

Postcolonial Tourism and National Identity: Postcolonial and Ethnolinguistic Insights on Tourism in Indonesia

Heriyanto, Lestari Manggong*, Kasno Pamungkas

Department of Linguistics and Department of Literature and Cultural Studies, Universitas Padjadjaran, Sumedang, Indonesia

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***Corresponding author:** Lestari Manggong, M.A., Universitas Padjadjaran.

Abstract

Grounded on postcolonial and ethnolinguistic theories, as well as employing discourse analysis, the present study aims to discuss postcolonial tourism from historical and cultural point of views, which is mostly related to national identities. As such, this article concerns with issues connected to the relationship between aspects of historical and cultural tourism during postcolonial era on the one hand, and Indonesian national identity on the other. This article argues that tourism, especially historical/cultural tourism, has the power in constructing and maintaining national identities because this particular tourism relies mostly on historical symbols of the nation. In addition, ethnolinguistically, this article also suggests that symbolism in daily Indonesian language usage can also serve as a means to promote tourism in a more effective way.

Keywords

Postcolonial, Tourism, Ethnolinguistics, Historical Tourism, Cultural Tourism, National Identities

1. Introduction

A dispute concerning national identities has been prevalent since the end of the Second World War, partly because frequently there are many ethnic groups in a nation with their own social identities and cultural background. In general, the concept of a nation refers to a community whose members see themselves as distinct from other communities, usually different in terms of history, culture, language, ethnicity, religion, or some of their combinations (Holsti, 1995: 58). In a more specific definition, Teichova & Matis (2003: 239) point out that 'a nation is a combination of various factors: a common cultural and therefore historical and often linguistic past'. Thus, a discussion about a nation is inseparable from that about culture and language that becomes the core of ethnolinguistics. However, language is not synonymous with discourse, by which in this article, symbolism and cultural expressions are studied under the field of discourse analysis. A discourse, in this sense, generates the categories of meaning by which reality can be understood and explained through sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic point of views (George, 1994; Dann, 1996; Coulmas, 2002; Riley, 2008).

This article attempts to explore postcolonial tourism by examining various postcolonial tourism discourse, including tourism brochures. As some scholars have pointed out, postcolonialism is mostly rooted in the belief that colonialism—which formally and politically can be said no longer in existence in most of the world—has been and will continue to be one of the most compelling influences on Western people when they discuss or give interpretation of non-Western ones. It will do the same when

Western people are involved in interactions with people from different cultures (Young, 2003; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Riley, 2008).

2. Tourism

Tourism, which nowadays has become a giant economic activity, has shown significant increase since the end of World War II, as has been mentioned by Theobald (2005) as follows:

Tourism as we know it today is distinctly a twentieth-century phenomenon. Historians suggest that the advent of mass tourism began in England during the industrial revolution with the rise of the middle class and relatively inexpensive transportation. The creation of the commercial airline industry following World War II and the subsequent development of the jet aircraft in the 1950s signaled the rapid growth and expansion of international travel. This growth led to the development of a major new industry: tourism. In turn, international tourism became the concern of a number of world governments because it not only provided new employment opportunities, but it also produced a means of earning foreign exchange (Theobald, 2005: 5).

The rise of tourism and its aftermaths also indicates interdependence, which is simply defined as *mutual* dependence among countries. The effects are often resulted from international transactions, including various tourism activities, in the forms of flows of money, goods, people, and messages across international boundaries. Such transactions have increased significantly also since the end of World War II (Keohane & Nye, 2012: 7). This phenomenon has also been observed by Elliott (2002: 26) who states that holidays help workers to be more healthy and efficient. A two-week annual holiday comes into effect after World War II, and it has proven to be a great boost for tourism. This illustrates a tremendous growth in tourism, which requires government intervention.

The increasing growth of tourism and transportation facilities also leads to further government regulation. Thus, there is a link between power, culture and tourism. Tourism involves “countries providing the tourists” on the one hand, and “the destination countries or host countries” on the other. Therefore, there is a relationship between the tourists and indigenous or local people of the destination country along with their culture. Concerning culture and its relation to tourism, Macleod & Carrier point out that:

Culture, in its broadest sense, is the framework within which tourism takes place, as all people have a cultural background and much of tourism involves travelling into a different cultural environment. Culture in a narrower sense is something that may be an attraction for the tourists, whether it is in the form of a museum, architecture, music or religious ritual. Culture also helps determine what the tourist wants to do, as a result of formal and informal education, values, family background and cultural mores (Macleod & Carrier, 2010: 3).

The aforementioned aspects of cultural tourism are closely related to what is termed as postcolonial tourism as Craik (1994) in Hall & Tucker (2004:2) reveals that:

Tourism has an intimate relationship to post-colonialism in that ex-colonies have increased in popularity as favoured destinations (sites) for tourists (the Pacific Rim, Asia, Africa, South America); while the de-

tritus of post-colonialism have been transformed into tourist sights (including exotic peoples and customs, artefacts, arts and crafts, indigenous and colonial lifestyles, heritage and histories).

Thus, postcolonialism reflects the Western's thought concerning the ex-colonies along with their cultural aspects, as stated by Hall & Tucker (2004: 2):

Postcolonialism represents both a reflexive body of Western thought that seeks to reconsider and interrogate the terms by which the duality of colonizer and colonized, with its accompanying structures of knowledge and power, has been established as well as the state of being 'post' or 'after' the condition of being a colony.

In this sense, it can be argued that although tourism is mostly related to leisure, pleasure and happiness, and there is an interdependence between the countries where the tourists come from, on the one hand, and the destinations or the countries visited, on the other hand, tourism still implicitly demonstrates the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized in an asymmetric relation. Tourism also involves cross-cultural interaction. Hence, its activities sometimes continue to indicate the superiority of Western people by polarizing into the binaries of modern-traditional; high tech gadgets-handicrafts; visitors-waiters; and Western people-the natives.

3. Tourism and Postcolonialism

Tourism not only has an economic impact but also affects the natural environment and local culture, and in this rapidly changing world, tourism is not only about leisure, pleasure and happiness. It has a new added value, namely tourism as the means of telling people about "us", our ideas and emotions in a way that other people can understand. A moment comes when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation long suppressed find utterance, that is the new value for tourism (Hall & Tucker, 2004). Related to the "soul of a nation", Elliott (1997:10) says that tourism can never neglect the reality of politics and power because.

Politics is about the striving for power, and power is about who gets what, when and how in the political and administrative system and *in the tourism sector*. Principles and control systems are there to try and ensure that power is used in the public interest and that proper and legitimate procedures and objectives are followed. Public sector management in particular must manage within the political environment, taking into account the *political ideology, power conflicts* and the priorities of governments and ministers as well as policy objectives [emphasis added].

However, it is also important to note that power also includes knowledge and competence, through which one can see "something out there", something understood through long sociocultural process. We come to know and give meaning to the world through that creative sociocultural process in which the human mind is shaped and also shapes cultural reality in *language*, because meaning is a matter of *active linguistic competence*. Thus, through language we create the conditions of knowing (Humboldt and also Habermas in George, 1994: 146). And since language itself is part of culture, in the context of a discussion on the relationship between language and culture, it is necessary to keep in mind the fact that culture also influences meaning (Riley, 2008).

In the modern world like today, language plays much more important roles in cross-cultural behaviors and is supported by better means of transportation and communication, which make contacts between peoples, in the context of global tourism, easier. It has characterized the way globalization takes place. The dimensions of globalism themselves can be differentiated into some types of flows and perceptual connections that occur in spatially extensive networks as follows:

- a) Economic globalism involves long-distance flows of capital, goods, services—including those related to tourism activities—and also the information and perceptions that accompany market exchange.
- b) Environmental globalism involves long-distance activities related to the efforts of maintaining human health and well-being all over the world. However, some environmental globalisms may be entirely natural although much of the recent change has been induced by human activities. That is why various attempts have been applied in order to enhance global environment preservation, among other things through ecotourism.
- c) Social and cultural globalism involves movements of ideas, information, images, and of course people, who a great deal of them are tourists.

All these affect the consciousness of individuals and communities, along with their attitudes toward language, culture, sociopolitics and identities (Elliott, 2002; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Theobald, 2005; Riley, 2008; Macleod & Carrier, 2010; Keohane & Nye, 2012).

From postcolonial tourism point of view, global tourism involves several aspects of ways in which ideas, images and identities are acknowledged and recognized through discourses and representations. And tourism industry has been affected more than most by information and communication technology, through which discourses are spread out, including the discourses of cultural tourism in which cultural participation has always been closely linked with socio-economic and political positional aspects, such as tourists from former colonizing countries to the destinations or former colonized countries (Cutting, 2003; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Richards, 2005; Pender & Sharpley, 2005; Theobald, 2005; Jourdan & Tuite, 2006).

3.1. Postcolonial Tourism Discourse

In today's world of tourism, discourse plays a crucial role since it contributes significantly in shaping the identities of not only the hosts but also the tourists, destinations, modes of transportation, types of accommodation, and tourist attractions. Jaworski and Pritchard (2005) point out the importance of interrelationship between discourse and tourism as follows:

The analytic interrelationship between tourism, discourse and communication offers a useful transdisciplinary mix of assumptions and techniques for a sustained and critical exploration of the possibilities, tensions, conflicts, and representations which characterize a phenomenon which is frequently described as one of the most important global industries and cultural activities. For its part, communication refers to the practices, processes and mediums by which meanings are produced and understood in a cultural context (Jaworski & Pritchard, 2005: 2).

Likewise, disciplines which have discourse as its central discussion, namely sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, ethnolinguistics, and semiotics only recently premeate in the domain of tourism as its core of study. This underlines the reason why postcolonial tourism discourse emerges as one of the highlights discussed in the present article.

Several authors identify discourse analysis and travel mediation as gaps in travel research (Hall & Tucker, 2004). Therefore, sociolinguistic research, which has been used to examine written tourist texts such as brochures and guidebooks, has led to a growing interest in tourism language and discourse (Dann, 1996). This is why more emphasis on discussing discourse, communication and tourism must be given (Jaworski & Pritchard, 2005).

An investigation upon the meaning beyond what is expressed may indicate complex relationships among various participants and stakeholders in a tourism activity as can clearly be seen from the following short discourse:

Enjoy the unforgettable experience in an exclusive sea-side wooden cottage where a floating brunch with authentic recipe served to you as you relish the wide-open sea views from your private swimming pool. Stay with us in an exquisite gorgeous tropical world infused with the warm friendliness of the country, filled with the unique spirit of tranquility, traditional elegance, and sublime service. Discover the most harmonious beauty of the past in this modern world, find the high-quality and attractive craftsmanship, make your dreams come true, and most of all take the paradise home with you. The goods and foods are heavenly music in themselves, matched by the harmony of the exotic great archipelago's arts and crafts. We'll be glad to help you make your stay the most memorable one (cited and summarized from Garuda, July 1995 and DestinAsian, December 2014).

The paragraph illustrates the sociocultural, as well as geographical background of the host community with its exotic archipelago and authentic arts and handicrafts in which many native people have been involved in the production. It is authenticity and exoticness that most tourists are searching for. Many postcolonial tourism discourses implicitly indicate the binary aspects of the colonizer and the colonized as can be seen from the word choice in the paragraph. The word *exotic* by itself means 'unusual and often exciting because of coming (or seeming to come) from a distant (seen from European or Western people's point of view), especially from tropical countries' where before World War II most of them were the colonies of European countries. The word *archipelago* refers to a group of islands or an area of sea in which there are many small islands with their own characteristics. Many of them are located near Asia and Africa continents, such as the archipelagos in the Indian and Pacific Oceans which are relatively far from Europe. The binaries such as traditional-modern; tropical (Asia/Africa)-winter (Europe); handicrafts-high tech gadgets, although are not explicitly mentioned, can be understood through expressions such as: wooden cottage-(modern house); authentic recipe-(European foods); and the past-(the present).

In global tourism interactions, because of the asymmetrical power between the tourists and the hosts, in the spoken discourse or conversation, the desire to interact with people of the host community, who were once the inhabitants of a colony, is often not as has been expected. Language is one of the barriers. This is why some tourists often prefer to interact with fellow tourists of the same background—the same Western people—rather than with the hosts who are non-Westerners. Some other may be engaged in conversations with local people only in shops, hotels, restaurants, or museums, in the form of “visitors-waiters”, “master-servant”, or “employer-employee” types of interactions. However, some may prefer participation in a conversation but without assimilating with the locals. Some other tourists may like to interact and engage in deep and long interactions, and to know each other better which may lead to a better understanding between cultures (George, 1994; Reisinger & Turner, 2003; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Jaworski & Pritchard, 2005).

Further, such interactions may result in a long-term friendship or may become an advantageous activity where both sides can gain benefits, like mastering each other's language, learning various kinds of arts as dancing, making certain handicrafts, playing local musical instruments, exchanging knowledge as history, customs, daily lifestyle, including learning food recipes. These cultural elements play a significant role in the construction of not only the individual's identity but also the community's which emerge through one's interactions with others (Revell & Stott, 1993; Russo and Borg, 2002; Reisinger & Turner, 2003; Phipps, 2006), since identity is not just something we can decide on ourselves. It is at least partly social in manner. Our identity, as many scholars have pointed out, is partly decided upon construction made by other people (Riley, 2008).

3.2. Representation of Postcolonial Tourism

In the world of tourism—especially postcolonial tourism—the elements of identity, representation and discourse are closely related because they play crucial roles in the development of tourism as a system of presenting and performing something unique, attractive, and joyful to the visitors or audience. Through representation, symbols of identity which are part of cultural aspects can be revealed and understood by the others, who may also have some contribution in shaping that identity. On the other hand, depicting representation can be conducted through, among other things, employing language or discourse. An illustration may be expressed in various ways, as in the following piece of discourse: “While you are enjoying panoramic views, traditional culinary delights, art and culture of this gorgeous exotic archipelago, remember that the great taste of home is also never far away” (summarized from Garuda, July 1995). This sentence refers to European tourists, who are on a holiday visit to a tropical country. Thus, the “you” here is the opposite of “we” as the hosts. The “you” is the representation of Western people who in the past were the “colonizer” and the opposite of “you” is the host people or non-Western who in the past were the “colonized”. Tourism discourse often contains words and expressions that illustrate the difference between the country of the tourists and the country visited, or the destination. Because what the tourists are looking for is mostly the difference between their country and destination, or in short, the uniqueness of the country visited. The word *exotic* as has been previously described, for Western people, refers to something exciting because it comes from a distant tropical country. The sentence above, besides giving a depiction of locality, also implicitly illustrates an aspect of globality as revealed in expressions such as: *traditional culinary delights the great taste of home*. The expression of *traditional culinary delights* represents local food, while *the great taste of home* represents European food served in international restaurants. The word *home* here refers to the home or the country of the tourists. Hence, the sentence in the citation implies the co-existence between locality and globality. However, the spread of international restaurants or various foods from Europe and America remind many people of how Western people and Western “desires” or lifestyles have influenced the life of local or non-Western communities. Historically, such an anxiety is emotionally and rationally understood because many tropical countries were once the colonies of Western countries, and now they become favorite tourist sites for visitors from Europe who are searching for authenticity, uniqueness and exotic atmosphere which are different from those of their own countries (Appiah & Gates, 1995; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Jaworski & Pritchard, 2005; Theobald, 2005; Jourdan & Tuite, 2006).

4. Tourism and Indonesian National Identities

Discussing identity (whether personal, social or national) is not an easy task to do since there are many elements involved in the process of identity construction. The difficulty has been stated by Hume in Riley (2008): “Upon a more strict review of the section concerning personal identity, I find myself involved in such a labyrinth that, I must confess, I neither know how to correct my former opinions, nor how to render them consistent” (Riley, 2008: 2). Such a difficult problem has also been revealed by Bilgrami in Appiah and Gates (1995) who points out that in recent years, the concept of identity has had its corset removed and hangs loosely and precariously in the domain of culture and politics (Appiah & Gates, 1995: 198). However, in a simpler way it has been put forward by some scholars that the question of identity is related to how we define ourselves in relation to others, both within the same community as an individual, and with people from other communities as a member of a society, because identity is also partly constructed by other people (from the same or different community) who keep on telling us *who we are* and also *what we are* from their points of views, and who, with their relative power—whether small or big—may “decide” where we fit in. Thus, the more people someone is involved with in his daily activities, the more complex his identity becomes (Appiah & Gates, 1995; Jaworski & Pritchard, 2005; Jourdan & Tuite, 2006; Riley, 2008).

One of the main objectives of this article, as emerged in its title, is to depict—in relation to tourism—the idea of national identities through the study of symbols of national identities in general, in relation to postcolonial tourism. Identities in this sense refer to the fact that there are some identities which can be classified into five big categories, namely: *geographical iden-*

tity, *political identity*, *cultural identity*, *national identity*, and *touristic identity*, for identity is sometimes produced or reproduced partly out of the images constructed for tourists (George, 1994; Appiah & Gates, 1995; Elliott, 2002; Reisinger & Turner, 2003; Jaworski & Pritchard, 2005). What we attempt to depict here are the aspects or symbols that are closely related to what we call national identity/identities, how they are shaped, produced and communicated, and also how they arise and develop; again in relation to tourism.

Geographical identity is considered important because tourism activities are surely inseparable from many aspects of places that become the destinations. If for instance, I meet a Japanese in New York and he asks me where I come from, I will answer “Indonesia”. And if I meet a person from North Sumatera in Surabaya, for instance, and he asks me where I come from, I will answer “Bandung”, a beautiful city in West Java with many interesting sites and attractive tourist attractions (Kunto, 1984; Kartodiwirio, 2006; Bahari, 2010). However, if I meet a person from Bandung (and he knows I am from Bandung too), and he asks where I come from, I will answer “Margahayu”. Hence, the way a person reveals his “geographical identity” depends on a lot of things, such as his location, his partners in interactions and also their shared-knowledge, the knowledge owned by each participant involved in a certain conversation (Wardhaugh, 1986; Reisinger & Turner, 2003; Theobald, 2005; Kartodiwirio, 2006; Riley, 2008).

Related to postcolonial tourism, when a European tourist dreams to visit *an exotic archipelago* what is in his mind could be warm tropical islands far from Europe whose natives have different color, have different culture, unique lifestyle, authentic artefacts and many other interesting things, which are different from his own. Therefore, geographical identity gives significant contribution to tourism development through the image of a certain place or destination, since tourism in our opinion is a social phenomenon or an activity that mostly involve people’s imagination of, or his capability in imagining other places with their distinct landscape, people and culture.

Political identity is of course related to politics which—in a general sense—deals with the way a country is governed, or deals with the process of making public policies and plans of what to do in a particular situation that has been officially agreed by an organization or the government or the other decision makers (George, 1994; Holsti, 1995; Ikbar, 1995; Elliott, 2002). Thus, this identity is connected more with political affiliation rather than with tourism activities. However, the *political identity* of a community may influence the types of tourists who visit certain destination, for instance, a tour package that involves sexual activities is of course will be strongly rejected in some countries.

Cultural identity refers to a concept as individuals draw upon identities available to them in order to construct their own sense of who they are and where they fit in on the basis of their own mother tongue, their ancestors, their customs, and sometimes also their beliefs. Often *cultural identity* is intertwined with the customs and tradition of a group of native people in a certain area or island. From the behavior, language, rituals, appearance, and even dress, it is not difficult to know that a group of people come from the same or different communities with the same or different cultural backgrounds. In short, *cultural identity* is shaped by the culture where the individuals fit in and realize where they belong to (Reisinger & Turner, 2003; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Jourdan & Tuite, 2006; Riley, 2008).

National identity refers to the identity owned by the members of the society, such as their national language, their nationhood, and their state. It is a little bit difficult to explain if the question is connected with cultural background(s) for a country like Indonesia is a multicultural country. *National identity* is constructed through various interconnected elements. Take national language for instance. It is not wrong to say that the vocabularies of *Bahasa Indonesia* as an important part of the *national identity* mostly come from Malay. However, in its development, a lot of foreign words especially from Dutch and Arabic play a crucial role in making the *Bahasa Indonesia* different from the Malay language. Besides loan words from Dutch and Arabic, a lot of English words, along with those from Portugese, China, and even Japan also give colors to the *Bahasa Indonesia*. Other words come from Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese and languages of all ethnic groups in Indonesia.

Depicting symbols of identity is not as difficult as explaining the core of identity itself since symbols are not so complicated that they can be more easily recognized. Besides, tourist attractions often emerge in the forms of symbols that represent something which can be enjoyed by the tourists (Bignell, 2002; Danesi, 2004; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Jaworski & Pritchard, 2005). Those symbols include the obvious attributes of a nation: flag, anthem, language, monuments, museums, capital city, national gardens and recreational sites, and folklores.

Touristic identity, in our opinion, is an identity shaped in order to attract tourists, and usually it is related to *geographical identity*, for instance, a gorgeous beach in a tropical island where modern hotels combined with traditional elements are built. This identity can also be understood as an identity perceived by the tourists. However, the tourists can also construct *touristic identity* through their image of a destination. What they feel, see, enjoy and experience will help construct an identity, in other words the tourists' ways of seeing, thinking, behaving, and most of all communicating a destination to others will give color to the image of a tourist site.

5. Conclusion

After having viewed from several angles, we are of the opinion that the relationship between tourism—especially postcolonial tourism—and national identities, is a very interesting field to explore. These areas make us aware of how national identities are shaped in a multicultural nation through its national symbols and the cultural background of each ethnic group which enables the underlying meanings behind an image could be more understood. The language employed to explain the symbols of the nation found in the discourse of cultural tourism, along with the identities of the people and places, are closely interrelated with their representations.

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