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Colette Zytnicki and Habib Kazdaghli, eds., *Le Tourisme dans l'empire français: politiques, pratiques et imaginaires (XIX^e—XX^e siècle). Un outil de la domination coloniale?* Paris: Publications de la Société française d'histoire d'outre-mer, 2009. 444 pp. 40€ (pb). ISBN 978-2-85970-041-6.

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Stephen Greenblatt's "mobility studies manifesto" of 2010 has recently encouraged those working across a range of fields in the arts and humanities to consider the constitutive role of various forms of movement in the emergence of our objects of study, as well as in the development of the analytical tools we adopt to understand them.[1] The essential place of mobility in colonial history has itself long been apparent. James Clifford's invitation to understand "travel" as a "translation term" that permits the exploration of the various forms of movement—passive and active, hidden and visible, voluntary and coerced—associated with colonialism has not, however, attracted the sustained response that would permit engagement with the full range of practices that such a federating term aims to gather together.[2] Greenblatt's manifesto is a clear call to engage again with the various histories, literatures and cultures of travel and mobility from a highly literal starting point. "Boarding a plane, venturing on a ship, climbing onto the back of a wagon, crowding into a coach, mounting on horseback, or simply setting one foot in front of the other and walking are indispensable keys to understanding the fate of cultures. The physical, infrastructural, and institutional conditions of movement—the available routes; the maps; the vehicles; the relative speed; the controls and costs; the limits on what can be transported; the authorizations required; the inns, relay stations and transfer points; the travel facilitators—are all serious objects of analysis. Only when conditions directly related to literal movement are firmly grasped will it be possible fully to understand the metaphorical movements: between center and periphery; faith and skepticism; order and chaos; exteriority and interiority" (p. 250).

The material conditions of mobility that Greenblatt outlines reveal the manifold ways in which modes of locomotion, and the practicalities of physical displacement, may be associated with various forms of travel ranging from necessary and even coerced journeys to those, such as the subject of the book under review, linked ostensibly at least with leisure and enjoyment. Studies in tourism—and in particular an attention to the history of tourism—may have become a well-established international field of research. Exploration, along the lines Greenblatt suggests, of the intersections of leisure travel with the forms of movement associated with colonial expansion and settlement has, however, emerged only relatively recently, and the collection of international contributions edited by Colette Zytnicki and Habib Kazdaghli constitutes a valuable contribution to this field.

The question introduced by the end of the title of the volume (*'Un outil de la domination coloniale?'*) immediately raises the intricate and complex entanglement of tourism with the geopolitical realities and aspirations of colonialism. It is consequently to be read in the context of important research produced over the past few decades by francophone and anglophone scholars working particularly, but not exclusively, in the field of postcolonial studies. It is this work that has begun to enrich our understanding of the subject to which this collection is devoted, i.e., the "corrélation entre le mouvement impérial qui saisit l'Europe au XIX^e siècle et la mise en tourisme des territoires nouvellement soumis à la domination

des Occidentaux” (p. 5). The importance to such an endeavour of the scholarship of such influential commentators as Jean-Didier Urbain, Kristin Ross, Marc Augé, Ellen Furlong, Eric Jennings, Herman Lebovics and Jean Viard lies not just in their innovative exploration of the ways in which tourist discourses and colonial ideology have historically fed into each other, frequently for mutual benefit. Collectively, their work also underlines the genuine diversity of disciplinary and methodological approaches required to do full justice to the complex colonial legacy of tourism.

The assured tone of the introduction to this new volume, as well as the disciplinary and institutionally diverse voices of its thirty-four contributors, suggests that this is the critically cross-disciplinary territory to which *Le Tourisme dans l'Empire Français* aims to contribute. The volume proposes a partial corrective to what is perceived as a dominant focus in postcolonial studies on “le jeu des acteurs et singulièrement des colonisés” (p. 6) by venturing into what the editors see as “le terrain risqué du tourisme” (p. 7). The volume is divided into five sections that loosely examine historical developments, visual and institutional representations of tourist “spaces” in the French colonies, tourist infrastructure, specific tourist figures (real and imaginary), and finally contemporary tourism and tourist practices. Geographically, the volume tends to privilege North Africa (a result no doubt of its origins as a Franco-Tunisian collaborative research project), but a number of chapters also take account of contexts in Sub-Saharan Africa, Indochina, Lebanon and the Indian Ocean.

Two comparative chapters also examine the Spanish dimensions of tourism in North Africa, and another looks at Fascist tourist policies in colonial Libya. Within this chorus of heterogeneous voices, certain critically important refrains emerge that will resonate with readers familiar with postcolonial analyses of tourism and tourist practices. These concern the elitist beginnings of tourist travel in the colonies and the tendency to view it as a new form of Grand Tour—albeit one tied in with nineteenth-century attitudes towards physical health and exertion; the growing recognition of tourism’s unique potential for garnering support for the broader ideological objectives of colonisation; the increasing institutionalisation of tourism and improving infrastructure as a result of the latter; the parallels between the development of tourism and the military expansionist practices of colonialism that preceded it; the contradictions of a self proclaimed “modern” and “modernising” industry that depended nonetheless on creating and selling different, “primitive” and/or exotic experiences; the role of tourism in the emergence of nation-states; and the re-emergence of colonial tropes and practices in the tourist industries of the post-colonies and *départements*.

In such a substantial volume, a certain amount of unevenness is to be expected. Nonetheless, there are some thoroughly engaging contributions here. Emmanuelle Peyvel’s enlightening study of the development of tourism in Vietnam situates it in a wider colonial context of rivalry between Britain, France and the Netherlands, yet also reveals how the development of tourist spaces reflected the class distinctions of settlers and their nostalgia for “home”. Sophie Dulucq’s chapter also makes an important contribution to the little studied subject of tourism in Equatorial Africa. Alain Messaouudi’s exploration of attempts by certain French officials to validate and promote North Africa’s Islamic heritage and culture for tourist purposes suggests that it was not simply a cynical economical exploitation of this tradition, but one underpinned by genuine (if sometimes misguided) attempts to understand it and promote it respectfully.

Two transport-related chapters also stand out. Alison J. Murray Levine’s intriguing account revisits the symbolic value of the highly successful trans-African *Croisière noire* expedition, financed by André Citroën. However, she adds another dimension to our understanding of this well-documented adventure by examining it alongside an earlier failed venture of Citroën’s, the Citracit project. This far more ambitious, yet forgotten, scheme aimed at establishing a tourist trail that would link Paris to Timbuktu in a twelve-day journey by train, ferry and pirogue, involving stays in purpose-built hotels and campsites. Although

construction of some of these had commenced, Citroën was forced to abandon the project for security reasons and his enthusiastic and generous commitment to the *Croisière noire* project must thus be seen as a means to compensate for this first failure.

Serge La Barbera is not alone in underlining the difficulty of presenting colonial conquest and the development of tourism as succeeding each other historically. However, his cogently argued contribution on the historical, political and symbolic importance of roads to colonialism and tourism emerges as a genuinely thought-provoking and innovative contribution. Whilst the construction of roads was vital for military operations, their development as a trans-Maghrebi network can also be explained by a complex intermingling of tourism's demands and an ideological project aimed at symbolising France's colonial project across North Africa. And whilst the role of roads in underlining the technological superiority of the coloniser is made clear, La Barbera also points to the ways in which roads shaped how tourists perceived and experienced the landscape through which they travelled.

Some of the contributions to *Le Tourisme dans l'Empire Français* have a tendency to concentrate on geographical and historical realities in a manner that leaves little or no room to tease out the assumptions and contradictions of their subjects. It is surprising, too, that very few contributions examine the participation of colonized subjects in the "contact zones" of tourism's various spaces. The logic behind chapter organization is at times hazy, and the absence of a critical bibliography and index will also be regretted by some readers. However, whilst the editors might have done more to draw out the bigger picture, the value of the volume lies in the undoubted success of those contributions that illustrate the rich detail of specific contexts and add greatly to the important and growing body of work in this field. Collectively, the chapters provide a valuable resource for those seeking to understand the connections between colonialism and tourism, to discern the continuities and discontinuities that characterize the two phenomena, and to study the extent to which the development of leisure travel constitutes, in terms used in the introduction, "un des rouages de l'Etat colonial" (p. 11).

There is also a clear indication of the ways in which the study of colonial tourism is essential to the study of tourism more generally, not least because this sphere often served a pioneering role in the development of certain forms of leisure travel. The collection will also be of interest to those seeking firm illustrations of the "post/colonial," that is the persistence of the colonial past in the postcolonial present, a phenomenon clearly apparent in Laurence Tibère's study of tourist cuisine in Reunion Island or in Alison Levine's exploration of the continued exoticist attraction of the *Croisière noire*. "Non," note Colette Zytnecki and Habib Kazaghli in the opening sentence of their introduction, "le tourisme n'est pas une chose frivole" (p. 5). The subsequent collection of essays that illustrate this reappraisal will serve as a useful resource for those committed to exploring *la mise en tourisme* of the colonial world and to understanding the constitutive role of leisure travel in the construction of the actual and symbolic worlds of empire.

NOTES

[1] Stephen Greenblatt, "A mobility studies manifesto," in Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): 250-253.

[2] James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1997).

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