

*Travel, Self, and Other: Exploring Travel as Ritual, Ego Loss,
and Reconstruction (DRAFT)*

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A sixteen-year old high school student checks the box “Send me anywhere!” on her application to leave America and spend a year abroad with a host family. An Estonian ethnographer at an academic conference in Beijing joins one of its many side tours, this one, to Tibet. A German tourist pays twenty dollars to hire a private guide for a sacred Balinese cremation ceremony. An American economist receives a call out of the blue from the World Bank offering a seductive expatriate opportunity in Indonesia – high pay, low taxes, living at a five star hotel, weekends and vacations in Bali. An American ethnographer is intrigued by an Indonesian dalang’s ability to perform in trance. What do all of these have in common? Each is drawn to an Other place, an Other time, an Other people. Each has the desire to leave home to explore an Other dimension of life. By leaving home and losing the familiar, all potentially participate in psychological and cultural rituals that construct identities and relations with others.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to articulate a theoretical framework for examining travel as ritual passage that creates liminal space for the reconstruction of subjectivities - Self and Other. This paper is organized in three parts. Part One examines travel in terms of transformative liminal space focusing on Victor Turner and Georges Bataille. Part Two

focuses on the inner psychological workings of the individual's ego within travel's ritual liminal space. Employing the work of Jacques Lacan, this work suggests that travel is about ego, loss, and desire and human psychological development. Carl Jung's travel experience inform this exploration of the individual and collective impact of this ego development inscribed in travel ritual. Jung's work illustrates how identity construction through travel is contextualized within and mediated by powerful and historically specific institutional forces and globalization. Part Three explores the theories applications in one site, this ethnographer's visit to Potala Palace. In summary, this work suggests that as ritual, travel facilitates a constructive process paralleling the child's ego development. Travel provides the opportunity for individuals to experience loss of the familiar, loss of the protective mother – one's comfortable home culture, and to reconfigure identities.

Part I: Travel as Ritual Experience

Travel is the set of practices, real and imaginary, that move individuals away from their everyday life of home and work to experience desire and pleasure in the consumption of an Other place, time, or people. Travel constitutes an important part of contemporary individual and collective identity -- a sense of place and power in the world. To have the capacity to travel and to get away, either for pleasure or for work, or to live in a place marked as a tourist destination, is to have status - to live the good life, to occupy a significant place, a place of value.

Travel is about movement, movement that is not only tangible in terms of physical travel but also movement that is real but less manifest – movement that occurs first in our minds

as we imagine ourselves getting away from home and work to a place of leisure. Before deciding to travel to a specific site, we first conjure up images of what to expect from the trip and its destinations. Our mental images of a different place and a different people are usually quite specific. While I am interested in both physical and mental journeys, in this paper, I focus primarily on the movement of the imaginary where we construct a sense of our Self and Others. When I say I am interested in the imaginary, I mean it in the Lacanian sense in terms of how we identify with images through ego development – how our “ego is the product of the internalization of otherness.” (Grosz, 1990: 43)

Several theorists’ see modern tourists and travelers as contemporary pilgrims seeking in travel what they lack in their everyday home and work lives. (MacCannell, Bar and Cohen-Hattab 2003; Knudssen, 1998) MacCannell suggests that tourism responds to the deep-seated universal human desire to experience the sacred and authentic. While this desire may be universal, its manifestation is historically- and culturally- specific. In other words, a tourist may desire an experience of the sacred but this desire’s practice, what form of travel the tourist chooses, what type of destination, and what mode of approach to experiencing the destination varies on not only the dominant tourist practices of the time but also the tourist’s individual location in terms of cultural identity and sense of Self.

Increasingly, MacCannell argues, tourists are seeking alternatives to what is presented to them as authentic usually in controlled or staged performance. Instead, tourists desire to encounter the backstage, real lives of the local people. This tourist desire has

implications for communities that host curious tourists, eager to invade personal spaces, indeed, often sacred spaces, such as home, private prayer or special religious practices to get a glimpse of unstaged, real-life, authenticity. Examples of this include the increasing number of tourists visiting Balinese cremation practices including both the exhuming of the dead and the actual cremations or Tibetan air burials. These sacred sites were once closed to outsiders out of fear of the ritual being disrupted, which according to superstitious traditions would have detrimental ramifications.

MacCannell is also interested in tourism's growing fascination with making work a tourist site. For example, tourists can see cloisonné factories in Beijing, organic farms in Cuba, strip-mining in Utah. MacCannell refers to this type of tourism as alienated leisure since the tourist escapes temporarily from his or her paid work, production, by going away on vacation, gaining pleasure by voyeuristically consuming the production of another worker. While locals work, tourists play in this Other site of production.

In this paper, I am interested in exploring what happens to the tourist's sense of Self in this pursuit for something or someplace else. The study of tourism has expanded to focus on such issues, for example, how space shapes consumer identity. Contextualizing this question within globalization is an important emphasis and is important to this paper's work as well. Rob Shields' (1990) *Places on the Margin*, examines social spatialization that is, how environments and individuals "interpenetrate each other," transforming individuals and communities. An example of this is George Ritzer's most recent use of the metaphor of an archipelago of fantasy islands to depict the interpenetration of people and a specific space that results in a new "means of consumption." Ritzer suggests that

globalization is creating an increasing number of islands of the living dead where consumers think they are experiencing freedom of choice in consumption but in reality, they are constrained and controlled by their environment. (Ritzer, 2003)

I suggest that travel has the potential to greatly change the traveler if one experiences travel as ritual experience. Through exploring travel as ritual, we can theorize that travel's ritual space incites deep psychological processes that potentially alter identity and ego development practices such as the construction of the binary, Self and Other. This paper attempts to begin a discussion on how the ritual experience may incite child-like ego development in which identities and desires are forged.

Turner: Travel's Multidimensionality and Liminality

How can travel be a powerful transformative process for individuals and what incites some tourists to experience this transformation? Surely, not all tourists embark on their journeys intending to be changed. However, many are surprised by what they encounter and return never the same. Future research will want to explore the differences between those who experience deep shifts in sensibilities and those who return unfazed by what they experience. I suggest that travel is a ritual experience that creates a liminal space in which the traveler's psyche is freed from daily constraints to potentially reconstruct identities of Self and Other. How does this opening and ego development process occur? Let us first look at the power of ritual and suggest that travel is potentially this powerful ritual experience.

Travel can be understood as potentially a ritual of transition, similar to a rite of passage, not as one might ordinarily think of it - as marking a transition in age, maturity, and societal role - but as a rite of passage that marks a transition from one state of subjectivity to an Other. The traveler transitions from one state of being in relation to Self and Others, to another state. Rites of passages, as defined by anthropologist Victor Turner, are rites of transition. Travel is a rite of passage, or rite of transition, in Turner's terms because it indeed accompanies and facilitates change, often a reintegration, reinstatement of self and location in the world, sometimes a healing of a "state" of loss or displacement. Often, travelers are reinvigorated, refreshed and unbound from a pre-travel state in which they felt stuck in the cycles of the mundane – primarily, work and family. (Turner, 1977: 94)

These transformative rituals are marked by three phases: separation, liminal or threshold, and reaggregation. Turner says that the first and last phases "detach ritual subjects from their old places in society and return them, inwardly transformed and outwardly changed, to their places." The first phase of separation "comprises symbolic behavior signifying the detachment of the individual or group either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure, from a set of cultural conditions (a "state"), or from both." (Turner, 1977: 94) In the case of those who travel for reasons other than work, the travel experience separates them from their state as worker, producer, in the world of market relations.

Turner speaks of the middle phase of the rite of transition as a "limen" or threshold, which can be a "very long threshold, a corridor almost, or a tunnel which may, indeed,

become a pilgrim's road or passing from dynamics to statics" which "may cease to be a mere transition and become a set way of life, a state, that of the anchorite, or monk."(Turner, 1977: 94) The liminal period or the second phase is one in which the "passenger" as the ritual subject is called, "passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state." During this phase the "characteristics of the ritual subject (the passenger) are ambiguous." (Turner, 1977: 94) "Liminalities" are those experiencing this stage. Their experience is characterized as being: "betwixt-and-between established states of politico-jural structure"; evading "ordinary cognitive classification...for they are neither-this-nor-that, here-nor-there, one-thing-not-the-other.... Out of their mundane structural context, they are in a sense 'dead' to the world... they transgress classificatory boundaries..." According to Turner, paradox is experienced as part of this liminal state for liminary is "being both this and that - for example, as androgynous, or as both living and dead, etc." (Turner, 1977b: 37)

In this phase, tourists' taken-for-granted constructs of Self and Other are often challenged as they experience disruption in their meaning making. Is this the phase where spatialization is felt most dramatically, where the interpenetration of spaces affects the ego? Later, I will explore this in terms of the process of ego loss and ego development.

The ritual process that allows for renewal and imagining the unthinkable is "a process of being ground down into a sort of homogeneous social matter, in which possibilities of differentiation may be still glimpsed, then later positively refashioned into specific shapes compatible with their new postliminal duties and rights as incumbents of a new status or

state." This grinding down is done through ordeals and overlaps "with reconstruction" through a "rebuilding process" that imparts practical skills through instruction. (Turner, 1977b: 37)

Facilitating the liminal experience and this "grinding down" is what Turner sees as the essence of ritual, multidimensionality. Victor Turner describes the multidimensionality of ritual as its "multiplicity of elements, which allows for great flexibility and gives it an immense capacity to portray, interpret, and master radical novelty." Drawing on the work of Levi-Strauss, Turner identifies the types of elements present in ritual: "visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, kinesthetic, free and formulaic verbal behavior" and "bodily acts of many kinds." (Turner, 1977: 92)

Another important aspect of the liminal experience may be *communitas*, a sense of oneness and community where all former divisions that separate people, all norms that create hierarchies are leveled. Class, racial, gender, nationality divisions are dropped and the luminaries experience being one with all.

In ritual's third and final phase, the "passage is consummated" through what Turner terms, "reaggregation" or "reincorporation" where "the ritual subject, individual or corporate, is in a relatively stable state once more." In this phase, the traveler returns to a home place although the inner structure of the experience of home, self, and others, has shifted. The home place doesn't look the same because of the transformation the traveler has experienced. Although the ritual travel has ended, the process of reconfiguring may

continue as the traveler readjusts to the home expectations of an old Self with certain roles and responsibilities. While jet lag subsides, often, the new identity adjustment takes much longer.

Georges Bataille: Travel's Sacrifice and Inner Experience

Before I look at how travel's liminality may affect ego, I want to explore why individuals are incited to travel. French philosopher and social theorist, Georges Bataille, posits that in our ordinary day-to-day, we keep ourselves busy with our "work" or "project" to divert ourselves from experiencing two difficult truths – that we are mortal and that our desires can never be satiated. This distraction, however, is only temporary and does not relieve us. To maintain the project, our work, we repress other desires. (Bataille, 1988)

I suggest that travel can be a ritual space where individuals and communities are able to break from work constraints and loosen repressed desires. Travelers leave their "work", their "project" and, whether anticipating it or not, encounter opportunities that force them to acknowledge, and for some, embrace, the truths that Bataille speaks of: we are limited and mortal. How does this happen? How does leaving work to travel, change things for the tourist? Bataille's notion of sacrifice suggests a universal human need to experience the sacred through the "expenditure of energy without profit." This means that we need to act in ways that counter what we do out of obligation to family and society. We defer our desire to "play" and throw ourselves into the "realm of work and project, in which energy is accumulated for future purposes." Bataille's "theory of a general economy" posits, "all earthly change is seen in terms of the accumulation and expenditure of energy.

Intoxication, poetry, love, and eroticism are examples of non-productive expenditure of surplus energy, a surplus which arises inevitably once limits to growth are encountered."

Travel is "non-productive expenditure of surplus energy" that counters daily routines that isolate and constrain individuals. (Bataille, 1988: xxxii)

According to Turner, "Liminality is particularly conducive to play. Play is not to be restricted to games and jokes; it extends to the introduction of new forms of symbolic action, such as word-games or masks. In short, parts of liminality may be given over to experimental behavior". By "experiment" he means, "any action or process undertaken to discover something not yet known, NOT scientific experimentation nor what is based on experience rather than theory or authority." In liminality, we experiment with "new ways of acting...new combinations of symbols are tried out, to be discarded or accepted."

(Turner, 1977b: 41-42) Certainly, travel often entails encountering and celebrating the ludic.

In addition to experience play and the ludic, Bataille suggests that through ritual that sacrifices the project, we know inner experience. This "principle of inner experience" is "to emerge through project from the realm of project." In other words, it is through expenditure of energy that is non-productive that we move out of the constraints of profit-driven work. To know inner experience, Bataille suggests, "One must live experience. It is not easily accessible and, viewed from the outside by intelligence, it would even be necessary to see in it a sum of distinct operations, some intellectual, others aesthetic, yet

others mortal, and the whole problem must be taken up again. It is only from within, lived to the point of terror, that it appears to unify that which discursive thought must separate," like travelers who speak of feeling a loss of separateness, of self consciousness, of being connected to others and to something bigger than themselves. He explains that experience breaks the binary oppositions that artificially order our world and create limited possibilities. "Experience attains in the end the fusion of object and subject, being as subject non-knowledge, as object the unknown...'Oneself' is not the subject isolating itself from the world, but a place of communication, of fusion of the subject and the object." (Bataille, 1988: 9)

Bataille writes about knowing inner experience through dramatization, which I suggest, may be one way to view travel and cross cultural encounters. He says that "one reaches the states of ecstasy or of rapture only by dramatizing existence in general...If we didn't know how to dramatize, we wouldn't be able to leave ourselves. We would live isolated and turned in on ourselves. But a sort of rupture-in-anguish leaves us at the limit of tears; in such a case we lose ourselves, we forget ourselves and communicate with an elusive beyond...From this way of dramatizing - often forced - emerges an element of comedy, of foolishness which turns to laughter. If we hadn't known how to dramatize, we wouldn't know how to laugh, but in us laughter is always ready which makes us stream forth into a renewed fusion, breaking us again at the mercy of errors committed in wanting to break ourselves, but without authority this time." (Bataille, 1988: 11)

Part II: Lacan: Travel's Liminal Loss and Ego Development

From a historical Marxist perspective, our desires have a history and a material, very tangible, base. Similarly, our desire to travel, to get away, may be organically grown in terms of ego development but the specific form this desire takes varies and is shaped by our location in history and its power relations. From a Lacanian perspective, humans share a universal ego development process that moves through the same stages of loss, ego, and desire.

According to psychoanalysis, the ego is formed through binary splitting processes that establish the Self as separate from, but in relation to, an Other. This is not an ahistorical process. Powerful historical forces mediate this splitting process and shape the possibilities for imagining the relationship between the Self and Other. For example, racism, sexism, heterosexism and globalization constrain ego development informing its desires and their repression in the unconscious. Edward Said's work on Orientalism (1978) specifically placed our representational practices within the broader context of colonialism and post-colonialism. His critique of our representational practices that reconstruct and maintain unequal power relations is important.

Rather than say that our representational work is only about controlling and colonizing others, this work explores its complexities. This section employs Jacques Lacan to probe our representational practices within the context of travel ritual. Our ego's constructive work, situated in travel's liminal space, a space of sacrifice and dramatization, offers

many possibilities for our relations with our Selves and Others, including healing inequality and hurtful oppression. However, it may also be constructive work that does violence against ourselves and others.

Edward Said argues that representational practices are discourses that do not represent an Other's reality as much as they do, one's own. The representation of Orientalism as an Other in contrast to the Occidental, is a discourse that represents the interests of the existing power structure. Our representational work is embedded within and contributes to global power struggles and recreates unequal relations where the most powerful pursue the protection of its interests.

Lacan would be the first to agree with Said. Our psyche's constructive and consumptive work is about representation. More specifically, in Lacanian terms, it is about language and language as law. It is about discourse, yes, and narrative construction born of and shaped by the powers that be that get played out in the laws of language. However, Lacanian analysis suggests that the production and consumption of the Other also involves managing experiences of loss, desire, and ego reconstruction that is both individual and collective. While Said's focus is that the process may be oppressive, Lacan explores other possibilities.

According to Lacan, our first binary construct is of the Self and Other and occurs in the mirror stage of development in which the child begins to recognize the loss of mother. Several conditions need to be met for the mirror stage. I suggest that these conditions are

experienced through the liminal encounters of travel that propel us into a betwixt and between state. It is in this stage that we reconstruct ourselves as Self and Other.

In the mirror stage, a child is able to see itself as separate and distinct from the mother. This is the first binary construct in which there is Self and Other and further, the self is perceived as reflection of mother. In the separateness, mother is experienced as a loss, an absence. The experience of loss is imbued with the meaning of unmet needs. Not only is my mother gone, but also who will meet my needs? An example of this may be when the high school exchange student leaves their family of origin and primary caregivers to live in a new family for an entire year. For the first three months in the assimilation process it is normal for fear and chaos to reign and the student's Self to shake at its core. The student struggles through loss of the familiar home, the familiar "mother." The student's needs still must be met, but by whom?

Dependence on mother to meet the child's needs shifts to dependence on the self. With the mother now absent and the child needing to meet its own needs, psycho-sexual drives develop. "The genesis of the ego coincides with the emergence of the child's first psycho-sexual drives -- that is, with the substitution of a part of its own body and auto-erotic pleasure..." (Grosz, 1990:32) Not only does the child now experience desire, but this desire is known as a location in relation to anOther. This is "the advent of an internalized psychic (as opposed to neurophysiological) sensory image of the self and the objects in the world. It marks the child's earliest understanding of space, distance, and position." (Grosz, 1990: 32) The child establishes security through libidinal investment in

Others. In the above case, the high school student's Self is redefined and stabilized as new relationships at school and within the host family are established. This may also true for the expatriate. For example, I met several Consuls in Bali, among them the Italian, British, and Swiss. Several had married Balinese women and established themselves within the Balinese culture save for a weekly drinking session through which they unleashed their "home" Selves in choruses of Italian opera and national folk songs. Their stabilization entailed incorporating new Others quite intimately within the ego's home culture's casings.

How does this relate to the ritual stages of travel? How do they incite a child-like mirror stage? When we travel we leave the comforts of home, our mother-comfort-security is gone. We desire an Other to fill her place or to meet our needs. It is through loss and a dislocation of relations that the child develops an identification of Self and Other. "The child is propelled into its identificatory relations by this first acknowledgement of lack or loss. Only at this moment does it become capable of distinguishing itself from the 'outside' world, and thus of locating itself in the world. Only when the child recognizes or understands the concept of absence does it see that it is not 'one', complete in itself, merged with the world as a whole and the (m)other.

The child can only give up this hermetically sealed circuit of need and satisfaction by accepting that the (m)other is not within its control, being a separate object. The 'fullness', the completeness that the child experiences through the maternal supplementation of its needs is interrupted by lack. The child is no longer in that happy

state of satisfaction protected by and merged with the (m)other. From time on, the lack, gap, splitting will be its mode of being. It will attempt to fill its (impossible, unfillable) lack. Its recognition of lack signals an ontological rift with nature or the Real. This gap will propel it into seeking an identificatory image of its own stability and permanence (the imaginary), and eventually language (the symbolic) by which it hopes to fill the lack. The child loses the 'pure plentitude' of the Real and is now constituted within the imaginary (i.e. the order of images, representations, doubles and others) in its specular identifications." (Grosz, 1990: 35)

What's interesting for understanding the construction of Self and Other in travel is the complete separation of the Self into subject, fully differentiated from Other, a process constituted in the relations between the body and its social context. Feminist theorist, Elizabeth Grosz, writes about the body as being the "organizing site of perspective," and site for the self which is "an object available to others" – both subject and object. She says that by "partitioning, dividing, representing, inscribing the body in culturally determinant ways, it is constituted as a social, symbolic, and regulatable body." Travel potentially is a powerful ritual practice inciting such inscription since the body is placed in unfamiliar conditions and is inscribed as it acclimates to its new surroundings. When we travel, we see our culture and ourselves from new vantage points, new perspectives, as we learn about others. The other cultures become our mirror and we "become the object of another's perspective." Like the child "recognition of its own image," the traveler adopts "the perspective of exteriority on itself." (Grosz, 1990: 38) Travel creates

the dream-like space of liminality and inner experience where this mirror reversal can occur. This is its transformative power.

In many ways, the sacrifice of our adult project through the ritual of travel, repositions us to be, as children. We are children at play and our egos respond with a sense of the ludic. When we lose our home, like losing our mother, we become confused and decentered, vacillating between a past unified sense of self and a new one that is fragmented by new stimuli. Although this is mostly an inner process, it is sometimes visible. The ludic was certainly manifest in the behavior and lifestyle of the three Western Consuls I met in Bali. Two of them owned restaurants where they would serve their home food and hold their weekly jam sessions. They also organized games, sports events and parties. One even maintained a silly mad-magazine like website. When I met the British Consul at his Cat and the Fiddle restaurant, I asked him what the most difficult aspect of his work was. He laughed as he spoke of visiting someone in the hospital with malaria or assisting someone with securing a visa. Bali was a child-like paradise for them. In Bali, they could lose the obligations of their home cultures and play with newly configured Selves.

But what of the traveler's decision to leave home and enter the ritual's separation phase? How can we understand the desire that propels us away from the comforts of our mother-culture, into anOther? Lacan's analysis of desire is useful here as well. Desire is the manifestation of repressed wishes. "...desire exhibits the structure of the wish... It is structured like a language, but is never spoken as such by the subject. Its production through repression is one of the constitutive marks of the unconscious, upon which it

bestows its signifying effects. Desire undermines conscious activity; it speaks through demand, operating as its underside or margin.” Desire requires movement, hence, is a natural part of travel. “...desire requires mediation. It is intrinsically inter-subjective. Consciousness desires the desire of another to constitute it as self-consciousness. Desire desires the desire of an other. Desire is thus a movement, an energy that is always transpersonal, directed to others.” (Grosz, 1990: 64-65)

Do we travel in an attempt to fill our insatiable desire for an Other? Grosz describes this as a triangle of relations: “Desire always refers to a triangle – the subject, the other and the Other. The other is the object through whom desire is returned to the subject; the Other is the locus of signification, which regulates the movement by which this return is made possible. The subject’s desire is always the desire of the Other.” (Grosz, 1990: 80)

Jung: Travel’s Loss and Desire’s Gain

In his fascinating accounts of his travels, Jung theorizes about the loss Europeans have encountered and his desire as a European, for a simpler life. His description suggests Europeans share a historic loss of the more primitive life due to their modernization or “progress.” He describes this loss as palpable, actually embodied, and as having created a bifurcation of existence. In his travel writings, Jung’s description clearly depicts a binary construct of the European/Non-European as the Lost One/Whole One.

“From Tozueur I went on to the oasis of Nefta. I rode off with my dragoman early in the morning, shortly after sunrise. Our mounts were large, swift-footed mules, on which we

made rapid progress. As we approached the oasis, a single rider, wholly swathed in white, came toward us. With proud bearing he rode by offering us any greeting, mounted on a black mule whose harness was banded and studded with silver. He made an impressive, elegant figure. Here was a man who certainly possessed no pocket watch, let alone a wristwatch; for he was obviously and unself-consciously the person he had always been. He lacked the faint note of foolishness, which clings to the European. The European is, to be sure, convinced that he is no longer what he was ages ago; but he does not know what he has since become. His watch tells him that since the "Middle Ages" time and its synonym, progress, have crept up on him and irrevocably taken something from him. With lightened baggage he continues his journey, with steadily increasing velocity, toward nebulous goals. He compensates for the loss of gravity and the corresponding sentiment d'incompletitude by the illusion of his triumphs, such as steamships, railroads, airplanes, and rockets, that rob him of his duration and transport him into another reality of speeds and explosive accelerations." (Jung, 1989: 240)

In another entry Jung continues to examine historic loss and the desire to recoup through encountering others in travels. *"Obviously, my encounter with Arab culture had struck me with overwhelming force. The emotional nature of these unreflective people who are so much closer to life than we are exerts a strong suggestive influence upon those historical layers in ourselves which we have just overcome and left behind, or which we think we have overcome. It is like the paradise of childhood from which we imagine we have emerged, but which at the slightest provocation imposes fresh defeats upon us.*

Indeed, our cult of progress is in danger of imposing on us even more childish dreams of the future, the harder it presses us to escape from the past.” (Jung, 1989: 244)

He writes specifically about desire and longing for another place, time, perhaps people and acknowledges his own desire for healing and reintegration. *“Consequently, the sight of a child or a primitive will arouse certain longings in adult, civilized persons – longings which relate to the unfulfilled desires and needs of those parts of the personality which have been blotted out of the total picture in favor of the adapted persona...*

In traveling to Africa to find a psychic observation post outside the sphere of the European, I unconsciously wanted to find that part of my personality which had become invisible under the influence and the pressure of being European. This part stands in unconscious opposition to myself, and indeed I attempt to suppress it. In keeping with its nature, it wishes to make me unconscious (force me under water) so as to kill me; but my aim is, through insight, to make it more conscious, so that we can find a common modus vivendi.” (Jung, 1989: 244)

Jung reflects on his own binary construction in which the Arab is his shadow.

“The Arab’s dusky complexion marks him as a “shadow,” but not the personal shadow, rather an ethnic one associated not with my persona but with the totality of my personality, that is, with the self. As master of the casbah, he must be regarded as a kind of shadow of the self. The predominantly rationalistic European finds much that is human alien to him, and he prides himself on this without realizing that his rationality is

won at the expense of his vitality, and that the primitive part of his personality is consequently condemned to a more or less underground existence.” (Jung, 1989: 244)

A violent battle ensues between the constructed Other, the Arab, and his Self. The context for the quote is a violent dream Jung had while traveling in which he meets and Arab, fights him, and ultimately throws him off. *“The dream reveals how my encounter with North Africa affected me. First of all there was the danger that my European consciousness would be overwhelmed by an unexpectedly violent assault of the unconscious psyche. Consciously, I was not a bit aware of any such situation; on the contrary, I could not help feeling superior because I was reminded at every step of my Europeanism. That was unavoidable; my being European gave me a certain perspective on these people who were so differently constituted from myself, and utterly marked me off from them. But I was not prepared for the existence of unconscious forces within myself, which would take part of these strangers with such intensity, so that a violent conflict ensued. The dream expressed this conflict in the symbol of an attempted murder.” (Jung, 1989: 245)*

Not only with Arabs does he construct a binary of contrasts. When visiting Native Americans he notes many differences. They think with their hearts, they keep secrets about their sacred rituals. Most importantly, they are fervently religious. *“Their religious conceptions are not theories to them...but facts, as important and moving as the*

corresponding external realities.” (Jung, 1989: 259) Their life is “cosmologically meaningful, for he helps the father and preserver of all life in his daily rise and descent.” In contrast, Jung writes of the European, “If we set against this our own self-justifications, the meaning of our own lives as it is formulated by our reason, we cannot help but see our poverty.” (Jung, 1989: 252)

Most importantly, Jung illustrates that Europeans, and perhaps Americans, are not the only humans constructing Otherness. He quotes a Native American, Ochiwiay Bianco. “See...how cruel the whites look. Their lips are thin, their noses sharp, their faces furrowed and distorted by folds. Their eyes have a staring expression; they are always seeking something. What are they seeking? The whites always want something; they are always uneasy and restless. We do not know what they want. We do not understand them. We think that they are mad.” (Jung, 1989: 248)

Finally, Jung examines the decision to pursue the Other through travel. Like Lacan, his observations suggest that we are driven to travel by loss and repression as individuals and collectives. Echoing Bataille, Jung also suggests that we seek ourselves in an Other that can distract us from our losses and deficits. “Out of sheer envy we are obliged to smile at the Indians’ naiveté and to plume ourselves on our cleverness; for otherwise we would discover how impoverished and down at the heels we are.” (Jung, 1989: 252)

For Jung, it is our place in the world, the home, by right of birth, perhaps, that we seek when we travel. It is a relation to an Other than can meet the needs left unmet by loss of mother culture, an original Other. Jung speaks enviously of the Pueblo Native Americans having a relationship with their God such that they are in partnership, custodians of this earth. “ ‘God and us’ – even if it is only an unconscious sous-entendu—this equation no doubt underlies that enviable serenity of the Pueblo Indian. Such a man is in the fullest sense of the word in his proper place. “ (Jung, 1989: 253)

Is this why the student, academic, expatriate, and tourist travel – to search for a proper place? Or, is it to deliberately, ritualistically jolt the ego from the properness of home, of place, unbinding it and transporting it into an Other?

III. Preliminary Applications to Specific Site: Potala Palace, Tibet

While the previous discussion presents a general theoretical framework for exploring the affect of travel’s ritual on tourists, it is important to note that there are a wide array of variations of travel experience, greatly impacted by several variables such as the tourist’s specific: purpose or incitements, preparations, mode of travel, previous travels, and relative privilege as a nexus of class, gender, race, ethnicity within the global economy. In this section, I explore my experience at Lhasa’s sacred site, the Potala Palace and reference my visit to the Borobodur in Indonesia. While data is limited to ethnographic observation, future research might include in-depth interviews with tourists at this and other similar sites.

I visited the Potala Palace in Lhasa, Tibet in 2004 with my experience of the latter summarized in today's introduction, becoming the impetus for this paper. As I examine this site as a possible liminal space, I locate myself within the discussion.

1. Sacred Site's Historic Embodiments

The types of tourists found at different sites vary greatly, mostly due to the history and perceived function of specific sites. For example, while the Borobudur in Central Java, Indonesia, was constructed as a monument to honor Buddhism, the Potala Palace was actually the winter home of dalai lamas and the seat of power throughout Tibetan history. This difference in spatialization is important in terms of what interpenetration of the space will mean for the tourist. In the case of the Palace, the tourist is a visitor in a home of a holy leader while this is not the case in the Borobudur.

A second difference is the location and embodiment of each site within the broader global and local history of power and struggle. The Potala Palace, for example, embodies the struggle of the Tibetan people to maintain autonomy from the Chinese government. The Palace is currently operated, for example, by the Chinese government and the few monks left are forced to work for the Chinese tourist agency. Although Indonesia certainly has its own ethnic and political struggles, the Borobudur, as a sacred site, is relatively unscathed by these. Granted, however, in the past it was bombed, pieces of it removed and sent elsewhere, and more recently, certain explicitly sexual elements in the sculptures have been covered by the more conservative and modest Muslim government.

These variations in the sites' embodiment of history and power have implications for the tourists' experience of them as liminal spaces. Their histories position them in relation to their tourists, as not only spaces, but identities – identities that speak and interpenetrate in dialogue with the tourists.

2. Tourist Identity and Visit's Purpose

In addition to the historic identity of the sacred site, the liminal power of the site is also influenced by the tourist's identity and purpose in visiting the site. For example, at the Potala Palace, I observed two main types of tourists: religious pilgrims and tourists and non-religious tourists. This differed greatly than at the Borobudur where I saw no religious ritual practices marking tourists in separate categories. Instead, tourists appeared outwardly to be secular, categorized broadly more by country of origin than by religious practice. I easily identified Indonesians, Japanese, and Anglo Westerners. Others I could not easily identify but almost all wore contemporary Western dress.

The Potala Palace was quite different. There were three subtypes of religious pilgrims: traditional Tibetan pilgrims; non-traditional religious tourists; and monks. There were two subtypes of non-religious tourists: non-religious Chinese and Tibetan tourists; and non-religious, non-Chinese or non-Tibetan tourists. Note, however, that these categories are based solely on observation and require further investigation with interviews. For example, an Anglo American tourist may, in fact, perceive her visit as a religious pilgrimage even though her actions are not observed to be as such.

The traditional religious tourist on pilgrimage was generally older and identified by traditional dress, possibly long braids woven with red string, and by traditional religious practices including some, but not necessarily all of the following: spinning personal, portable-size, prayer wheels; walking with other pilgrims around the base perimeter of the Palace, through the Bakor market; prostrating themselves at the monastery front; feeding the ghee lamps inside the temple; and burning incense outside in the small burners.

The non-traditional religious tourist performed many of the same rituals as the traditional but was much younger and wore contemporary Western fashion such as down winter parkers, sneakers, and jeans.

A third group of religious tourist was monks that seemed to be more culturally diverse in terms of language, garb, and practices while inside the temple. Although Tibetan monks are few and far between within the Palace and are disallowed their authentic practice, forced to practice primarily for the tourists, groups of touring monks flashed photos and chatted on cell phones throughout the Palace.

The non-religious groups were primarily Tibetan or Chinese. These wore western dress and did not observe the traditional ritual protocol described above. The second non-religious groups included other Asians such as the many Japanese tourists I saw and some, but few tourists from other countries. I was part of this latter category – part of a

contingent of sociologists from the international conference in Beijing who, once having presented their papers on an array of topics relating to globalization, signed up for a quick ten-day trip to Lhasa and its surrounds. Our group consisted of sociologists from many countries including: Poland, Israel, United States, and Hungary. Only one other American was in this group.

I suggest that the transformative liminal power of any sacred site and its affect on the tourist's identity will vary depending on the manifest purpose of the tour. Initially, my hypothesis was that the religious tourists would experience liminality more powerfully and within that space, experience greater disruption in subjectivity than would the non-religious tourist. First, the separation and early-liminal stages of their ritual journey seemed to be more intense in terms of performing physical and imaginary practices that separate them from the mundane including prostration, wheel-spinning, and long, grueling travel.

Second, they may be more receptive to the intensity of the multidimensionality of the temple - its incense, brilliant colors, and the expressive gestures of the religious statues - given that they have a symbolic language for understanding the rich religious meanings. Third, they perhaps have a deeply embodied sense of the absences imposed by the Chinese on the site and may be more disturbed by these than the non-religious person. For example, the current Dalai Lama's photo or statue is absent from the Palace.

However, playing devil's advocate, I suggest that the non-religious tourist, especially the Western tourist, may actually experience liminality in this site more intensely as well as greater site interpenetration and ego displacement. One might argue that without the extensive separation and preparation stage and without the embodied cultural context for understanding the multidimensionality of the ritual encounter, the psyche is more challenged by the internalized fragmentation of meaning. Since there is less of a traditionally religious meaning-making narrative provided by formal religious beliefs and practices, the non-religious tourist may, literally, be at a loss for how to make sense of the dark, incense-shrouded, experience. It might just be the case that liminality is experienced more intensely by the uninitiated. The local children begging as the tourist passes by, the spinning wheels, and the ghee smearing of pilgrims fueling ghee lamps – all may be more challenging for the unaccustomed. This was corroborated by a colleague of mine who went on pilgrimage with Tibetans. He observed that to them, the pilgrimage experience was natural and an extension of their normal religious beliefs and practices. Although it may be experienced as liminality in travel ritual, ego disruption was minimal due to their familiarity with the ritual's multidimensional landscape.

In fact, one might argue that pilgrimage, for the religious, is a slightly different yet comparable example of Bataille's notion of the project that dominates the life of the secular tourist. If, according to Bataille, only in sacrificing the project do we experience the ludic and a liminality that incites a shift in our ego's constructive representational work, then perhaps it is the non-religious tourist that is better positioned for experiencing shifting subjectivity.

If liminality is a re-organizing space for the ego, the non-religious tourist is perhaps better situated in this sacred site to re-experience the child's mirror stage. Perhaps the Catholic Polish sociologist tourist in my group who became so angry and condescending and childlike in her whining demands, experienced deep within the dark and winding rooms of the Potala Palace, the loss of her mother culture and the security it brings in meeting her needs. Noting its absence and struggling with unmet needs -- even the most basic in terms of language and mapping, where the toilet or the exit is, for example -- perhaps there was a necessary shift in ego, an adjustment of sorts, to a dependence not on the old mother culture but now, on a newly reconfiguring self -- a Self that most possibly incorporates pieces of this Other -- the Palace, the pilgrims, other tourists -- into its identity.

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