zanimanja za sociologe i antropologe jer, iako se potrebe nametnute sociološkim zahtjevima ne mogu u potpunosti izbjeći, mnogo se veća sloboda iskušava ovdje nego u off-line svijetu. Među najrecentnijim kibernetičkim antropolozima, Peirre Levy je prvi koji ukazuje na mnoštvo značajnih virtualnih prostora, prije nego što prelazi na takozvane "kvantične" identitete koje ka-

socialising (cf. Austin and Searle's treatment of language as an activity through which people attempt to achieve a multiplicity of objectives). Among the most recent positions of academics interested in the anthropology of cyberspace and cyber-technology, Pierre Lévy emphasises that the progress of cognitive prostheses with digital support modifies human intellectual capacities in depth, as if they were mutations in their genetic patrimony. Moreover, he stresses the evolutionary process of humankind, which is not only not yet accomplished, but the place where a sudden acceleration can be noted (Lévy, 1996).

From a more sociological point of view, one could ask, as Paccagnella does, whether it is technology that induces change or whether technology itself should be considered as a social product, the result of continuous mutation in society (Paccagnella, 2004). This query connects with another important issue – the technology/everyday-life relationship. According to this interpretation, if everyday-life has always interfaced with every sort of technology, the internet could act as a state-of-the-art technological window, opening on command with the help of the screen.

Castells does not turn out to be very helpful in analyzing in depth the concept of an identity that is linked to tourism. He is fundamentally interested in 'the contradictory logic between the net and the self, between the power of capitalist networks and the power of identity, between corporate globalisation and alternative global movements' (Castells, 2004, p. xviii). He focuses particularly on social movements and politics and does not question the deepest nature of identity, more traditionally considering the power of identity as consisting of gender, religion, nation, ethnic group, territory and socio-biology (Castells, 2004). Thus, it is necessary to draw on alternative sources.

According to Remotti, 'The theory of man as an incomplete animal immediately

rakterizira koegzistencija nekoliko identiteta. Levy navodi: "Ljudi se više ne doimaju kao pune figurice koje stoje na svojim dobro razrađenim teritorijima već su nomadski aranžmani koji klize kroz fluktuirajući prostor" (Levy, 1996, str. 162) prijevod drugog autora). Ovi novi nomadi se, dakle, mogu promatrati kao emigranti iz subjektiviteta.

Međutim, de Kerckhove je prvi koji govori o kvantnoj fazi koja predstavlja napredniju fazu nego što je digitalno računalo. "Danas smo u post-Galileovskom trenutku kada se nekad postojana stvar i znanost ponovno pretvaraju u tekuće stanje. Možda se ponovno vraćamo u novi oblik kvantne kozmologije gdje je čovjek ponovno u središtu univerzuma, ne kao središte fizičke stvari, već samo kao centar informacije koju smo razvili o njoj ... (de Kerchove, 2005). Oni koji se bave masovnim medijima ponekad se koriste neologizmom "e.bivstvovanje", gdje se prefiks "e" odnosi na subjektivnost interneta. Puno češće, međutim, koriste jednostavni oblik "bivstvovanje" - izraz koji je stvorio viktorijanski pjesnik Gerard Manley Hopkins - i njegova razmišljanja o izgradnji osobnog identiteta. "Ključ do novog identiteta je ono što ja nazivam "bivstvovanje" što je "Ja" u procesu, u stvaranju, kao u kvantnoj fizici gdje "stvari nisu već samo nastoje biti". Novi identitet je u trajnom stvaranju i obnavljanju u trenutku uporabe, dok je on-line fluidan i potpun kao kad se ljudi upoznaju i tijekom sastanka promjene percepcije jedni o drugima" (de Kerchove, 2005).

Razgovor o turizmu i identitetu možemo pratiti skroz do opće hipoteze o turizmu prema kojoj ljudi nemaju pravi određeni milje i gdje se turistička aktivnost može doživjeti kao trajno povećavanje njihovog okruženja, kao stalno stvaranje novih prostora. Premda su nedovršeni i neodređeni, otvoreni su prema svijetu; velika im je prednost što nisu ograničeni, nisu u kavezu kao druge životinje: "Ljudska bića nisu genetički opremljena sa specijalizacijama i u principu

raises the question of identity' (Remotti, 2003, p. 17; translation of second author). This statement in turn leads to Geertz and from him to Gehlen, thereby smoothing the way to Lévy and above all to de Kerckhove. Under this framework, identity comprises three different layers. The first envisages flux and change, the second connections and alternatives, and the third identity building. This innovative and seminal view rejects the inalterable character of a human nature cast in stone: 'The concept of human nature as an already complete structure leaves no space for culture itself. On the contrary, a concept that highlights the deficiencies and limits of man's biological structure gives specific reason to enquire further into both culture and, more particularly, identity models' (Remotti, 2003, p. 12; translation of second author).

The identity building that takes place during CMC is of great interest to sociologists and anthropologists because, even though the requirements imposed by social exigencies cannot be completely avoided, much greater freedom is experienced here than in the offerings of the off-line world. Among the most recent cyber-anthropologists, Pierre Lévy, first pinpoints the multiplicity of spaces of significance, before moving on to the so-called "quantic" identities that feature the co-existence of several identities. As he puts it, 'People no longer appear as solid figurines standing on well-defined territories but as nomadic arrangements that glide over a fluctuating space' (Lévy, 1996, p. 162; translation of second author). These new nomads can thus be seen as the immigrants of subjectivity.

However, it is de Kerckhove who first speaks of a quantum phase that represents a more advanced stage than even the digital computer. 'Today, we are at the post-Galilean moment when matter and science once solid are turning to liquid again. We may be getting back into a new kind of quantum cosmology where man is again at the centre

slobodni su istraživati sve moguće svjetove. Ovo u praksi znači biti sposoban neovisno stjecati ili stvarati specijalizacije koje im nedostaju, ali koje su neophodne ako žele aktivno sudjelovati i u drugim, a ne samo svojem svijetu" (Maldonado, 1997, str 144; prijevod drugog autora). Promatrano u ovom svjetlu trebalo bi biti jasno da provođenje nečijeg vremena u virtualnom prostoru, koji se dijeli sa drugima, implicira ne samo otkrivanje novih perspektiva samog sebe i svijeta već stalno izgrađivanje vlastitog identiteta. Danas se identitet turista gradi na mnogo načina i slijedeći razne komunikacijske procese u komunikaciji putem računala blog predstavlja poseban oblik ove nove vrste informacijskog istraživanja koje nastaje iz prethodnih tehnologija: "Govoreći praktično prostor bloga funkcionira kao gigantska mreža usmene predaje". Blogovi su dostupni svima (...). Naše ponašanje je ponašanje u javnom prostoru i podložno upitima, vezano uz identitet koji smo odlučili odabrati" (Granieri, 2005, str. 51, prijevod drugog autora). Ovdje je korisno etimološki promisliti o terminu *log* koji u svom drugom značenju *Oxford adavnced learner's dictionary of current English (2000, str. 756)* definira kao "službeni zapis događaja tijekom osobitog vremenskog razdoblja, posebice je to putovanje brodom ili zrakoplovom". Izgleda da je zbog procesa samoaktualizacije praksa stvaranja putnog zapisa bliža *dnevniku* koji isti riječnik definira kao "knjiga u kojoj možete zapisati svakodnevna iskustva, osobna razmišljanja itd. (str. 347).

ZAKLJUČAK

Nakon ovog preliminarnog preispitivanja "putobloga" potrebno je vratiti se unatrag i porazgovarati o mogućem dosezanju identiteta turista kroz ove posljednje oblike masovnih medija. Prije je naglasak bio na načinima na koji "putoblogovi" čine druga-

of the universe, not as the centre of physical matter, but just of the information we have developed about it [...]' (de Kerckhove, 2005). Massmediologists sometimes employ the neologism "e.selving", where the prefix "e" refers to the subjectivity of the internet. More frequently, however, they use the simple variant "selving", an expression inspired by the Victorian poet Gerard Manley Hopkins and his reflections on the process of constructing individual identity. 'The key to the new identity is what I call "selving", that is the self in progress, in becoming, as in quantum physics where "things are not, they merely tend to be". The new identity is in perpetual formation and reformation at the moment of use and on line it is fluid and aggregative as when people meet and change their perceptions of each other during the meeting' (de Kerckhove, 2005).

The discourse of tourism and identity can also be traced back to a general hypothesis of tourism, according to which people have no proper definitive milieu, and where tourist activity can be envisaged as a perpetual enlargement of their environment, a continuous acquisition of new spaces. Although they are incomplete, undetermined and unfinished beings, they are open to the world; they have the great advantage of not being confined, like other animals, in a cage: 'Human beings are not genetically equipped with specialisations and, in principle, are free to explore all possible worlds. This, in practice, means being capable of independently acquiring or creating the specialisations they lack but which are indispensable if they are to take an active part in worlds other than their own' (Maldonado, 1997, p. 144; translation of second author).

Seen in this light, it should be evident by now that spending one's time in a shared virtual space implies not only discovering new perspectives of oneself and of the world, but continuously building up one's identity. Nowadays tourist identity is constructed in many ways and, following various CMC

čiji tip komunikacije u njihovom stalnom traženju inovativnosti dok se istovremeno vraćaju njihovim prošlim antropološkim korijenima. U ovom smislu antropologija virtualnog prostora uobličila se, ne kao koncept koji dolazi iz vanjskog prostora, već kao sastavni dio stalne evolucije tehnologije. Općenito govoreći, stare tehnologije nikada se u potpunosti ne zamjene novim i uspješnijim. Dapače, možemo ih doživjeti kao nešto što jača turistički imidž. (Liebman Parrinello, 2001).

S nekih točki gledišta pitanje identiteta turista bi isprva izgledalo kao da je kontekstualizirano unutar okvira kontinuiteta. S jedne strane "putoblogove" možemo smatrati kao razvoj tradicionalne tehnologije pisanja s dvosmislenom dilemom javno-privatnog dnevnika koji je premješten online kao fraza podložna promatranju. S druge strane Goffmanova perspektiva se još može smatrati valjanom dok se tu i tamo obnavlja putem novih oblika govora u različitim društvenim arenama. Nakon svega Goffmanovo "Ja" rijetko je bilo stabilno pa se s vremena na vrijeme mijenjalo tijekom međusobnih djelovanja (Goffman, 1959).

U sadašnjoj situaciji, međutim, imamo osnovnu imanentnost interneta: identitet nije samo fluid, već je stalan protok kroz sam medij i nastaje eksplozivna snaga "bivstvovanje" koju predlaže de Kerckhove.

Na ovom raskršću, i putem sažetka, neograničeni potencijal ovog novog turističkog identiteta koji nastaje iz weba treba detaljnije objasniti, niz scenarija koji vrijede ne samo za društvenog aktera kao autora na elektroničkom mediju koji postaje heroj već vrijedi i za korisnike, svjedoke i sudionike koji trenutačno postaju ko-protagonisti. Za "putoblog" kao kanal komunikacije među sadašnjim i budućim turistima koji stvara identitet mogu se identificirati sljedeće važne karakteristike:

- izravna otvorenost komentarima, reakcijama i povratnim informacijama gdje se ovo širenje identiteta događa

communication procedures, the blog represents a specific aspect of this new kind of information-exploration that derives from preceding technologies: 'Practically speaking, the blogsphere works as a gigantic word-of-mouth network. Weblogs are available to everyone […] Our behaviour is of public dominion and open to queries, bound to the identity we have decided to choose' (Granieri, 2005, p. 51; translation of second author). Here it is useful to reflect etymologically on the term *log*, which, in its second meaning, the *Oxford advanced learner's dictionary of current English* (2000, p. 756) defines as 'an official record of events during a particular period of time, especially a journey on a ship or plane'. It seems that due to the process of self-actualisation, the practice of authoring a travelogue is more akin to a *diary*, defined by the same source as 'a book in which you can write down the experiences you have each day, your private thoughts, etc' (p. 347)

CONCLUSION

After this preliminary examination of travelblogs, it is necessary to go back and discuss the possible attainments of tourist identity through these latest creations of the mass media. Earlier, an emphasis was placed on the ways in which travelblogs constitute a different type of communication in their enduring quest for innovation, while at the same time returning to their past anthropological roots. In this regard, cyber-anthropology has taken shape, not as a concept coming from outer space, but as an integral part of the continuous evolution of technology. Generally speaking, old technologies are never completely replaced by more recent and successful ones. If anything, they can be seen as strengthening tourism imagery (Liebman Parrinello, 2001).

From some vantage points, the issue of tourist identity would seem at first to be contextualised within a framework of conti-

zbog stvarnog i potencijalnog, interaktivnog dijaloga na ekranu.

- Razgovor među jednakima utoliko što su tradicionalni kočničari komunikacije (npr. rod, klasa) smješteni u privremenu neizvjesnost (kao što se ponekad nađu u zajednicama (*communitas*) brojnih turističkih situacija).

- Oblik razgovora u kojem se informacija dijeli, a problemi se rješavaju na obostrano zadovoljstvo sudionika.

- Uporaba obrnute kronologije kako bi se "putoblogu" dao osjećaj hitnosti i da mu se da ugrađena usmjerenost prema budućnosti. Nasuprot tome "putoblog" je inspiriran oživljavanjem prošlih iskustava.

- Osnovna vizualna digitalna dimenzija fotografija koje prate dnevnik i koje su njegov sastavni dio. Bitno je imati na umu da se fotografija, u svojim različitim aspektima, razvijala istom brzinom kao i turizam. Štoviše, slike i razglednice su još uvijek osnovni elementi "jezika turizma", jer daju značenje i dobivaju značenje iz teksta putem procesa sidrenja i prijenosa (Barthes, 1984).

- Međusobno ispreplitanje javnih i privatnih dimenzija kroz dnevnički razgovor gdje se može promatrati fenomenologija u akciji – otvaranje unutrašnjeg "Ja" vanjskom svijetu (Schutz, 1972). Istovremeno, međutim, postoje Vebleneskovske opasnosti poboljšanja ega, dobivanja statusnih bodova kroz razmetljivo putovanje. Navodno se ovi poticaji mogu reducirati prisustvom glasne publike koja je možda već sama uživala u sličnom iskustvu i stoga se teže impresionira nečijom drugom pričom.

- Neizravna potvrda i priznanje individualnih aspiracija, kao postojanje vodećeg "opinion makera", novinara ili pisca putopisa. Ovakva

nuity. On the one hand, travelblogs may be regarded as a development of the traditional technology of penmanship with the ambiguous private-public dilemma of a diary transferred on-line, as phrase subject to gaze. On the other hand, Goffman's perspective can still be considered valid, as long as it is updated now and again by means of new types of speech in different kinds of social arenas. After all, Goffman's "self" was rarely stable, but from time to time changed during interactions (Goffman, 1959).

In the present situation, however, there is the internet's basic immanence: identity is not only fluid but in constant flux through the medium itself, and the explosive force of the *selving* proposed by de Kerckhove has emerged.

At this juncture, and by way of summary, the unlimited potential of this new, Web-derived tourist identity should be spelt out in greater detail, a set of scenarios which holds good not only for the social actor as electronic author emerging as hero, but also for the users, the witnesses and participants who momentarily act as co-protagonists. The following important features can be identified for the travelblog as an identity-bestowing channel of communication among present and future tourists:

- An immediate openness to comments, reactions and feedback, where this expansion of identity is due to actual and potential, on-screen interactive dialogue.

- A discourse among equals in so far as traditional inhibitors of communication (e.g., gender, class), are placed in temporary abeyance, (just as they sometimes are in the communitas of a number of tourist settings).

- A form of caring dialog in which information is shared and problems are resolved to the mutual benefit of participants.

"priznanja" mogu se uspoređivati s razgovorima među strancima u anonimnim turističkim okruženjima (npr. zračne luke).

- Česta uporaba pseudonima. Ove pseudonime ne treba smatrati oblikom prikrivanja ili potpune odvojenosti od svakodnevnog identiteta. Prije ih treba smatrati kao dio provizornog procesa društvene izgradnje, elaboracije jednog oblika vlastitog "Ja" (Paccagnella, 2004). Ti slobodno izabrani nadimci mogu se doživljavati kao humor koji osobe koje se prvi put upoznaju koriste radi smanjenja napetosti.

- Potencijalno novi jezik zbog stalnog djelovanja tehnologija na jezik: "Sve tehnologije koje, kodiraju, sortiraju i transportiraju jezik isto tako mijenjaju jezik, govornika, slušatelja i općenito korisnika jezika (de Kerckhove, 2005)

- Ispreplitanje i novi odnos pisanog i govornog jezika u doba "druge oralnosti" (Ong. 2002). Putni zapis izgleda da samo koristi tradicionalni jezik dnevnika. Na neki način postoji referentnost na interaktivnost oralne komunikacije, čak i kada nedostaju paralingvistički, mimičko-gestualni i proksemički elementi.

- Nova uporaba engleskog kao dominantnog jezika. Ovdje je potrebna detaljnija lingvistička analiza kao dio budućeg istraživanja. Okvirno moglo bi se reći da govor "putobloga" nije educirani i jasan jezik engelskih urednika već novi kolokvijalni, ulični i interaktivni jezik sa svojim reperskim i "sms" skraćenicama.

Prema otrcanoj metafori o globalnom selu djelomično je točno da zbog novih medija društveni život planete postaje sužen na veličinu zaseoka. U ovoj globalnoj svakodnevnoj dimenziji, koja je ionako zahvaćena u "krešendu" tehnologija kao da je moguće kontinuirano otvarati interaktivne prozore.

- The use of reverse chronology, in order to give the travelblog some sense of immediacy and to provide it with an in-built future orientation. A travelogue, by contrast, takes its inspiration from the re-living of past experiences.

- The fundamental visual digital dimension of the photos accompanying the diary, and that are an integral part of it. It is worth bearing in mind that photography, in its different aspects, developed at the same pace as tourism. Moreover, pictures and postcards are still core elements of "the language of tourism" since they bestow meaning on and receive meaning from text via the processes of anchorage and relay (Barthes, 1984).

- The intertwining of public and private dimensions through the diary-like discourse where one can observe phenomenology in action – the opening up of the inner self to the external world (Schutz, 1972). At the same time, however, there are associated Veblenesque dangers of ego-enhancement, the gaining of status points through ostentatious travel. Arguably, these boasts can be reduced by the presence of a vocal audience who may themselves already have enjoyed similar experiences and therefore be less impressed by the account of another.

- The implicit confirmation and admission of individual aspirations, like becoming an opinion leader, journalist or travel writer. Such "confessions" may be compared to conversations between strangers in anonymous touristic environments (e.g., airports).

- The frequent use of aliases. These pseudonyms should not be considered as a kind of disguise or as a complete separation from everyday identity. Rather they should be regarded as part of a tentative process of social con-

Čak i obični pretraživači weba nisu kao neki prošli putnici iz naslonjača, jer ovi korisnici interneta sudjeluju u interaktivnom procesu; njihovo kognitivno i emocionalno sudjelovanje ne može se realno usporediti s onim iz 19. stoljeća. Stoga, iako je moguće govoriti o novom identitetu turista, istovremeno je potrebno održavati jedinstvenost psihičkog života turista glumca, što je neizostavna referentna točka kako bi se razumjelo sve fenomene povezane s turizmom. Takvo razumijevanje dopušta bacanje novog svjetla na kontroverzni, iako vitalan odnos između turizma i svakodnevnog života.

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struction, an elaboration of one facet of the self (Paccagnella, 2004). Such freely chosen nicknames may also be perceived in terms of tension-relieving humour that is used among first-time acquaintances.

- A potentially new language, due to the pervasive action of technologies on language: 'All technologies that code, sort and transport language also modify it and modify the speaker, listener and generally the user of language' (de Kerckhove, 2005).

- The intertwining and the new relationship of written and oral language in the age of "second orality" (Ong, 2002). A travelogue only appears to use the traditional language of a diary. In some ways, there is a reference back to the interactivity of oral communication, even if the paralinguistic, mimic-gestual and proxemic elements are lacking.

- A novel use of English as a dominant language. Here a more detailed linguistic analysis is still required as an item of a future research agenda. Provisionally one can say that the discourse of a travelblog is not the clipped and educated English of editors, but a new colloquial, streetwise and interactive lingo, complete with its rap-like, texting abbreviations.

According to the hackneyed metaphor of the global village, it is only partially true that, due to new media, the social life of the planet has shrunk to the size of a hamlet. In this global everyday dimension, which is anyway caught up in a crescendo of technologies, it is as if it were possible continually to open interactive windows.

Even casual Web browsers are not like former armchair travellers, because these internet users participate in an interactive process; their cognitive and emotional in-

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volvement cannot be realistically compared to that of a 19th century subject. Thus, even though it is possible to speak of a new tourist identity, at the same time it is necessary to maintain the uniqueness of the tourist actor's psychic life, which is an indispensable point of reference in order to comprehend all the phenomena linked to tourism. Such an understanding also allows fresh light to be cast on the controversial, though vital, relationship between tourism and everyday life.

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