

**Univerzita Karlova v Praze
Přírodovědecká fakulta
katedra sociální geografie a regionálního rozvoje**

Studijní program: Geografie
Studijní obor: Regionální a politická geografie



Petr Winkler, BSc.

**IMAGINATIVE GEOGRAPHIES OF DEVELOPING WORLD: AN ANALYSIS OF PRACTICES IN CZECH
GEOGRAPHIC AND TRAVEL MAGAZINES**

IMAGINATIVNÍ GEOGRAFIE ROZVOJOVÉHO SVĚTA: ANALÝZA PRAKTIK V ČESKÝCH ZEMĚPISNÝCH A
CESTOVATELSKÝCH ČASOPISECH

Diplomová práce

Praha, 2013

Vedoucí diplomové práce: RNDr. Josef Novotný, Ph.D.

Prohlášení:

Prohlašuji, že jsem závěrečnou práci zpracoval samostatně a že jsem uvedl všechny použité informační zdroje a literaturu. Tato práce ani její podstatná část nebyla předložena k získání jiného nebo stejného akademického titulu.

V Praze, 19.8.2013

Podpis

Poděkování

Na tomto místě bych rád poděkoval vedoucímu svojí práce, RNDr. Josefovi Novotnému, PhD., za jeho trpělivost a cenné rady a svým nejbližším za duševní podporu i technickou pomoc.

Abstract:

This study is concerned with the role of contemporary Czech geographic and travel writing and its involvement with the creation and reproduction of spatialised identities and imaginative geographies as they relate to the 'developing world'. It employs the method of discourse analysis (mostly research tools taken from Critical Discourse Analysis) to examine the contents of articles from all issues of the magazines *Koktejl* and *Lidé a Země* for the year 2012. This is done in order to analyse the portrayals of such spaces within the context of imaginative geography and the post-development critique and bring attention to the kind of popular geopolitics that is being created. The main topics covered includes the construction of identity between the authors, readers and the objects of writing, the linear understanding of the flow of history and progress and the relationship between the writers and their objects (both places and people). The main findings of the research consist in the identification of the continued prevalence of the perception of linearity of history which constitutes the developing places as subjected to a universal historical process with the European civilisation as the current endpoint of history. These places are therefore considered a legitimate domain of knowledge, appreciation or responsibility for the authors or other members of their identity group.

Keywords: Imaginative geography, popular geopolitics, travel, discourse, Czechia, development

Abstrakt:

Tato studie se zabývá rolí současné cestopisné a cestovatelské literatury v jejich souvislosti s tvorbou a reprodukováním prostorové identity a imaginativní geografie ve vztahu k “rozvojovému světu”. Používá metodu diskurzivní analýzy (většinou jde o výzkumné nástroje převzaté z Kritické Diskurzivní Analýzy) ke zkoumání obsahu článků ze všech čísel časopisů Koktejl a Lidé a Země za rok 2012. Děje se tak ve snaze analyzovat vyobrazení daných prostorů v kontextu imaginativní geografie a post-rozvojové kritiky a upozornit typ populární geopolitiky, která tím vzniká. Hlavní témata zahrnovala tvorbu identit autorů, čtenářů a líčených objektů, lineární chápání průběhu dějin a pokroku a vztah mezi pisateli a jejich objekty (jak místy, tak lidí). Hlavní zjištění výzkumu spočívají v určení přetrvávajícího obecného výskytu takového vnímání linearit dějin, které nazírá na místa v rozvojových zemích jako na subjekty univerzálního historického procesu, v němž figuruje evropská civilizace jako současný konečný bod dějin. Taková místa se tudíž pokládají za legitimní sféru poznávání, hodnocení i odpovědnosti ze strany autorů či jiných příslušníků skupiny, s níž se identifikují.

Klíčová slova: imaginativní geografie, populární geopolitika, cestování, diskurz, Česká republika, rozvoj

CONTENT

1. Introduction	8
2. Theoretical framework	11
2.1. Foucault, Power, Discourse and Space	11
2.1.1 Power/Knowledge	11
2.1.2. Soja and Postmodern geographies	13
2.2. Orientalism and Imaginative Geography	15
2.2.1. Orientalism	15
2.2.2 Imaginative Geography	20
2.3. Development as Discourse and post-colonialism	24
2.3.1. Summary of development as discourse.....	24
2.3.2. Invention of Development	25
2.3.3. The subjects of development	26
2.3.4. Characteristics	27
2.3.5. Hypocrisy	28
2.3.6. Impacts and criticisms	29
2.3.7. Participation and Empowerment	29
2.3.8. Post-colonial Geography	31
2.4. Critical Geopolitics	32
2.5. Theoretical synthesis.....	34
3. Methodology	39
3.1. Analysed sample	39
3.2. Methodology	42
3.2.1. Discourse Analysis	42
3.2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis and Post-structuralist Analysis	43
3.3. Methodology in the Thesis.....	45
3.3.1. Thematic Grouping.....	47
3.3.2. Designation of concepts.....	49
3.3.3. Analysis of Reference patterns	49
3.3.4. Analysis of meanings	50
3.3.5. Clarifications and risks	51
4. Empirical research.....	56
4.1. Who goes there	56

4.2. Direct representation.....	60
4.3. Exposition and truth statements	64
4.4. Linearity of achievement.	69
4.5. Time to mourn	80
4.6. For the money	82
4.7. A dirty picture.....	86
4.8. Nature and culture.....	88
4.9. Maning up.....	93
4.10. Synthesis of research.....	103
5. Conclusion.....	109
6. Bibliography.....	113
7. Appendix.....	118
7.1. Časopis Lidé a Země.....	118
7.2. Časopis Koktejl.....	127
7.3. Human development index 2012 – list of countries	134
7.4. Sample of methodological transcription	137

1. Introduction

This paper is the combination of several principal objectives. The first aim is to contribute to the debate on the current state of the representation of the places of the ‘Global South’, or the ‘Third World’ or the ‘Developing world’, according to particular preference, facilitated by the media and the possible impacts this might have on the public debate over the concept of development and/or development assistance. The second purpose was to bring more attention towards research topics and methods which, unlike in many other European countries, have not gained much popularity within the Czech academic sphere and the field of geography in particular.

It considers the topic of representation and identity ascription from the perspective of ‘imaginative geography’, which emerged from the work of E. Said and has been most vigorously developed by D. Gregory and his collaborators. This framework will be applied to an analysis of the discourse of geographic and travel magazines in Czechia, specifically **Lidé a Země** and **Koktejl**.

The objective of the essay is therefore to examine and analyse the images and representations of the ‘developing spaces’ transmitted by discourse of the geographic and travel magazines and to consider their possible implications for the wider public debate and understanding of the concept of development.

This serves as a point of intersection of the aforementioned goals. The thesis employs the conceptual framework of imaginative geography, along with insights from post-modern geographies and critical geopolitics, and uses the method of discourse analysis (primarily the tools of critical discourse analysis) as its methodological tool. The focus of development and its context and the desire to contribute to the debate is then reflected in the inclusion of the post-development critique as a source of possible hypotheses and topics of interest within the discourse. Furthermore, the focus on geographic and travel magazines was meant to bring attention to a very specific textual sample, which plays an important role in the construction and imagination of spaces and which exhibits some unique discourse dynamics, yet often revolves around very familiar topics. The thesis is particularly interested in the way geographic and travel writing is involved in the construction and reproduction of spatialised identities and relations.

The paper is divided into three primary sections – Theoretical framework, Methodology, and Empirical Analysis. The first section starts by presenting the principal theoretical influences which underpin its research. The first chapter briefly explains the work of Michel Foucault on the role of power, knowledge and discourse, and also pays attention to the post-modern geography of E. Soja who employed Foucault as an important spatial thinker. This section is vital in terms of contributions to epistemology and methodology, as well as introduces the debate over the proper role of ‘space’ in the understanding of progress and history.

The second theoretical chapter is concerned with the idea of ‘Orientalism’ and the work of E. Said, whose contribution is of primary consequence and also presents and explains the framework of ‘imaginative geography,’ which later emerged in direct connection, albeit limited to the influence of, Orientalism. This chapter presents the elementary grounding for the analysis, understanding and interpretation of the empirical findings.

The third chapter then introduces and examines the critique of ‘post development’, the conception of development as discourse and some aspects of post-colonial geography. This chapter points towards some of the issues addressed during the analysis.

The fourth theoretical chapter then outlines the concept of critical geopolitics and its relevance to the thesis through the study of ‘popular geopolitics’.

Subsequently, the theoretical section offers a synthesis of the discussed theoretical inspirations in order to link them together and with the topic of the thesis, and formulates the main research questions. These are:

1. What kind of geographies in terms of spaces and people emerge from the textual discourse?

2. What are the characteristics of such entities and their relationship vis-à-vis the author and the reader?

3. What kind of popular geopolitics is being created and how do the findings relate to the post-development critique?

After this follows the methodological section, which in its first chapter explains the selection of the analysed material, justification for its use and qualifications needed to make regarding its use.

Secondly it explains the methodology of discourse analysis, its purpose, advantages and problems, as well as some debates regarding the use of the method.

Thirdly, the section explains the exact use of the methodological toolbox within the thesis and its direct application, including necessary qualifications, such as various difficulties associated with this application. This chapter also formulates the basic hypotheses the thesis operates with.

• ‘Other’ places serve as a point of difference and contrast and are constructed alongside the identity of the authors;

• Entities representing spaces within the developing world will be attributed negative characteristics or be described in terms of absences of good characteristics;

• An evolutionary understanding of history and society will be confirmed;

• Entities referring to inhabitants of the developing countries are given reduced opportunity to speak to the reader directly;

• Entities referring to people within the developing world will play the role of either victims, villains or passive bystanders in social processes.

After the discussion of methodology, the thesis moves towards the presentation of the empirical analysis, the obtained outputs, their examination and contextualization. These are organized by topics, which are, however, mutually interrelated. Firstly, it presents and discusses the evidence of identity construction and maintenance within the articles, with regard to the position of the writer, their readers

and the objects of their writing. Secondly, it is concerned with direct representations of the inhabitants of the developing world within the articles and their possibility to actively participate in the construction of their image. This is continued through the third chapter, which is concerned with the role and position of the travel writer in the description and construction of imaginative places. The fourth chapter and fifth chapters, of crucial importance, discuss the perception of the linearity of history and development and its relation to the development debate. Two following chapters are concerned with the perception of the subaltern inhabitants and their attributes related to the relationship they have with their spaces (such as communal spaces) and their attitude towards materialism. This continues in chapter eight, which explicitly examines the relationships both the authors and the local entities are interpreted to have with the places they exist in, such as the natural environment or historical heritage. The ninth chapter of the empirical section focuses on the perception of gender in the developing places and its potential impacts.

After these chapters, the thesis performs a synthesis of the empirical results, including recommendations for practical outcomes, and subsequently concludes by answering the primary research question.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Foucault, Power, Discourse and Space

2.1.1 Power/Knowledge

A good place to start is with the scholarship of French philosopher and social theorist Michel Foucault whose thinking on the relationship between knowledge and power and, notably for this thesis, discourse and discursive practices...transformed and opened up a new avenue for the social science for many years to come. These conceptions are relevant not only as a foundation to many of the theoretical approaches presented within this section, but is also of crucial importance for the applied methodology of discourse analysis, discussed in the section on methodology.

Foucauldian thinking represents a significant challenge to the philosophy and understanding of knowledge posited by the enlightenment and later positivist approaches to modern science.

The core of this challenge can be, for example, neatly followed throughout his lecture on *Truth and the Juridical Forms* (1973), where Foucault first questions the unity of the conditions of the 'experience and the object of experience' (Foucault 1973, p.9). Moreover, Foucault invokes Nietzsche to argue that there are no such thing as 'knowledge in itself' (Foucault 1973, p.13), since all knowledge and its subject undergo a process of constitution, which is heavily influenced by economic and political (power-related) factors (Foucault 1973 15). In his work, Foucault seeks to expose what he considers to be a fundamental Western myth about the separation of truth and power, which posits truth as a reward of patience and intellectual rigour (Foucault 1973, p.32). This then makes the struggles over 'truth' even more powerful in the political realm. Instead, Foucault argues that 'truth is a thing of this world' (Foucault, 1977, p.131), which is constantly locked in a circular relationship with power, where the existence of a particular kind of truth, or a 'regime of truth,' is a product as well as a source of power relations between individuals. In essence, since regimes of truth are themselves power relations, it is impossible to argue which of the components is primordial, since new forms of power relations (such as economic systems) inevitably bring with them new forms of truth as appropriate to their existence and forms of knowledge (a monopoly over truth, so to say) provides its owners with an authority to exercise adequate forms of power. Such power projections then take the form of various *discourses*.

Towards this purpose, Foucault rejects the notion of *Ideology* as a 'false truth', so influential in Marxist thought, because this would only obscure the nature of the relationship between truth and power, providing an incomplete and unhelpful picture. (Foucault 1977, p.119)

No knowledge produced by man with an aspiration towards truth is free of power dynamics, which are necessary for the production of knowledge itself, making objective effectively knowledge impossible. This does not necessarily deny the existence of physical objects out of discourse, but rather posits that their interaction with the human world is impossible without it.

In the *Order of Things* (1966), Foucault examines himself what he thought to be a civilisation wide epistemic break between the classical and modern age of western civilisation. However, after years of

reflection upon the seemingly totalising version in which he first employed the episteme, Foucault revisited the concept to give it a more situational background.

“I would define the episteme retrospectively as the strategic apparatus which permits of separating out from among all the statements which are possible those that will be acceptable within, I won’t say a scientific theory, but a field of scientificity, and which it is possible to say are true or false. The episteme is the ‘apparatus’ which makes possible the separation, not of the true from the false, but of what may from what may not be characterised as scientific.” (Foucault 1980, p.197)

This turn allows the episteme to be used within a certain specific context, as well as on a civilisational scale as historically specific frame (base) of knowledge and also of discourses.... Furthermore, in order to address discursive practices on a smaller scale (following his increased preoccupation with language and discourse), Foucault developed the idea of a *discursive regime* (1977, p.114), which consists of a particular way of developing narratives, constructing statements and using evidence as is appropriate within the discursive regime. While discursive regimes are still predominantly concerned with the functioning of sciences, they essentially include all regimes of knowledge formation and accumulation with a systematic nature. A discursive regime exists even within such form of knowledge production and accumulation as newspapers, and, importantly, institutionalised forms such as geographic and travel magazines, albeit not exactly in the same way and on a much smaller scale.

Throughout a *genealogy/archaeology of knowledge*, it is possible to study the formation and development of constituted discourses and their discursive regimes in order to highlight underlying power relations and power structures involved in the process. (Foucault 1977, p.118)

In one of his lesser known essays *Subject and Power* (1982), which forms a kind of synthesis of previously formulated thoughts, Foucault provides a number of propositions important for the work of authors inspired by his methodology, and also, specifically, for this research and its topical focus. Foucault reasserts the observation that power, similar to the concept of knowledge, does not exist on its own, independent from continuous human activity, but only exists while being exercised by individuals, or groups thereof, upon each other as a form of interaction. (Foucault 1982, p.340) All power struggles (which emerge as a result of the exercise of power, which is never homogenous) are closely linked with the production and distribution of knowledge, an integral part of which are representations imposed on other people as well as representations appropriated for oneself (Foucault 1982, p.330). Such power struggles then intimately related to the fundamental question of ‘who we are’ and what is our position within such a struggle (Foucault 1982, p.331) Foucault highlights the role of important antagonisms and oppositions which form integral parts of social struggles, such as the division between the sane and the insane (which he explores through his numerous works, such as *Madness and Civilisation*, published in 1964), parents and children and others (Foucault 1982, p.329). What is important to consider is that these divisions are not pre-existing, but are formed and maintained by the struggles themselves.

While Foucault himself had laboured to bring attention to a number of societal struggles over representation and access to knowledge production, such as those of men and women, children and parents and others, dressing specific social issues or serving as metaphors, he never explicitly dealt

himself with the topic of colonial or neocolonial relations, let alone the field of development and its discursive practices. He did, however, open up this avenue for future authors.

2.1.2. Soja and Postmodern geographies

Reassertion of space

The works by Foucault (and Edward Said, whose scholarship is discussed in detail in a separate chapter) have also seen a particular kind of following within the discipline of geography (understood as being done by scholars who identify themselves as geographers and use geographic terminology). A key proponent of the move to reclaim these scholars for the study of spaces was Edward Soja, who published his famous book *Post Modern Geographies: The Reassessment of Space in Critical Social Theory* (1998). Soja is part of what Frank terms the ‘spatial turn’ within social sciences (Frank 2009, p.65), which seeks to restore the significance of space within scholarly thinking, as can, after all, be observed from the title of his book. One of the prominent features of this turn is the attempt to reframe both Foucault and Said as key spatial thinkers (Frank 2009, p.63). Previously, these authors (especially Foucault) would be considered as forefathers of the study of cultural discourse as ‘an ensemble of linguistically-based practices unified by their common deployment in the management of colonial relationships’ (Hulme 1986, p.2) This interpretation of the authors is more akin to that found in literary studies or the study of development as discourse, discussed in a separate chapter. Soja draws attention to some of Foucault’s lesser known works, such as the essay *Of Other Spaces* (published in English in 1986) and several interviews he conducted afterwards. In one of them Foucault asserts that

“Geography acted as the support, the condition of possibility for the passage between a series of factors I tried to relate.” (Foucault 1980, p.77)

Furthermore, he argues that

“Space is fundamental in any form of communal life, space is fundamental in any exercise of power.” (Foucault in Faubion 2001, p.361)

Soja sees space as a thoroughly political phenomenon connected with the exercise of power. He goes back to Lefebvre to attract attention to this insightful quotation:

“Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology and politics, it has always been political and strategic. If space has any air of neutrality and indifference....it is precisely because it has been occupied and used, and has already been a focus of past processes whose traces are not always evident in the landscape...Space is political and ideological. It is a product filled with ideologies...” (Lefebvre 1976, p.31)

While this extract is still somewhat constrained by the use of Marxist terminology (such as ‘ideology’), it already shows the great potential for considering the political nature of space and struggles over space, similar to Said’s later assertion on the importance of geography:

“Just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography.” (Said 1993, p.7)

Soja, however, emphasizes his assumed Foucauldian heritage by returning to 'Other Spaces' by reminding his readers of Foucault's (somewhat oddly phrased, as will be later discussed) call to arms directed at students of geography:

"A whole new history remains to be written of spaces, which would at the same time be the history of powers- from the great strategies of geopolitics to the little tactics of the habitat." (Foucault in Soja, 1989, p.21)

Foucault's idea about 'writing history' is fortunately somewhat different from the commonplace understanding of history at the time (and probably still nowadays), which is why Foucault is forgiven for his choice of words, despite Soja's vigorous campaign against the overwhelming emphasis of historicism in social science. The understanding of space and time and its role in also features prominently within this thesis.

Against the prioritization of time over space

Soja especially vocally protested against what he saw as a preferential treatment of the factor of time over that of space in much of social science. Partially under the influence of Marxism and the concept of modernity, social science, according to Soja, came to perceive space as a mere backdrop for social activity, as a dead and immobile entity dispossessed of political nature, where time brings about the great dramas of human civilization and progress. (Soja 1989, p.11) Instead he advocates a greater focus on the spatialisation of social life and the examination of the 'long hidden instrumentality of human geographies' (Soja 1989, p.24).

Soja goes back to C. Wright Mills to present and reveal the nature of historicism. Mills has this to say about the sociological imagination, which he understands as fundamental for the understanding of human society:

"The first fruit of this imagination – and the first lesson of the social science that embodies it – is the idea that the individual can understand his own experience and gauge his own fate only by locating himself within his period... We have come to know that every individual lives, from one generation to the next, in some society; that he lives out a biography, and that he lives it out within some historical sequence. By the facts of living he contributes, however minutely, to the shaping of this society and to the course of history, even as he is made by society and its historical push and shove..... No social study that does not come back to the problems of biography, of history, and of their intersections within society, has completed its intellectual journey." (Mills 1959, p.12)

This view prioritizes the course of history as the ultimate force structuring the social reality of human lives. Contrary to this, Soja calls for the reintegration of space into social theory in order to enable the analysis of spatially differentiated power relations obfuscated by the historicist gaze which unified the historical flow and stripped it of its spatial dimension. Soja invokes a particularly powerful reaction of Foucault when asked on the topic:

"For all those who confuse history with the old schemas of evolution, living continuity, organic development, the progress of consciousness or the project of existence, the use of spatial terms seems to

have an air of anti-history. If one started to talk in terms of space that meant one was hostile to time. It meant, as the fools say that one 'denied history', that one was a 'technocrat'. They didn't understand that to trace the forms of implantation, delimitation and demarcation of objects the modes of tabulation, the organization of domains meant the throwing into relief of processes – historical ones, needless to say – of power. The spatialising description of discursive realities gives on to the analysis of related effects of power.” (Foucault 1980, p.77) While this is one of several quotes by Foucault, Soja makes use of his defence of re-spatialisation of social science, it is of particular interest to this thesis, as well as Soja's general drive towards the dismantlement of an erroneous treatment of the role of history. The fetishisation of history's presumed evolutionary characteristic which displaces all understanding of space in social reality has some striking resemblance to the critic levelled against the discursive practices of both Orientalism and Development, which will be elaborated on in the final theoretical chapter.

2.2. Orientalism and Imaginative Geography

2.2.1. Orientalism

One of those who made use of the developments brought by Foucault's scholarship and who also represents one of the (adopted) founding fathers of imaginative geography is Edward Said. In 1978, Said first published his highly influential, as well as problematic, book named *Orientalism*. The aim of this publication was to illuminate the role of discursive practices (cultural and academic) in the construction of the *Orient* as a man-made socio-geographic space (Said 1978, p.15). The study focused on a textual analysis of important academic works in the official academic field of 'oriental studies' as well as on other important literary pieces examining the Orient written by French and British authors throughout the colonial centuries. The central outcome of the research is that *Orient* is a product of western attitudes based on unequal power relations, prejudice, exclusion and the colonial political climate. In Said's words "*Orientalism is an approach through which the West rules the Orient, restructures it and governs it*" (Said 1978, p.13) He then divides orientalism into two interconnected aspects: Orientalism as an attitude towards the Orient, including relevant stereotypes and judgements, and orientalism as a regime of knowledge generation and reproduction (tied with the academic, but also colonial political sphere, which sustains and utilizes the former).

The Orient

Said stresses the geographic fluidity of the concept of the Orient, since it could be applied to various areas, such as Egypt, the Middle East, India or even further East – all of these places could be presented as oriental (Said 1978, p.64). The Orient is therefore a geographic entity and, more than by some geographic location, defined by its position and a particular role it plays in western imagination. The Orient is therefore a space which can be shown to correspond to the characteristic of "Orientalness," rather the latter being a feature derived from a careful observation of the former. Orientalism therefore not only serves as the lens through which to look at and consider the Orient, it actually creates its own subject of thought and establishes the Orient as an imaginary space in direct or indirect oppositions to „ourselves“.

Said then delves into the exploration of themes recurrent in narratives of the Orient done by western travellers, historians, anthropologists or designated ‘orientalists’. These mainly relate to the description and narrative of the ‘oriental’ population and its habits and behaviour. Let us take one such an example, submitted by British historian and governor Cromer:

“..Factualness contravenes the oriental mentality...The lack of factualness, which often slides into deceitfulness, is essentially the main feature of the oriental mentality. The European think everything carefully through, his factual statements are void of any ambiguity; he is a natural logician, albeit he may not have actually studied logic; he is sceptical by nature and requires a proof before accepts any statement as true; his brain functions like a machine. The mind of the oriental, just like his streets, lacks any sort of symmetry. His deliberation resembles the most sloppy description. Even though ancient Arabs may have commanded an advanced knowledge of dialectics, logical thinking of their descendants is exceptionally poor. Frequently, they are unable to deduce even the most obvious inferences from the simplest premises they have accepted as true. If you prompt an ordinary Egyptian to make a simple factual statement, his explanation is likely to be very lengthy and chaotic...” (Said 1978, p.51)

Among other ‘typically oriental traits would be other more or less absurd features, such lack of initiative, scheming or violence towards animals. This account did not represent just an individual opinion, but, as Said argues, such accounts gradually became a canon of knowledge about the Orient. Cromer was accompanied by a multitude of authors, who sought to capture and describe the oriental mind to its domestic audience. Consider this description by William Robertson Smith:

“The Arab traveller is quite different then us. To him, the effort intrinsic to a travel from one place to another represents merely an inconvenience, he finds no pleasure in it and constantly complains about exhaustion or hunger. You can never convince the oriental that once you get off your camel, you might desire to devote yourself to other things then just dropping on your mat and relaxing, smoking and drinking. Also, the beauty of the landscape holds little enchantment for the Arab.” (Said 1978, p. 268)

While the blatant racism and self-indulgence of these descriptions stand as its most apparent features, more importantly, it serves to demonstrate the mutually constitutive character the ‘West’ and the ‘Orient’ have towards each other. While all Arab travellers have been subsumed into this one fictitious person, the Westerners have also been fully subjected to the generalization process and ascribed ideal-type-like characteristics, which they are all expected to have. The character of the Western traveller then stands in direct opposition to that of the Arab traveller, or, more specifically, the oriental traveller is defined through his dissimilarity with the Westerner. The narration therefore tells us much not only about the views of the author (and the audience he informed) on the foreigner, but also about his conceptualization of his own identity (Said 1978, p.33), which can only be fully defined when contrasted with its opposite (modern scholarship, especially of the post-modern branch, came to call it, somewhat melodramatically, the ‘other’).

While Said’s book expressively refrains (as does this thesis, after all) from judging the orientalist attitudes in terms of their factual correctness (in a large part, because this would be impossible in most cases), we can see from Smith’s farfetched idealisation of the European (would really all, if any,

Westerners fit his description of graceful travellers amidst the desert heat?), that something might be afoot with the orientalist narrative of the opposite as well.

The orientalist attitude towards the Orient is, however, far from completely straightforward. It allows for a great variety of emotions towards the Orient, which serves as the realm where virtually all eccentricities can flourish. The Orient can arouse enchantment, disgust, sexual desire, benevolence, but also (importantly) pity or mockery. (Said 1978, p.121) The Orient also represents a place where all sorts of extravagance (oddities that could be contrasted with the western way of life) may flourish and which offers a great temptation to the western observer, who stands at a risk of abandoning the (ascribed) stern, disciplined, moral and intellectual attitude in favour of the simple enchantments stemming from the more primitive way of life in the Orient, which was seen offering selfish enjoyment for some, but has no civilisational aspirations. While the mutual constitutiveness of identities (which will be covered in more depth by other chapters of the thesis) is of great important to Said's work, it is not what struck him the most about the orientalism he describes. After all he follows up the Levi-Strauss' assertion that the human mind has a strong propensity to divide, identify and categorise, in order to create a simplified version of reality, which enables it to exist. (Said 1978, p.68) What fascinates Said is the overwhelming power asymmetry through which the western observer finds himself in a position to define, assess, judge (and ascribe predominantly negative characteristics: laziness, lack of individuality, etc.) and to analyse the Orient and its inhabitants without any noticeable intellectual opposition, and through which this position appears as natural and inevitable.

Orientalism and Colonialism

The important question (which is answered rather early on in *Orientalism*) is therefore what enabled the western minds to reduce the Orient to such an unflattering role in the process of mutual constitution without any serious resistance being raised. Said finds the answer in the close link between orientalism and colonialism. Not only is colonial imperialism intrinsically connected with racism, which has already been identified by J.S. Mill (Said 1978, p.24), but orientalism represents a reaction to the setting of the colonial world and an attempt to make sense of it. (Said 1978 , p.55). Said borrowed for his work some of the essential Foucauldian tenets of the interconnection of knowledge and power (Said 1978 , p.44) and the anchoring of the knowledge process within the political environment in which it takes place. (Said 1978 20) The dominant economic and political supremacy the western powers reached during the colonial period inevitably translated into European attitudes towards the subjugated peoples and especially those of the Orient, and it also provided a good platform on which such views could be presented without any effective opposition. There is, however, also the other side of the power-knowledge link, in the form of intellectual domination of the 'West' over the Orient that was required in order to achieve, maintain and justify colonialism. The reduction of the populations of colonized nations into subjects of scientific study, who themselves cannot take part in the knowledge generating process and serve merely as passive objects of research, served as an extremely useful tool in crushing any intellectual opposition towards colonial power relations both at home and abroad.

While many of the orientalist scholars were not directly connected to colonial regimes and institutions (even though many of them were, such as Cromer), their point of reference was still

intimately tied with the European country whose social context they existed in, which structured their views and perceptions, as well as those of their audience.

All in all, the orientalist discourse entrusted the colonial efforts with an authority to rule over the Orient, but also, by virtue of its intellectual, economic and technological superiority, with a responsibility for its future and development.

Orientalism is in this regard, however, not without its paradoxes and dilemmas, for example, in its intellectual implications. While colonialism entrusted the western world with a stewardship over the Orient and a responsibility to lift it out of its misery by its knowledge and guidance, it was not completely clear to what extent can this responsibility be fulfilled. Specifically, the dilemma was between a faith in western wisdom and its achievements, which should be used to save the Orient, on the one hand, and the inherent racial and cultural differences, which prevent the Orientals from benefiting from the former, on the other. This latter view was supported by historians, such as Gibb, who argued that “To apply the psychology and mechanisms of western political institutions to Arabic or Asian conditions would be wholly naïve” (Said 1978 125). This is reminiscent of the oscillating attitudes within international development, between economic universalism, or a belief in a universal applicability of correct institutional frameworks on the one hand, and cultural or regional particularism on the other.

Science

Because the study of the Orient acquired a scientific reputation and approach, western judgements on the Orient used to be seen as part of natural scientific process. This was enabled by the dominant position of western scholarship regarding all information on the Orient and its inhabitants. Said explicitly states of the seemingly depersonalized and scientific study of the Orient: “The attempt at an objectivist scientific approach removes individual values and gives way to structural, professional prejudices.” (Said 1978 122)

After all (even though it feels slightly ironic in light of the current line of argument), adherence to science and technological progress were seen as an essential feature, which would differentiate the West, in its superiority, from the Orient, as can be seen, for example, from the words of E. Quinet that “Europe has doctors, whereas Asia has prophets” (Said 1978 , p.95) or, much later, on H.Kissinger’s insistence that empiricism and Newtonian science are fundamentally embedded into the very nature of Western civilization (Said 1978 , p.60) (even though Newtonian physics had been largely abandoned since then and empiricism was about to face strong intellectual opposition in western academia).

The scientific character, which had been successfully ascribed to the orientalist narrative, then served to create a proper norm of processing and presenting all information regarding the Orient, which in turn largely determined the way Orient could be talked and written about. Knowledge about the Orient would then require to come in ‘standardized forms,’ which would apply to orientalist scholarship, but also (importantly) to written, spoken or visual media, if it sought to confer information about the Orient. (Said 1978 , p.38) This would be achieved much less by some direct policing of information (even though this also occurred from time to time), but rather by the sheer momentum of the prevalent way of narrating the Orient, on the part both of the distributors and of their audience, which severely restricts the options for any form of alternative views to emerge and sustain themselves.

Criticisms

The concept of Orientalism is, of course, not without certain academic shortcomings, as both the author and his critics have pointed out on several occasions. Said himself recognizes the chief problem facing any analysis of a set of written texts, that is, the appropriate selection of material. The research focused on British, French, and, to some extent, American literary works related to the problem of the Orient, but does not, by its own admission, include texts from authors of other European countries, such as Germany, or the Netherlands. (Said 1978 26) While Said presents this as a simple case of narrowing down the research scope and necessary reduction of the studied material in order to achieve greater coherence, it has been picked up by authors such as Robert Irwin (who was a very vocal critic of Said's work), who sees this as a clear example of selective reading of sources in order to achieve an maintain a specific narrative. In this case, because writings on the Orient which originated from other European countries did not neatly fit Said's vision of Orientalism emerging from in direct relation with the colonial experience, it was omitted from the analyses. (Irwin 2006, p.286-7)

While this criticism is still rather speculative, it is linked with another problem with Said narrative, which, ironically, lies in Said's vision of the West. Much contention has been raised by Said's assertion that „every European, in what he could say about the Orient, was a racist, an imperialist, and almost totally ethnocentric.“ (Said 1978 117), Said therefore considers Orientalism as something typical and only existent within the discursive structures of the West, which results in an actual essentialisation of the West within Said's work. If we put this together with Said's decision to neglect the potential significance of textual diversity of European thought on the Orient (by omitting German and other European scholarship), Said in fact engages in a homogenisation of the 'West', which very much becomes also an 'imaginary space.' This space then acts a source of all physical and intellectual oppression in the world.

Furthermore, Said also places (understandably) an extreme emphasis on the binary relationship between the West and the Orient and the mutual constitution of their identity, which severely underplays the importance of the rest of the world to both European and 'Oriental' history and makes the East-West divide seem more crucial than it might actually be.

A last line of criticism directed towards *Orientalism* focuses on Said's unwillingness to put the Western concepts of the Orient up for empirical testing. Said merely outlines the mental image of the Orient within Western imagination, but makes no attempt to confront it with the 'real Orient', which would then enable these false perceptions to be corrected. Of course, Said himself was very sceptical of the possibilities of such activity, or even in the existence of an objective 'real Orient'.

While these criticisms are often well founded, illuminate important weaknesses within *Orientalism* and this thesis's author would be inclined to agree with some of them, they do not have a direct impact on *Orientalism*'s ability to conceptually contribute to the thesis at hand. Especially the idea of the Orient as an imaginary space, which is subjected to a form of intellectual dominance, is of vital importance when referring to the 'developing world', where development and underdevelopment are relative terms which exist in a mutually constitutive relationship. The content of the prejudices ascribed to the subjected space and its inhabitants can also serve as an important backdrop against which to compare the narratives associated with the developing countries identified during the research.

Most importantly, *Orientalism* serves as an important starting point for much of the other theoretical research which will be discussed in the following chapters of the thesis, and which provides it with a firmer theoretical framework, more directly linked with the issue at hand.

2.2.2 Imaginative Geography

The concept

The concept of imaginative geography is in its origin attributed to E. Said through his study of Orientalism. Said insists on the artificial nature of the seemingly obvious geographic concepts:

“as both geographical and cultural entities – to say nothing of historical entities – such locales, regions, geographical sectors as ‘Orient’ and ‘Occident’ are man-made” (Said 1978, p.5)

He further asserts that imaginative geography is the *“universal practice of designating in one’s mind a familiar space which is ‘ours’ and an unfamiliar space which is ‘theirs’”* (Said 1978, p.54)

Perhaps unintentionally, it goes back to a conceptualization of space by German sociologist Georg Simmel who claimed that ‘space in general is only an activity of the mind’ (Simmel 1997, p.138) while this sounds rather radical, the essential point was that communities tend to think of ‘their’ space as an enclosed unity, without having to precisely elaborate on the exact form and position of various borders.

However, for Said, the imaginative geographies are seen through the lenses of the knowledge/power dynamic. What is key for imaginative geographies is the ‘gaze’ of the author which has an authority to observe and speak of the observed ‘space’ and its features. The position of privilege from which the author claims to present knowledge about their objects is a form of intellectual control, where the creation of imaginative geography is a way to legitimize and establish a particular way to understanding the world. s. Imagined geographies are therefore intellectual power projections of a privileged position which inevitably stifles alternative views by virtue of claiming neutrality through objective knowledge, science, or a simple authority to speak about and for other places and peoples. The process is not, however, limited to the ascribing of values and characteristics to the ‘Other’ but also a simultaneous constitution and affirmation of the ‘Self’.

Frank formulates Said’s imaginative geography as *“a strategy of identity construction which equates (spatial) distance with (cultural, ethnic, social) difference, associating the non-spatial characteristics of ‘self’ and ‘other’ with particular places.”* (Frank 2009, p.71) This strategy then works both on an individual and a collective level. The word ‘strategy’ is not without importance because it implies a desire to manipulate the process towards favourable outcomes.

A similar definition (albeit for somewhat different purposes, but still inspired by Said’s writing) has been proposed by Christian Jacob, who is quoted by Chloe Chard in her book *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography* (which is concerned with imaginative geographies of the Grand Tour). He defines imaginative geography as a *“space of privileged projection of desires, aspirations, affective memory, the culture memory of the subject”* (Jacob in Chard 1999, p.16)

These notions of imaginative geographies place great emphasis on the constructivist nature of imaginative geographies, as basic spaces existing in the realm of human intersubjectivity. The Saidian dialectic uses discourse (as a set of representations and **practices**) as the locus of the exercise of power and imaginative geographies are the social constructions which frame it.

In this constructivist form it has been found by human geography and became a potentially important concept. This constructivist form has also made its way into the *Dictionary of Human Geography* (Gregory et al. 2011)

“Imaginative geographies – representations of other places –of peoples and landscapes, cultures and ‘natures’ – that articulate the desires, fantasies and fears of their authors and the grids of power between them and their ‘Others’. The concept is not confined to ostensibly fictional works. On the contrary, there is an important sense in which all geographies are imaginative: even the most formal, geometric lattices of SPATIAL SCIENCE or the most up-to-date and accurate MAPS are at once abstractions and cultural constructions, and as such open to cultural readings.” (Gregory et al. 2011)

This concept has enriched the potential of geographical research directly inspired by Said and Orientalism but wishing to approach it from within their discipline. One such significant example of a study in imaginative geography inspired yet not confined by Said’s orientalism is the study on the imagining of the Balkans by M.Todorova (2009). Her study was interested in the attitudes towards the Balkans which have played a key role in ‘Western’ responses to the Balkan of the early 1990s and explored some historical developments of the discourse on the Balkans, which she terms ‘Balkanism’ (Todorova 2009, p.3) The author starts with some of the newer assertions about the ‘Balkans’ in direct reference to the war, such as an introduction to the 1993 Carnegie report, written by George Kennan:

“What we are up against is the sad fact that developments of those earlier ages, not only those of the Turkish domination but of earlier ones as well, had the effect of thrusting into the southeastern reaches of the European continent a salient of non-European civilization which has continued to the present day to preserve many of its non-European characteristics.” (Kennan in Todorova, p.6)

The characteristics supposedly typical of the Balkans had to do with their unfortunate position in non-European influences, and revolve around barbarity, cruelty, unreasonable violence. The author puts these assertions into perspective in terms of casualties caused by the Balkan wars and those waged by ‘civilized nations’ (Todorova 2009, p.7) She further claims that the Balkans is a case where an area, or a space has been infused with assumptions of certain characteristics, which have become so accepted that the name of the area has eventually come to signify the set of attributes rather than the area itself. Despite many other similarities with the attitudes to the Orient, Tudorova claims several differences between the discourse on the Orient and on the Balkans. While both represent an entity appearing in the process of ‘othering’, they serve somewhat different purposes and have different roles. While the Orient had been depicted in many negative forms, it also contained the element of a ‘guilty pleasure’, vested in the assumed propensity for excessive leisure, obscene wealth or overt sexuality. Its un-concreteness enabled the Orient to become a space for a wide variety of cultural aspects the ‘west’ wanted to externalize, which gave the Orient a very mystical air. (Todorova 2009, p. 13) The Balkans, on the other hand, lacking such imaginative potential required a much more straightforward attitude, predominantly negative. To Western

scholars, such as Arthur D.H. Smith, the Balkans were characterized by its backwardness with regard to human history (as being a place where one can observe the past) and its rather ‘macho’ character, by which it strongly differs from the Orient. These notions come in their more romantic variations, such as admiration of the possibility to observe human past and the culture of knights and brigands (idealized by W. Scott), to the negative ones of men who are simply uncivilized and a place stuck in historical darkness from which the ‘European civilization’ had thankfully emerged. (Todorova 2009, p.14) A particular quality of the Balkans, then, was its position at the crossroads between Europe and the Orient. Unlike the Orient, which represents the polar opposite, the Balkans is seen as a meeting place where different influences converge in a particularly odd combination. The author even interestingly uses the phrase ‘between the stages of growth’ (here meant as stages of evolutionary growth, rather than some quantifiable measure) to describe the attitudes towards the Balkans. (Todorova 2009, p.16)

According to Todorova, “*Unlike orientalism, which is a discourse about an imported opposition, Balkanism is a discourse about an imputed ambiguity*” (Todorova 2009, p.17). It is this ambiguity which eventually led to the disowning of the Balkans by Europe because all things ambiguous are inherently threatening to the established order. The chief lesson from Balkanism, however, is that a large process, such as orientalism, which is about infusing a seemingly clear dichotomy then creates particular spatial variants and outcomes and helps to create even somewhat unintended imaginative geographies.

Turn towards performativity

Human geography had not, however, remained satisfied with the constructivist nature of imaginative geographies, and instead of construction turned more towards *performativity* – imaginative geographies are ‘performed’. Within this framework, imaginative geographies move from the position of *social constructions* into the fold of *discursive practices*. This has implications for the practical outcomes of the discourse studies within this thesis. In order to provide a simpler explanation, let us use the case that Bialasiewicz et al. outline for performativity in their article ‘Performing security: The imaginative geographies of current US strategy’ (2007) for *Political Geography*. Discourse, in their words “*refers to a specific series of representations and practices through which meanings are produced, identities constituted, social relations established, and political and ethical outcomes made more or less possible.*” (Bialasiewicz et al 2007, p.406) Performativity places emphasis on the ‘materialisation’ of discourse, through which discourse “*stabilizes over time to produce the effect of boundary, fixity and surface*” (Butler 1993 , p.9). Bialasiewicz et al elaborate on the implications: “*Performative means that discourses constitute the objects of which they speak. For example, states are made possible by a wide range of discursive (not only linguistic) practices that include immigration policies, military deployments and strategies, cultural debates about normal social behaviour, political speeches and economic investments.*” (Bialasiewicz et al 207, p.406) It is therefore a combination of the ideal and the material, because material practices are key in the enactment of discourse – and imaginative geographies in this case, which rely on (not only) spatial practices. This performativity is what makes imaginative geographies such essential aspects of political discourse, such as orientalism or development.

The reconnection with the material is also necessary for human geographers to be able to move beyond the analysis of the text to analyse the material manifestations of imaginative geographies (Gregory 1995 , p.30)

Performativity is what enabled the move of imaginative geographies from literary studies to the field of geography (but could be used in other practically oriented social sciences as well). This turn to performativity has been reflected by Soja's definition of imaginative geographies as "*dominating conventional representations of space as well as material spatial practices.*" (Soja 1996, p.137)

This turn to performativity is also elaborated, to an extent, in the Dictionary of Human Geography:

"..imaginative geographies circulate in material forms (including novels, paintings, photographs and film, intelligence reports, academic geographies and popular TRAVEL WRITING; collections and exhibitions) which become sedimented over time to form an internally structured and crucially, self-reinforcing archive. This supplies a 'citationary structure' for subsequent accounts that is also in some substantial sense PERFORMATIVE: It shapes and legitimizes the attitudes and dispositions, policies and practices of its collective audience, so that this way imaginative geographies spiral into and out of a sort of cultural paradigm of 'otherness' that has the most acutely material consequences." (Gregory et al. 2011)

Many studies have sprung up along these lines, such the mentioned research by Bialasiewicz et al, which examines the imagined geographies which populate the popular geopolitics of the US public (more on popular geopolitics in the next chapter) and the mechanisms through which these have come to be constituted. The authors examine the many imaginative geographies available within US political discourse and their interplay, such as the perceived conflict between the seeming binary divisions produced through the 'war on terror' and the vision of *integration* inspired by the imaginative geography of globalization and the way these geographies interact in the creation and performance of national security policies. (Bialasiewicz et al. 2007, p.415)

Gregory (2011) examines the imaginative geography of what Graham calls a multi-dimensional 'battlespace' with 'where everything becomes a site of permanent war' (Graham 2009, p.389) which emerged as part of the discourse of the 'War on terror'. Gregory especially points attention to the imaginative geographies of borderlands, and the renegotiated relationship between the war on terror and the Mexican American border. Duffield described the borderlands as "*an imagined geographical space where, in the eyes of the metropolitan actors and agencies, the characteristics of brutality, excess and breakdown predominate.*" (Duffield 2001 p.309) Gregory puts this in the context of the perception of wars in the 'South', which are characterized by human rights abuses, brutality and a reversal of civilization (not un-similar to the view of the Balkan wars presented by Tudorova), to be contrasted with 'our' wars – surgical and scrupulous. (Gregory 2011, p.239) The rethinking of global warscape also transformed the relationship with the US-Mexican border, which became integrated into the war on terror through a process of militarization and conflation of the notion of the 'alien' and a 'terrorist'. This has been achieved through framing the border issue in a language of war, as well increased deployment of armed border patrols (frequently recruited from veterans returning from Afghanistan and Iraq) (Gregory 2011, p.244) Through the narrative of the borderland and the accompanied set of practices, the US-Mexico border then became a battle-zone located within the geo-political understanding of the war on terror.

However, some geographers continue to use imaginative geographies in its more original sense, as spaces which emerge from literary texts, whose practice is yet to materialize, as is the case with the study of Kitchin and Kneale called ‘Science fiction or future fact? Exploring imaginative geographies of the new millennium’ (2001) published in *Progress in Human Geography*, on the imaginative geographies of the possible future emerging from cyberpunk literature and their possible applications.

It is important to stress that the difference between the approaches focused more on the textual creation of geographies and the performative understanding of imaginative geographies is not that of a dichotomy, but rather of a difference in emphasis or research focus and an attempt to more clearly define the nature of agency and structure in the creation of geopolitical discourses.

At any rate, imaginative geographies represent a novel approach to consider the role space, and perception and understanding of space, play in identity formation, which in turn shapes political action. Let us conclude with a final excerpt from the Dictionary of Human Geography, which also emphasizes the relevance of imaginative geographies to this thesis:

“Imaginative geographies are spaces of constructed (in)visibility and it is this partiality, which implicates them in the play of power.” (Gregory et al. 2011)

2.3. Development as Discourse and post-colonialism

2.3.1. Summary of development as discourse

Therefore, according to the post-development school (however imprecise this label might be), development is a discursive practice through which the West reconstructs its identity as the pinnacle of civilisation, in order to give meaning to its history, to affirm its values and to maintain its prestige. This is achieved by constructing itself in opposition to another who lacks all the qualities which the western nations pride themselves with, such as rationality (key), working political institutions, science which can produce objective knowledge untainted by superstition or faith (crucially important), wealth and prosperity, rich history and a promising future, and also ultimate agency – the ability to implement change anywhere. The underdeveloped world is passive, victim of its problems such as poverty, hunger or disease, lacking any of the important ingredients the developed countries claim to have. Development enshrines a belief in an evolutionary nature of history and social organisation. It is therefore a moral obligation for the developed countries and a crucial necessity for the underdeveloped countries to engage in a program of development guided by the principles of Western science and knowledge and supported by the material wealth of the industrialised nations. Development replaces the world of colonial relations with a much more subtle form of control. As Spivak commented, the man of humanism and enlightenment, who for Foucault was the ultimate subject of discourse emerging from the philosophical paradigms, is ultimately an imperialist. (Spivak 1987, p.272)

‘Post-development’ enshrines a scepticism towards the unquestioning belief in objective and omnipotent nature of the Western scientific practices and its superiority over other forms of understanding. (Escobar 1995, p. 215) It would, however, be a mistake to consider the proponents of post-development thinking as ‘anti-science’ or somehow hostile to the value and purpose of science itself. It is

the public culture of unquestioning belief in intellectual superiority embedded in modern science which is one of the principal sources of tension. (Rahnema, Bawtree 1997, p. 200)

The discourse of development is disseminated by a continual transmission of meanings, espoused in political rhetoric as well as in reporting in the available media (which will be the principal focus of this thesis).

2.3.2. Invention of Development

The Foucauldian attitude to the study of discourse as a power relation combined with the struggles of the anti- or post- colonial struggles saw an interesting culmination in the conceptualisation of ‘development as discourse’, which acts as a source of inspiration for the thesis at hand.

The study of development as discourse usually takes as its starting point the famous post-war speech made by the US President Harry Truman.

“It may be our lot to experience, and in large measure to bring about, a major turning point in the long history of the human race. The first half of this century has been marked by unprecedented and brutal attacks on the rights of man, and by the two most frightful wars in history. The supreme need of our time is for men to learn to live together in peace and harmony. More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate, they are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas.” (Truman 1949)

Escobar tells us that development became a *“mode of thinking and a set of practices.”* (Escobar 1988 , p.430) The combination of thinking and practice qualifies development as a discourse of power according to the Foucauldian concept. This has been primarily achieved by its institutionalisation and professionalisation.

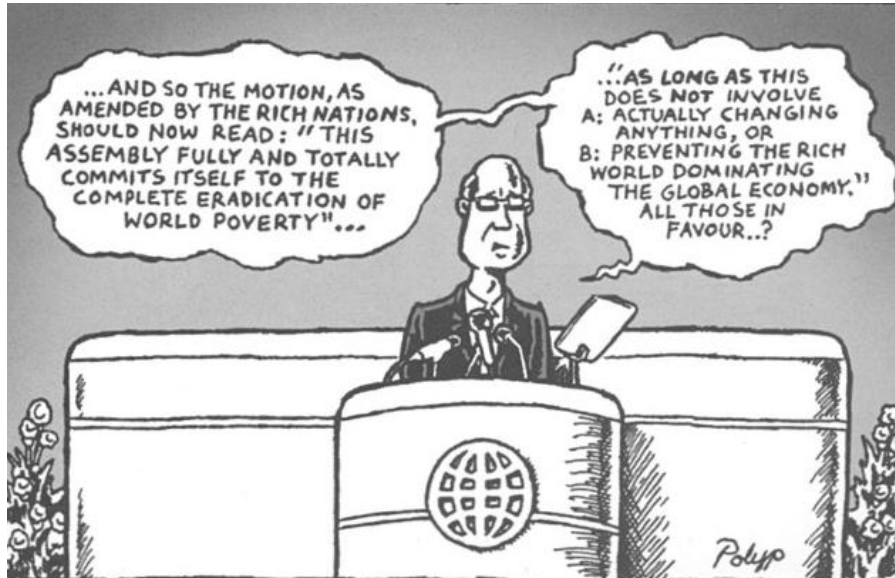
According to Escobar and authors of critical development, ‘development’ is a set of institutionalised practices based on a particular kind of knowledge possessed by the development experts. The post-war period saw a proliferation of institutions established for the very purpose of generating and transmitting knowledge relating to the field of ‘development’, chief of which, would be the Bank for Development and Reconstruction (The World Bank). This process brought with itself the establishment of various new disciplines/sciences entrusted with the generation of knowledge on the previously virtually unknown issue of development. (Escobar 1988, p.431) These institutions and agencies became responsible for the developing of spaces designated as underdeveloped through material and especially professional assistance.

Escobar places the problem of ‘development’ within a large scale reordering of power relations in the world and a new conceptualisation of the self.

“Notions of underdevelopment and the third world emerged as working concepts in the process by which the West (and East) redefined themselves and the global power structures” (Escobar 1988 , p.429) The Cold War, according to Naz, was, among other pressures, creating a constant need to reassert the West’s own belief in itself (Naz 2006, p.78), as well as the end of the colonial period, which called for a

reconceptualisation of the power relations various parts of the world were going to have with one another. Discourse (its creation and circulation), of course, is a key ingredient in the formulation of power relations.

Figure 1



(Source: Polyp's Big Bad World, http://www.polyp.org.uk/republishing_my_cartoons.html)

2.3.3. The subjects of development

Development emerged as the new way of understanding the world, formed new subjects and objects of knowledge and created new concepts and categories to describe the world. Of course, some of them were not entirely new, but rather variations on some older themes from the colonial times.

The development discourse constitutes two principal types of subjects, the 'developed' and the 'underdeveloped' worlds, which seemingly become the primary protagonists of the story. Except that there is actually only one protagonist, which is the developed world, against which the underdeveloped world (or the third world) is constructed as a series of absences. It is generally missing technology, knowledge, progress, institutional setup, etc. While the precise nature of the missing components may vary over time and place, the narrative always remain that the underdeveloped places miss some important elements, which they should have, and which the developed countries do have. (Naz 2006, p.76). According to Sachs "*Development always entails looking at other worlds in terms of what they lack, and obstructs the wealth of indigenous alternatives.*" (Sachs 1992, p.6)

Development as an exercise of power was contingent on the faith in "*the authority to speak on problems within the third world*" (Batterbury, Fernando 2004, p.2) and called for a total overhaul of all aspects of life within it, from farming practices, to reproductive habits and community organisation. This approach is very top down and pays little consideration to views voiced by the objects of development (such as peasants), if they are not phrased according to the rules. Escobar himself compares the study of the development to Said's work on Orientalism, since both are a mental framework within which one part of the world reserves the right to define, assess and govern another. (Escobar 1995 , p.6) While

Orientalism is the most obvious example, is in many ways very similar to other systems of domination described by Foucault, such as that of the Asylum, where the patient is cared for ‘for his own good’, or the family, where the child is being raised by the parent who guides it through life and disciplines it. The image of the Third World as a child in need of guidance is frequently made explicit in the older documents on development and later retreats among the more implicit assumptions (Naz 2006 , p.68). This is certainly a feature it shares with Orientalism, where the oriental is generally quite incapable of governing himself effectively without western assistance.

2.3.4. Characteristics

Escobar and others understand development as part of the fundamental politics of representation (Naz 2006 , p.70), one of those struggles of which Foucault in chapter I says that they reach all the way to the most fundamental understanding of who we are. This Escobar considers the ‘extension of the affirmation of the Western economy’, which is composed of three essential parts – the system of production (capitalism), the system of power (discipline) and the system of signification (ideology, science, representation, philosophy). This last system fields the struggle for cultural meanings (Escobar 1988 , p.438)

According to Slater, Western imagination constructs the Third World as another one, which is to be subordinated and monitored. This is a serious violation of the rights of other societies to representation (Slater 1993 , p.421) According to Esteva, the underdeveloped places and peoples stopped being what they were (whatever it might have been) and became a “*mirror of another’s reality*” (Esteva 1992 , p.7)

Naz describes the discourse of development as erasing differences among the underdeveloped countries, for whom the underdevelopment in relation to the developed world becomes their only characteristic (Naz 2006 , p.77). This is not a completely accurate assessment, since Escobar himself mentions the disciplines of ‘local’ or area studies (such as Oriental or Latin American Studies) as a key ingredient in the system of intellectual domination and the fundamental belief on the part of the Western society that it has the capacity to fully understand the complexity of the world at large and possesses the necessary tools for its salvation. (Escobar 1988, p.430) However, while the different parts of the world might have different sets of problems based on their geographic and historical conditions, they are united in actually ‘having problems’, which are constructed as abnormalities in relation to the proper state of civilisation. Their difference from the developed world is far greater than their individual differences among themselves.

The development discourse also reaffirms the value of certain achievements of the western societies, such as industrialisation and connected economic rationality (Escobar 1988 , p.432-3). Among the key components which the development discourse advocates is the unquestionable value of private property (Fals Borda 1984, p.172).

The problem of representation is certainly not that of the past, when it comes to development assistance. Even in recent years, the media image of development made a turning point, or rather an alternation, between two different yet rather similar extremes, one of the ‘pornography of poverty’, which disproportionately highlights human suffering and seeks to propel Western donors to action by blackmailing them with images of the misery afflicting mainly women and children, well known from the

traditional imaging of Africa (Campbell in Debrix, Weber 2003, p.69-70) and the newer concept of 'development made sexy', which puts great emphasis on the attractiveness, charm and vitality of Western development workers, mainly celebrities. They embody the active spirit of the western societies and their drive and ability to change the world around them (Cameron, Haanstra 2008, p.1476). While the first approach presents the passivity and inability of the local population to deal with their own problems, the other highlights the activity and dynamism of the intervention coming from the developed world. Even though the imaging itself has seen change in terms of its content, the underlying categories and assumptions of the field of development remained unchanged. The maintenance of such representation is at least equally, if not more important than any actual attempt at improving the lives of people in other places. It is important to state that these are not the only trends in the representations of development and that the field exhibits a fair deal of dynamism in the construction of representations and understandings, and variations evolve.

2.3.5. Hypocrisy

The notion that development is largely about appearances is further substantiated if we consider the first truly dominant paradigm within development thinking – Rostow's modernisation theory. According to Rostow (1960), societies progress on a linear path from primitive societies towards advanced industrial systems, through a process of capital accumulation and inevitable economic changes connected to it. (Rostow 1960 , p.4) This theory put a heavy emphasis on economic processes and classified countries according to their position on the path, which would then inform developmental assistance. This theory also cemented the idea that developing countries should strive to achieve modernity by, where possible, following in the footsteps of the advanced nations, who represent the endpoint of history (Herath 2008, p.820). While this theory later came under scrutiny because of its overly economic attitude and while it became accepted as an accurate description of the economic transformations which took place in the now developed world, it was allegedly a poor guide to the situation of the underdeveloped nations. The problem is, however, that if we consider the work of authors on the topic of state formation and transition towards modern societies, such as Charles Tilly, this image of peaceful transition and capital accumulation is suddenly replaced by a history of racketeering, violence and its monopolisation, oppression and revolutions, without which the modern state would never have emerged (Tilly, in ed. Evans, Rueschemeyer, Skocpol 1985, p. 1975). Modernisation theory therefore, intentionally or not, served as a reinterpretation of the history of the advanced industrial countries, one which could be presented to the outside world and promoted as an example to follow. While modernisation theory itself had been largely abandoned within development studies (even though certain elements, such as the evolutionary nature of development and civilisation, remained), although not exactly for the right reasons, this form of hypocrisy seems to be somewhat inherent, such as in the neoliberal policies of the (not only) Washington consensus, which sought to subject the developing nations to strict deregulations as a certified remedy for all ills, while not applying the same standards of free market to the industrial nations of the 'West'(Fine 2009, p.885).

As a result, many countries have indeed adopted their status as underdeveloped, and the language of development became the only way in which certain topics could be spoken about both within the academic circles and mainstream media. (Naz 2006, p.79)

2.3.6. Impacts and criticisms

Escobar and his followers campaigned for a greater respect for indigenous alternatives, local communities and practices, which need to be freed from discursive subjugation and given a voice. (Escobar 2001, p.162).

This is also one of the principal reasons for which post-development has been criticised. Critics argued that Escobar idealises local communities and practices and puts excessive faith in their ability to implement positive change. This way, Escobar not only echoes Soja's call for the reclamation of space and its significance but also, perhaps unwittingly, rekindles the concept of the 'noble savage', an old perception of the indigenous populations as in touch with the natural existence and unspoiled by the malaise of excessive civilisation, occasionally still currently discussed, for example within the context of ecological conservation (Hames 2007, p.178). Bebbington (2000) presents a study which demonstrates on the case of Latin America that areas with indigenous control or local governance do not seem to show any positive variation (e.g. in terms of outward migration) when compared to the areas targeted by traditional developmental policies (Bebbington 2000, p.496). While this criticism has merit, it somewhat confuses the chief point Escobar tried to make, which was to incorporate alternative voices into "conversational communities" (Batterbury, Fernando 2004, p.4) and to allow them into the broader debate on development (or its alternatives). Post-development has also been targeted by Marxist critics, such as Kiely (1999), Peet and Hartwick (1999), Pett and Wats (1996), who accuse the post-developmentalists of neglecting the material structure of global capitalism, hence providing only a very incomplete image of the true nature of power relations. Furthermore, Escobar's view of development as discourse has been accused of a monolithic approach to development, ignoring different varieties and nuances, thus being guilty of a certain degree of essentialism, (Batterbury, Fernando 2004, p.6) which is the arch-enemy of post structuralist analysis. Nevertheless, Post-development critique remains one of the key theoretical frameworks employed within the thesis, because it targets the practice of representation specifically of the developing world, even though it is mostly related to the aspect of development practice itself, it also speaks to the representations perpetuated by the media and circling within the wider society.

2.3.7. Participation and Empowerment

The post-development critic managed to profoundly influence the attitudes towards development, and new positions and paradigms have emerged over time. (Escobar 2000). Among these, of significance is the concept of 'participation' as a way to include local populations, as the desired recipients of foreign aid and other development initiatives, into all (or most) stages of the decision making process and implementation of development initiatives. (Chambers 1995, p.7) Local communities must be given the opportunity to have a say in the identification and solution of problems which are to be addressed through development practices (Chambers 1992 105). The post-development challenge can also be seen in the formation of the idea of 'empowerment', closely linked with participation, as a way to target unequal power relations by giving a voice to those who have been robbed of it as part of the colonial past, the emergent economic system or even as part of the project of development itself (Gardner, Lewis 1996,

p.183) Empowerment also played a key role in Friedman's concept of alternative development, which sought to blur the distinction between the benefactors, or development experts, and the beneficiaries. (Friedman in Lewis, Kanji 2009, p.173)

After these paradigms had matured, participation and empowerment soon became part of the new development mainstream. Various scholars have sought to contribute to the promotion of participation, such as J.Stiglitz (Stiglitz¹ 1998, p.19), P. Collier (Collier 2008, p.99) or S. Matthews in her reflection on the functioning of an NGO in Senegal engaged in local deliberation (Matthews in Ziai 2007, p.136-137).

The shift towards these paradigms had been (albeit at times somewhat grudgingly) reflected by development institutions resident in the Czech Republic. A document published by the Ministry, termed *Information about the Foreign Development Cooperation of the Czech Republic in 2012*, reads:

*“ The Czech development cooperation is based on a **partnership with the recipient countries**, is lead by a demand from the partner countries and their needs. The CR emphasizes the involvement of local inhabitants (governments, elected representatives, civic organisations) in all phases of the project cycle (my emphasis), in order to enhance the ir ownership and improve the effectiveness of the cooperation.....The aim is to increase their active role throughout the formulation and implementation of own development policies.”* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2012, my translation)

Some elements of this shift are also apparent in the mission statement of the most significant NGO concerned with development cooperation - Člověk v Tísni (People in Need)

„We cooperate constructively with the local inhabitants, communities, institutions (if They work in the interest of the people) and the identification of objectives occurs in consultation with the local actors. We favour the strengthening of local capacities and strive to use local resources as much as possible.“ (People in Need, website, my translation)

One of the intentions of this paper is therefore to examine whether the discursive representations of the developing countries and their populations are conducive to a move in such direction, or whether it is more of a source of resistance and obstruction to a system of development thinking based on increased trust in and respect to potential local capabilities.

It is important to assert that these new turns in the development practice often represent only very cosmetic changes to the way development projects are enacted, especially when done by NGOs, and may at the same type reduce the actual power of local authorities while at the same time paying lip service to participation and development (Arellano-Lopez, Petras 1994 , p.556). Furthermore, the actual degree and form of participation and empowerment is a rather contested phenomenon within development and, just as development itself, might mean somewhat different things to people with different perspectives. At any

¹ Towards a New Paradigm for Development:Strategies, Policies, and Processes Joseph E. Stiglitz,Senior Vice President and Chief Economist,World Bank Given as the 1998 Prebisch Lecture at UNCTAD, Geneva

rate, however, the idea that greater autonomy and participation by communities and individuals in the places where development projects are to take place has become a permanent feature of current development rhetoric in the world. This kind of development requires a somewhat different range of attitudes on the part of all the actors engaged in development and aid, such as non-governmental organisations and the general public, which must accept the necessity to allow for a greater degree of decision-making and initiative, as well as expertise, on the part of local populations. This thesis is interested in a particular kind of participation, related less to the immediate development practice itself, but rather to the possibility to speak up and be recognised within the process of the construction of the representation of one's own space and community and to be understood as an active agent involved in shaping it. Whether such environment exists within the public discourse (represented by the analysed sample) is one of the important questions raised by this thesis.

2.3.8. Post-colonial Geography

Soja's call for an increased attention has been echoed in the formation of post-colonial geography. Postcolonial geography primarily focuses on spatialised power relations of imperialism and covers a wide range of interests, some of which are mentioned by Blunt and McEwan in their book *Postcolonial geographies* (2002). Postcolonial geographical research to date has concentrated on a number of intersecting themes, including the imperial production of geographical knowledge, through, for example, school textbooks, exploration and fieldwork; geographies of encounter, conquest and colonisation; geographies of colonial representation, particularly in travel writing, photography, maps and exhibitions, the production of space in colonial and postcolonial cities; the gendered, sexualized and racialized spaces of colonialism, colonial discourse and postcoloniality; and geographies of diaspora and transnationality through the movement of people, capital and commodities. (Blunt, McEwan 2002, p.2).

Lomba (1998) ascertains:

"Imperialism, colonialism and the differences between them are defined differently depending on their historical mutations. One useful way of distinguishing between them might be not to separate them in temporal but in spatial terms and to think of imperialism or neo-imperialism as the phenomenon that originates in the metropolis, the process which leads to domination and control. Its result or what happens in the colonies as a consequence of imperial domination is colonialism or neo-colonialism." (Lomba 1998, p.12)

While this definition might be considerably simplified it further speaks to the recovery of space in the analysis of certain forms of power relations.

According to Blunt and McEwan, postcolonial approaches demonstrate how the production of Western knowledge is inseparable from the exercise of western power even though they desire to be grounded in more *"material rather than textual or abstract terrains"*. (Blunt, McEwan 2002, p.6). One of the assertions of post-colonial geography which speaks to the particular context of the thesis (being focused on Czech public discourse) might be McClintock's assertion that colonial and postcolonial experiences have been unevenly distributed across the world and in individual regions, with different places becoming post-colonial in different ways (McClintock 1992, p.87). This seemingly obvious statement highlights postcolonial geography's ability to recognise that even places in Europe (which is

considered the bedrock of colonialism spreading outward) have been subjected to colonialism at the hands of their neighbours, due to which their postcolonial experience is in some ways also unique. Neil Smith documents this by using the case of former Yugoslavia, which he calls ‘a casualty of empire’ (Smith, 1994, p.492). While it would be a gross simplification to claim an acute similarity between Yugoslavia’s case and the case of the Czech Republic, it is true that the latter also cannot claim any direct link with a glorious colonial past and its history of statehood is more fraught with being at the receiving end of the process of colonisation and imperial domination. It will be interesting to see whether this factor appears to have any significance during the analysis.

2.4. Critical Geopolitics

Another emerging strand in geographic thinking is represented by critical geopolitics, most commonly associated with Gearoid Ó Tuathail.

With geopolitics being a discipline providing a set of statements on the crucial concerns of ‘how the world is’ (including what, or who is, where and what both of these features do) and ‘what we must do’ (including the clear delineation of who ‘we’ are). (Ó Tuathail 1999, p.107) It is committed to material objectivity as well as an allegiance to a particular political community. Ó Tuathail argues that traditional geopolitics (or any uncritical form of geopolitics) seeks to operate from the position of a

“‘View from nowhere’, a seeing that refuses to see itself and the power relationships that make it possible. As an unreflexively Eurocentric and narrowly rational cultural practice of ‘experts’ in powerful Western institutions (From universities to military bureaucracies to strategic think tanks), geopolitics is not about power politics: it is power politics!” (Ó Tuathail 1999, p.108)

Geopolitics employs binaries necessary for its conceptualisation of the world, such as ‘near’ and ‘far’, ‘us and them’, ‘heartland’ and ‘rimland’ etc. Critical Geopolitics, on the contrary, *“places the existing structures of power and knowledge”* in question (Ó Tuathail 1999, p.107). It is a critical approach towards the established ways of seeing the world in geopolitical terms as a basis for political action.

While it was never (or never has been, as yet) a specific concern of the authors of critical geopolitics, it is difficult not to notice the overlap between critical geopolitics, embedded in a Foucauldian study of combination of discursive and material practices towards primarily ‘other places’, Said’s notion of Orientalism and Escobar’s view on development. Through the gaze of critical geopolitics, both of these discursive constructs could actually be seen as a form of geopolitics, or at least as significant aspects of geopolitics, if not the other way round. Geopolitics is of course based on the knowledge provided by geography, of which Ó Tuathail has this to say:

“Geography is not a fixed substratum as some claim, but a historical and social form of knowledge about the Earth” (Ó Tuathail 1999, p.109)

Ó Tuathail further comments that the word ‘geography’ is composed of the words ‘geo-graphing’, an ‘Earth-writing’, if you will, to further demonstrate the point.

Critical geopolitics is therefore also closely linked with the notion of 'imagined (or imaginary, if you wish) geographies, because these are instrumental in forming geopolitical discourses.

To further elaborate on the familiarity of geopolitics (which is usually understood as merely a source of practices related to statecraft) with both orientalism and development (which, aside from practices of statecraft and foreign policy enshrine a discursive field sustained by a multitude of actors), and also to tie critical geopolitics more closely with the content of this thesis, let us consider one of the key fields of concern of critical politics, which Ó Tuathail calls **popular geopolitics** (the others being formal geopolitics, practical geopolitics – closely tied with popular geopolitics, and structural geopolitics)

“Popular geopolitics refers to the geographical politics debated by the various media-shaping popular culture. It addresses the social construction and perpetuation of certain collective national and transnational understandings of places and peoples beyond one’s own borders.” (Ó Tuathail 1999, p.110)

Dijking refers to these understandings as 'national identity and geopolitical visions' in his aptly named book *National identity and Geopolitical Vision (Dijking 1996)*. The importance and socially constructed nature of national identity as a key source of geopolitical practice, such as foreign and security policy, has also been elaborated on by David Campbell, who in his book *Writing security* revealed the notion of 'American identity' constructed in opposition to its 'others' as being built on the appropriation of rationality, masculinity and what he termed the 'narrative of the frontier', which dominated geopolitical understanding of American political elites as well as the wider public. (Campbell 1998, p.159). Interestingly, Campbell has recently somewhat moved away from his previous post-structuralist writing on security and international relations, and has instead moved towards the study of photography and its role in the imaging of the world through this medium and its political implications. The fascination with the media is not uncommon among critical scholars of security studies or International relations, such as James Der Derian, who argued that the contemporary media have effectively eliminated the boundary between the 'real' (if there ever was any in the first place) and the 'simulation'. (Der Derian in Smith, Owens 2006, p.287) This further stresses the importance that critical geopolitics places on popular understandings of space and politics as facilitated by the media, which is an essential aspect of geopolitical discourse.

An interesting example of an interplay between geopolitics from the perspective of critical geopolitics and the topic of development, which serves as the primary line of interest and a thread designed to connect the theoretical notions discussed in the theoretical chapters of this thesis, can be found in an article written by Emma Mawdsley, titled 'Fu Manchu versus Dr Livingstone in the Dark Continent? Representing China, Africa and the West in British broadsheet newspapers' (2008). In this article, the author uses the insights of critical geopolitics to inspect the representations of both China and Africa, facilitated by British newspapers as part of the negotiation of the identity of the UK public in relation to its geographically (and politically) defined others regarding increasing involvement of the Chinese government and Chinese businesses in Africa, which is also a place of development activities initiated by the UK. The article documents how within the media, such topics are intimately tied with the understanding of the self and the self's surrounding political reality. (Mawdsley 2008, p.519) It supplies numerous quotations from media sources to document the functional roles other places and countries play

within the society's understanding of its own position, and subsequently of the positions and characteristics of other geopolitical entities.

“To Tony Blair, Africa is somewhere which needs healing or saving and Sierra Leone gets a lot of British aid. But the Chinese are looking at the continent through different eyes. They see it as a source of raw materials, especially oil, which they need for their own development. And somewhere like Sierra Leone, fresh out of war they think it's ripe for trade and investment” (Lindsey Hilsum, Channel Four, 4 July 2005 in Mawdsley 2008)”

Without going into too much detail on the article due to space constraints (no pun intended), this quote can serve as an illustration how the popular discourse includes the features known from the post-development literature, of development recipient being in need of ‘healing or saving’ and the wider geopolitical considerations of (not only) economic competition with a rival power. Both China and Africa, here, are constructed as entities in a direct relation to the UK, either as inferior objects of development or as a juxtaposed ‘other’ espousing characteristics the original subject rejects for itself.

Popular geopolitics then closely inspires practical geopolitics, which is the tacit enactment of geographic discourses in political action. It is the time of geopolitical action directly inspired by popular geopolitics and because of its sense of obviousness is described by Ó Tuathail as ‘common sense’ geopolitics (not to be confused with good sense geopolitics) (Ó Tuathail 1999, p.114) He uses Tudorova’s example of the Balkans (from the previous section) to show how popular geopolitical concepts of the region have shaped political action based on such unfortunate set of persuasions. The actors within practical geopolitics are primarily government officials, such as the UD government officials in the example of the Balkans, but the concept of practical geopolitics has wider applications. Within the context of development, for example, practical geopolitics is enacted by all actors involved in the field, primarily still states, of course, through foreign aid and development co-operation, but also non-governmental organisations, or members of the public itself, when they decide to sponsor or partake in particular development initiatives. While this might seem as somewhat of a stretch from the understanding of geopolitics which usually connects it with behaviour enacted on the level of state administrations, this reason is in line with the post-structuralist aspirations and its insistence that the role of the state must be renegotiated in the modern environment in order to rectify some of the errors implicit in classical geopolitics (Ó Tuathail 1999, p.118-119) and of its understanding of geopolitics as a power politics permeating many levels of society.

2.5. Theoretical synthesis

In order to make sense of all the presented theoretical conceptualizations, it is necessary to return and relate them to the purpose and format of this thesis. The research is going to analyse the discourse of the selected geographic (and travel) magazines, with a focus on the representation of the developing countries, their places and their populations.

The thesis will therefore seek to examine the representations produced within the texts through linguistic or semantic features through a form of discourse analysis. What emerges from the analysed discourse (here understood as a set of textual and visual materials are representations of places and people

inscribed with characteristics provided by the authors. The authors operate from a position of complete monopoly of their representation, able to choose and interpret elements of their experience and relate them to their sense of the self. This further confirms that there is an apparent power relation where the subject has the exclusive power to speak both on itself and its objects, about which they produce and reproduce knowledge. These representations correspond with the understanding of **imagined geographies** in its original formulation, as a spatial constitution of other places in a relation to that of the self. Furthermore, as part of the realm of popular geopolitics, the authors operate within the existing discursive relations and the act of physical passage through the chosen territory and writing of their account which will become the part of the discursive archive is a part of the repetitive process of performativity. The performativity in this context relates primarily to the creation of a body of textual and visual archive, which continues to perpetuate the images and representations. Performativity, however, in this instance also includes the repeated physical passage of travelers through the analysed spaces, which is combined with construction of the body of knowledge in a circular relationship where they inform each other.

The general aim of this paper is therefore to examine the imaginative geographies of the developing spaces emerging in the texts. The primary analytical focus here will be on how they relate to the **post-development critique** presented in the theoretical chapters and the context of the shifts towards the **paradigm of participation of empowerment**, which was largely born directly out of the criticism borne by the school of post-development and post-colonial turns in geography and other disciplines. Chiefly, whether the discursive representations of the developing countries and their populations are conducive or more of a source of resistance and obstruction to a system of development thinking based on increased trust in and respect to potential local capabilities.

The reason why the public discourse matters in regards to development and development strategies is because from the wider public emerge both future development practitioners as well as necessary donors and participants. This is not to say that the public and the sphere of development and its experts are always on the same page, but rather that development practitioners are also members of the public and enter their work with certain preconceptions, and the development sphere also requires the attention of the public for its financing. In this regard the discourse this thesis is going to analyse is a part of what Ó Tuathail coins **popular geopolitics**. The geopolitics of everyday, facilitated by the media which forms a common sense geopolitics that informs day-to-day actions of as well as all individuals (including policy officials). While it might seem as an exaggeration to claim that readers of geographic and travel magazines engage in geopolitics, this only persists if we choose to understand politics as process enacted on the state level through distinctively political institutions. However, politics in the sense favoured by Foucault and virtually all authors mentioned within the theoretical overview, politics is the exercise and struggle over power in all forms. The key recognition that must be made here is that popular geopolitical understanding matters, because it serves as a source for all forms of action or inaction towards 'other places'. The importance of public discourse has been, for example recognised by Horký (2010) who considered prevailing stereotypes within available media (ranging from newspapers to geographic magazines) associated with the 'global south', predominantly revolving around passivity and lack of agency of local populations and shocking accounts of poverty and misery.

Bialasiewicz et al (2007) stress the mutual interconnection of imagined geographies and geopolitics, since imaginative geographies form integral parts of geopolitical visions. It is therefore useful to think of imaginative geographies as building blocks of geopolitical thinking. The discourse creates imaginative geographies which inform popular geopolitics, which in turn is a source of action regarding particular issues. There is however, in important sense in which the thesis must be understood as perhaps grounded more within critical geopolitics even more than in imaginative geography

The thesis does not directly examine any material effects which could be attributed to the representations constructed or maintained from the texts, beyond the performative nature in which geographical journalism reproduces them within itself. The thesis is examining the chosen texts and the texts alone and the representations, or imaginative geographies found within them. To look for direct material effects would not only be beyond the capacity of the thesis, but also require a much adjusted sample for study. This is the reason why, primarily through its methodology of discourse analysis (discussed in the next chapter), the thesis rests within critical geopolitics (through the study of popular geopolitics). This is also the reason why I cannot make much use of the significant achievements produced by post-colonial geography, despite sharing many ontological positions, because the thesis analyses ‘a metropolitan gaze’ rather than discursive circulations and spatially differentiated resistances. Subscription to critical geopolitics does not however mean that academic work might be “*condensed to a formulaic deconstructionism of the politics of identity in texts*” (Ó Tuathail 2003, p.164) The output of the thesis will be the examination of the identities, representation and imaginative geographies which are available to the reader from the text – the realm of **the possible**.

In order to consider the potential significance these have in the context of the conceptualisation of development, they will be re-inserted within the framework of the post-development critique, which serves as the basis for the formulation of hypothesis and expectations. The synthesis of the theoretical approaches so far allows us to formulate there basic research question to be answered via the analysis of the selected discursive sample.

- 1. What kind of geographies in terms of spaces and people emerge from the textual discourse**
- 2. What are the characteristics of such entities and their relationship vis-à-vis the author and the reader?**
- 3. What kind of popular geopolitics is being created and how do the findings relate to the post-development critique**

Geographic magazines form part of the popular geopolitics and therefore are part of the debate over development within the country. The goal is to examine to what extent are the representations within the text influenced by the ‘development discourse’ as identified by the post-developmentalists. The analysed journals are not quite the mainstream representation, because analysing mainstream media imaging would not only be a task beyond my research capacity and direct specialisation, but would also likely merely confirm what has been long accepted: mainstream media use a simplified language which portrays the countries of the developing world (especially Africa) in a streamlined negative fashion conforming to (assumed) expectation of their consumers. If the point is to examine the possibilities for an improved public perception, it is better to start with a sample featuring a more promising set of texts for analysis.

Instead I have decided to focus on geographic travel magazines, which read by a rather elitist (in a sense of self-perception) group of readers (within the wider public), which goes out of its way to obtain additional information about other places, which puts their readers in a seemingly more active and privileged position. It also tends to be better educated (in terms of achieved education and more affluent) This further justifies the consideration of the topic through the inclusion of popular geopolitics. I have no definitive proof that the readers of the selected magazines form an important constituency within the public, but the editors of the magazines themselves appear to think so. The magazines (especially *Lide a Zeme*) the periodicals feature occasional contributions directly related to the topic of development, either in the form of an interview with development workers or articles submitted by members of Czech NGO's concerned with development cooperation. Furthermore, their target audience primarily consists of "*young educated readers aged 25-35, who possess financial resources and can afford to invest in leisure. They do not only search for inspiration for holiday travels, but also like to read the magazines in their free time to find entertainment and information.*" (Mlada Fronta publishers 2012)

Additionally, the orientation towards travel and adventure are might encourage these magazines to present the covered areas in a more positive(at least in some respects) or more diverse light in order to inspire other potential travellers. In theory, of the available popular media, the selected magazines should be least bogged down by the deliberate or unconscious stereotypisation. At the same time, however, travel writing tends to have as its basic mission the identification of peculiarities of the visited places and the emphasis on difference, either positive or negative, which would entice the imagination of the reader. (Chard 1999, p.40-41) Travel writing tends to be at the forefront of the constitution of identity and frequently features contrasts with the communal 'self' of the writer (and the reader), whatever it may be in a particular context, and its chosen counterpart. This should make observation of such features easier without determining the content or value judgements within these comparisons.

Now, of course, what remains is to provide an explanation on what counts as a developing country within the context of the thesis. One such option would be to follow Escobar or Said and consider as a 'developing' country one which (or whose inhabitants) has been referred to as such (or as 'Oriental, respectively) within the analysed texts. This might be warranted in the case of the study of a large imaginary space such as the Orient when one is looking at texts concerned directly with the analysis of such fictions space. Alternatively, it works in a case when the study involves the analysis of what it claims to be a complete discursive formation, particularly in a form of a genealogy. While the analysed magazines may use the 'language of development' while referring to concepts such as poverty, lack of infrastructure, a progressive understanding of human civilization, or by using the established categories and hierarchies, their articles may not even use the word 'development' directly, because it is not a primary thematic concern, wherefore relying on language alone to provide the delineation of the sample might be rather contentious. The analysed journals are placed within a larger development discourse, which they may or may not promulgate. This makes them a good testing ground for the observation about the extent to which the 'development discourse', as termed by Escobar predominates, likely unconsciously, within popular geopolitical understanding and to what extent it perhaps form the available imaginative geographies. It does, however, have the downside the thesis has to find an alternative way of delineating developing countries.

A possible way is to make a direct connection with the development practice and use some of the established categorizations guidelines. The thesis will use a twofold way of identifying the developing countries, one of them through the use of the calculation of the Human Development Index for the year 2012 (same year as the analysed articles, in order to keep a clear sense of time frame), where those countries under the categories of **Low** and **Medium** level of development are places of primary interest.

In a thesis largely based on post-structuralist scholarship and using discourse analysis as its method, this might superficially appear as a kind of *dues ex machine* way of delimiting a potentially problematic designation, such as a ‘developing country’ or ‘developing space’ (the situation would be even trickier if I used the terms ‘Third World’ or ‘Global South’ instead), but this decision has three important advantages. Firstly, it is simple and easy for the reader to follow. More importantly, as a second advantage, it helps to avoid a danger of a particular kind of circularity in which an imaginary space is said to be an object of discursive representation when the representation actually serves as evidence of the existence of the imagined space itself (this will be elaborated more in the next chapters). Thirdly, it is grounded in development practice, which is an essential part of a discursive power structure, especially if we consider discourse through the lens of “performativity”.

3. Methodology

3.1. Analysed sample



Figure 2

(Source: Lidé a Země, <http://www.lideazeme.cz/>)

popular geography² (not academic geography) and travel, namely Lidé a Země and Koktejl, in the past year of 2012.

Lidé a Země and Koktejl, together with National Geographic: Česko are among the top three best selling (and most read) magazines related to traveling and ‘exploration’ of foreign places with a focus on both nature and culture. The obvious question arising from this account would be directed at the omission of the last magazine forming the leading trio; the reasons are threefold. Primarily, because of the rather detailed nature of the analysis, it was necessary to limit the sample accordingly due to considerations of both time and focus, as well as academic capacity. Secondly, National Geographic is more focused on nature and natural aspects of the visited places, which makes it no less suitable for the analysis of imaginative geographies, but would take us somewhat further away from the primary focus of the thesis, which is on the issue of development and henceforth is more interested in the analysis of social interactions within the texts. Thirdly, while National Geographic: Česko is a magazine Published in

Lidé a Země: Zeměpisný a cestovní měsíčník

(People and the Earth: Geographic and travel periodical)

First Published in 1952

Produced monthly – 12 issues within a calendar year, plus associated publications.

Volume of production- 50 000

Estimated readership * - 155 000

(*by 2010, provided by the Union of Publishers)

Every issue contains a collection of short reports about recent curiosities in the world, a photocommentary, an interview and a varying number of travel articles relating to the ‘topic of the month’, or some of the other regular columns.

The thesis conducted a discourse analysis of the following sample of text. It includes the content of all publications of two leading Czech magazines focused of

popular geography2 (not academic geography) and travel, namely Lidé a Země and Koktejl, in the past

year of 2012.

Lidé a Země and Koktejl, together with National Geographic: Česko are among the top three best selling (and most read) magazines related to traveling and ‘exploration’ of foreign places with a focus on both nature and culture. The obvious question arising from this account would be directed at the omission of the last magazine forming the leading trio; the reasons are threefold. Primarily, because of the rather detailed nature of the analysis, it was necessary to limit the sample accordingly due to considerations of both time and focus, as well as academic capacity. Secondly, National Geographic is more focused on nature and natural aspects of the visited places, which makes it no less suitable for the analysis of imaginative geographies, but would take us somewhat further away from the primary focus of the thesis, which is on the issue of development and henceforth is more interested in the analysis of social interactions within the texts. Thirdly, while National Geographic: Česko is a magazine Published in

² Magazines which term themselves ‘geographic’ do so in the sense of geo-graphing, writing about the Earth, but not in an academic fashion and are not directly linked with the discipline of Geography, except perhaps in their aspiration to popularize information about other places.

Czechia, it follows the template set by the *National Geographic* produced by the National Geographic Society in the USA, and a majority of its content is composed of translated articles. By own admission, however, the first reason played a dominant role through its need to eliminate the sample, while the other two served to identify National Geographic: Česko as the regrettable casualty of the selection process.

All issues (1-12/2012) of **Lidé a Země** were accessed at the National Library in Prague and their analyses were conducted at Periodicals Reading Room within the library. All issues of **Koktejl** were accessed online (and printed out), at (<http://www.czech-press.cz>), and their analysis took place either also at the National Library, the Geographic library at the Faculty of Science of Charles University in Pargue, or at home. While the thesis is concerned with representations of countries and populations of the ‘developing world’, all articles (and interviews) within the relevant issues were analysed, in order to get a better understanding of the register and style associated with the magazine and also to allow for comparison, where warranted, with articles written about spaces outside of the delimited selection. For the purpose of the analysis, all texts within the magazines which were shorter than approximately one



Figure 3

(Source: Koktejl, <http://www.czech-press.cz/index.php>)

250 of which at least 115 were directly related to countries designated as part of the ‘developing’ group.

Any division of such kind is inherently tricky and biased, wherefore it is better to rely on simplicity and recognition of the shortcomings such divisions have. This thesis considers a space as part of the developing world if it finds itself in a country designated as having a **Low** or **Medium** status on the list of

Koktejl: Czech geographic magazine

First published in 1992

Produced monthly – 11 issues within a calendar year (one ‘summer issue’ for both July and August)

Volume of production – 33 000

Estimated readership* - 120 000

(*by 2010, provided by the Union of Publishers)

Every issue contains a collection of travel articles and an interview

page have been excluded, or considered only very marginally. One issue of Lidé a země tends to have about 10 travel articles, including one interview, the amount of articles within one issue of Koktejl ranges from 12-16. Overall the number of analysed articles safely exceeds

the countries in terms of the Human Development Index³. The complete list of the countries can be found in the Appendix. However, due to the crudeness of the scale of countries, certain articles were considered on an individual basis, and articles on specific places within the countries under the designation High, especially if found in Africa, Asia or Latin America, have also been included based on thematic continuity.

As the previous chapter sought to convey, the selection of the geographic magazines for the purpose of the analysis is not absent logical foundation (or so I would like to claim). The notion that mainstream daily media provide stereotypical imaging of the developing countries, or of the 'global south', if you will, or the third world, which conforms to standard forms of medialisation has been addressed through numerous studies (Pickering 2001, Mawdsley 2008), some even within the Czech academia (Horký 2010). These are driven by discursive inertia, constraints of style and space and an acutely felt need to sell. In order to repeat what has been said many times before, the thesis operates with a somewhat different sample, one has been produced under somewhat different conditions. As has been stated earlier, the target group of readers consist of young (ish) people, mostly between 25-35 years (and more) of age, with above-average financial means, above-average education and also above-average interest in the knowledge about spaces beyond their own. The existence of the selected magazines is based on the assumption that readers get a more detailed, more nuanced and more knowledgeable kind of information that they would be able to get from the daily media. If the reason why the mainstream media produce stereotypical images lies to a significant degree in the structural problems of mediation - such as a limited room in which the authors can express themselves and a presumed lack of patience on the part of the readers with any information not produced in the expected streamlined fashion - magazines written by passionate travellers for readers interested in this particular content could potentially be the answer for anyone who wishes to bypass the traditional stereotypes reproduced by the mainstream media. The purpose therefore is to take the criticism of the post-development school (or even the wider post-colonial critique, including Orientalism) and test it against the imaginative geographies of a potentially more challenging sample. It would be somewhat ambition to claim that the analysed sample represents the 'least likely' case when looking for signs of the development discourse (as defined by Escobar) within the produced imaginative geographies, it should certainly serve as a 'less likely case' which could lead the analysis towards a deeper exploration of the documents.

Of course, historically, travel writing often tended to emphasize real or imagined differences in order to fascinate its viewers, and, for example, Said (1979) and Tudorova (2009) directly implicate travel writers in the proliferation of oppressive discourses, even though, most of the travel writing they analyse falls within the 19th or early 20th century. Interest and enthusiasm are by no means a guarantee of objective or nuanced reporting. Upon closer inspection, the idealised image of the geographic and travel magazines rather quickly evaporates. The case of the geographic and travel magazines should therefore help to demonstrate that the struggle with representation are not a technical issue derived from the

³ The designation of countries can be found on the website of the Human Development reports <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/>

unfortunate structure of journalism, but a matter of discourse (as a set of both textual and non-textual practices), of geopolitical understanding, and of imaginative geography. The Hypotheses of the research have been constructed on the basis of the later and will be presented in the next chapter.

3.2. Methodology

3.2.1. Discourse Analysis

The first information anyone is to obtain upon reading any academic text which deals with discourse analysis is that discourse analysis (further DA) is a field subsuming (maybe too big) a variety of heterogeneous approaches and diverse methodological standpoints (Taylor 2001 , p.5, Graham 2011 , p.663, Antaki, Billig, Edwards, Potter 2003, Müller 2010, Ó Tuathail 2002 , p.606), which some scholars consider to be a problem while others do not.

Many approaches form the field of discourse analysis, such as sociolinguistics, discursive psychology, critical discourse analysis or other more loose configurations such as post-structural discourse analysis, only some of which will be of any direct benefit to this thesis.

To start off it might be useful to provide a simple definition of what DA is, or what it does:

Taylor (2001) addresses the definition by asserting that *“Discourse analysis is the close study of language in use”* (Taylor 2001 in Wetherel et al 2001 , p.5)

Afterwards, she outlines four different approaches to discourse analysis. The first is interested in the use of the language itself, how it is conditioned and constrained by various circumstances, how it changes and varies in terms of vocabulary, function or structure, and what are its linguistic properties. The second approach focuses on the interactive nature of language in a form of path dependency and constraints being put on the language users by their previous and current interactions. The third approach analyses the development and use of language within particular fields of knowledge and activities, its power create new objects to speak of and forms of talking about them, the formation of new language patterns within specific circumstances. The fourth approach, which is not too far removed from the third, is worth describing in the author’s own words:

“The aim of the analyst following the fourth approach is to identify patterns of language and related practices and to show how these constitute aspects of society and the people within it. Ultimately such an analysis draws attention to the social nature and historical origins of the world ‘out there’ which is generally taken for granted. Controversy is basic to this form of discourse analysis because it involves the study of power and resistance, contests and struggles. The basic assumption here is that the language available to people enables and constrains not only their expression of certain ideas but also what they do.”(Taylor 2001 , p.9)

This fourth type (also combined with the third) of discourse analysis best fits the kind of analysis adopted by social sciences such as sociology, politics or geography and presents a significant turn away from the previously very linguistic approaches to studying discourse. It is also rather close to the understanding of discourse as presented by Foucault, who claims that discourse is a *“delimitation of a*

field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts and theories” (Foucault 1972: 199).

According to the theoretical formation based on Foucauldian thinking, which also forms the basis for this thesis, would then regard discourse analysis as a systematic study of a discourse so defined.

In this manner, the analysis of discourse recognizes that all objects exist and are constructed within discourse, which does, however, have nothing to do with whether there is a world external to thought (Spivak 1998 , p.333) and that language is the key mediator and producer of reality (Neumann 2008 , p.61). DA of this kind also accepts the fundamental relationship existing between language and power, such as in the construction of meanings, which is subjected to the ‘politics of the sign’ (Trifonas 2000 275).

This thesis, sharing such conceptual underpinnings, will mostly draw from methodological resources provided by Critical Discourse analysis, established by Fairclough, Wodak and others, and what Graham terms “Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. (Graham 2011, p.663)

Critical literary analysis, as conducted by scholars such as Said or Spivak, also falls within this milieu, since it is connected through its choice of topics, epistemological attitudes, as well as its purpose. The first great significant difference is still somewhat connected, though, in that post-structuralist DA is resistant to the claims to universal truth (treats truth as a product of power relations)

3.2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis and Post-structuralist Analysis

Graham (2011) provides some basic differentiation between these two branches of discourse analysis. One of the principal features of the post-structural Foucauldian analysis of discourse (done by authors assumed to follow more strictly Foucauldian attitudes towards science and method) is actually the unwillingness of its practitioners to prescribe a unified method suitable for DA research (Graham 2011 , p.663). In a way, authors within this branch could be seen as directly contributing to the methodological malaise of the DA field, yet the hesitance to prescribe methodology is based on profound epistemological concerns. Edwards and Nicoll point out that claims to the correct use of method or academic rigour are in themselves a powerful rhetorical practice of a prescriptive nature (Edwards, Nicoll 2001, p.105). This has brought many accusations that post-structuralist scholars deliberately dilute the academic field with approaches which have abandoned scientific criteria. (for example Gare in Graham 2011, p.29) This does not mean, however, that this form (or other) of DA is unable to inform potential practitioners on how to guide their analysis and what to look for in the text. According to Neumann (2008), all DA informed by Foucauldian influences (mainly the 4th approach to DA described by Taylor) DA examines utterances – text, any sign, metaphors, painting, etc. these features might be analysed as text (Neumann 2008 , p.63). Graham confirms this by stating that “*Words on a page, utterances, symbols, signs, statements, these are the start and end points for the post-structural discourse analysis*” (Graham 2011 , p.666). ‘Statements’ are a key concept within DA as Foucault considers statements to be ‘atoms of discourse’ (Foucault 1972 , p.80), which serve less as linguistic units and more as ‘functions’ (Foucault 1972 , p.98).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been formed by N. Fairclough as an attempt to ‘bring together linguistically-oriented discourse analysis and social and political thought relevant to discourse

and language' (Fairclough 1992 , p.92). According to Henderson, CDA combines linguistic attitudes to discourse developed by Halliday (including the study of linguistic features) with Foucault's 'socio-theoretical' view on discourse, as well as elements from the critical theory associated with the Frankfurt school, with a bit of Marxism and neo-Marxism added on top (Henderson 2005 , p.6). Due to its connection with linguistic theory, CDA is better able to more specifically delineate its focus as part of the textual analysis.

CDA is still far removed from a unified method of approaching text, since it recognizes necessary differences derived from the nature of particular types of communication and particular purposes of analysis, and should therefore be considered more of "*a theoretical synthesis of conceptual tools*". (Weiss, Wodak 2003 , p.7) However, due to its more rigorous linguistic orientation, CDA has many supporters who consider it as more appropriate for the study of, for example, policy texts (Taylor 2004 , p.435). By its own admission, CDA is less post-structuralist and more structuralist-constructivist, since it approaches social practices as 'points of connection' between structures and individuals (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, p.21). This mixture of influences has, however, also led to considerable criticisms accusing CDA of theoretical shortcomings. Pennycook, for example, criticises CDA for having taken up a political view of the social world at large, yet refused to acknowledge the interconnected politics of knowledge formation and production, as the post-structuralist wing within DA has done, because it chose to prioritise its scientific appearance (Pennycook 2001, p.84). From the other end of the spectrum, Widdowson blamed CDA for insufficient theoretical grounding, which allows its practitioners to employ various theoretical concepts at will when it suits them (Widdowson 1998, p.137).

The divergence between CDA and more Foucauldian analysis does not, however, merely lie in any attitude towards delineated methods, but also in its somewhat different focus and purpose. The first great significant difference is still somewhat connected, though, in that post-structuralist DA is resistant to the claims to universal truth (treats truth as a product of power relations) and instead seeks to question that obviousness of the truth we have over time come to accept as given (Graham 2001 , p.666). In this it lines up with deconstruction used in critical literary analysis, inspired by Derrida and his double reading, which shares many epistemological groundings, as well as parts of its mission. Spivak asserts that the primary mission of her work is the displacement of the accepted markers used to denote realities (Spivak 1998, p.140). While CDA lists many linguistic features it concerns itself with as potential transmitters of discourse, Foucauldian analysis is precisely especially interested in markers, meanings and representations with various degrees of institutionalization (Neumann 2008 , p.61). Post-structuralist DA is often less interested in what is being said in the text and how, but rather what kind of reality is being constructed as its outcome (Graham 2011 , p.667). Especially, the interest is placed on the kinds of objects that emerge from the text, what their representations are and how language produces objects which populate our social reality (Graham 2001 , p.668). This creation of objects is a place of acute social struggles and conflicts over the representations of reality, because as Deluze reminds us, objects are defined against their foreign alternatives. (Deluze 1988, p.11) What is also absolutely key to post-structuralist analysis is the notion that discourse shapes the objects it refers to, as well as the subjects of the discursive activity (who frequently exercise primary discursive power over their objects) themselves, since these two can never be separated in discourse! (Graham 2011, p.671)

Post-structuralist DA tends to be highly interested in the social practices derived from these representations of reality and their discourses (Foucault 1972 139). As a result, Foucauldian DA puts increased emphasis on the context, such as cultural awareness (Neuman 2008, p.63), as opposed to excessively focusing on the in-text and its characteristics. Post-structuralist DA is also more frequently engaged in the genealogy of discursive representations, tracing the development of, for example, some ‘hegemonic representations’ over prolonged periods of time, to document the struggle among various alternatives beyond the confines of a narrow selection of texts. (Neumann 2008, p.70)

It is, however, necessary to clarify that these approaches do not represent opposing attitudes towards discourse analysis, their divergence mostly takes the form of a different emphasis on particular aspects of working with language and certainly share significantly more than they differ in. CDA scholars assert a strong connection to Foucauldian attitudes to discourse and even define some key questions arising from Foucauldian thinking, which CDA might seek to answer:

- What is valid knowledge at a certain place and a certain time?
- How does this knowledge arise and how is it passed on?
- What function does it have for constituting subjects?
- What consequences does it have for the overall shaping and development of society?

(Jäger, Maier in Wodak, Meyer 2009, p.34)

Therefore, it is not necessary to strictly adhere to one or the other, since both approaches certainly agree on the need to adjust methodology and approach to the character and purpose of the discourse analysis the researchers have in their mind to attempt. They should, however, serve as guidelines for the sorting out of priorities when conducting the analysis.

3.3. Methodology in the Thesis

One qualification needs to be made regarding the state of methodological unity of discourse analysis. This is perhaps best illustrated by Torfing who argues that

“a singular method of discourse analysis does not exist and should not be developed. For, whereas there is a great need to develop our critical reflections on how to apply discourse theory in concrete studies, we should not aim to solve the methodological question once and for all. Discourse theorists must remain methodological bricoleurs and refrain from developing an all-purpose technique for discourse analysis” (Torfing 1999, p. 292).

The selection of analytical techniques and forms therefore remains at the discretion of the researchers, provided they can demarcate a clear line of reasoning for why such a particular approach has been used and how does it aid in answering the research questions.

The thesis most closely relates to the third type of discourse analysis is identified by Taylor, since it is concerned with the constitution of subjects and objects primarily in the textual framework, albeit then

attempts to link the outcomes with understanding of discourse as practice by some of the employed theories, which brings it to a middle position between the third and fourth type of discourse analysis.

I have therefore decided to use the analytical resources derived from Critical Discourse Analysis and other more linguistically oriented approaches to chart an analyse of the text, as well as the study of more semantic features found within CDA, which, I would like to argue, still enabled me to answer the posited research questions and speak on the issue of identity and representation.

What speaks strongly in favour of CDA is its greater methodological rigour and a more inductive format of research. By being grounded in various form of linguistic analysis it certainly better satisfies the more traditional view of science as a method of drawing conclusions from systematically organised observations. Moreover, the rather vaguely formulated approaches of discourse analysis grounded firmly in post-structuralist epistemology are best suited for the study of genealogies by an analysis of a voluminous sample spanning prolonged time periods during which it observes the development of discursive concepts. In contrast, on a moderately sizable sample located within relatively short chronological periods, such as the one this thesis operates with, it does not provide sufficient analytical depth. The analysis of such samples is much better served through CDA by its more extensive range of analytical tools. The systematic linguistic analysis also makes it easier to substantiate particular claims about any aspects of the text and reduces the danger of undue selectiveness. (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002, p. 146)

This analytical focus should be possible to maintain within the more linguistically and micro oriented CDA by placing a firm focus on **mental representations** which emerges from the interaction between the text and its readers and which act as fundamental tools of human cognition. Johnson-Laird attributes to mental representations *“a central and unifying role in representing objects, states of affairs, sequences of events, the way the world is, and the social and psychological actions of daily life”* (Johnson-Laird 1989, p.397).

Mental representations are always composed of basic **concepts**, which are

- **Entities** that tend to be usually referred to with nouns and serve as **nodes** within the analysed discourse. (de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981, p.98)
- **Properties** which are the qualities ascribed to entities through adjectives or other forms and could be conceptualized as tags on the nodes
- **Relations** between entities, usefully conceptualized as various threads linking the nodes together. One kind of relation, although certainly not the only one, is expressed by direct action entities perform towards each other within the text.

The analysis conducted within the thesis was therefore oriented towards identification of significant entities, especially those denoting people and places, the role and importance they are given, their respective attributes and characteristics they have been given in the text and, importantly, the relations these entities appear to have to one another.

Interestingly, for example the observation of the constitution of the subject (and presumably also of the reader) of the author alongside the constitutions of their objects has been made somewhat easier

through the analysis of linguistic features because in the case of the geographic and travel magazines because, unlike in most newspaper articles or even policy briefs, the author frequently takes a direct role and become an entity with certain properties within the text.

Wodak and Mayer specify these principal items of focus of CDA:

- The kind and form of argumentation
- Argumentation strategies (and degrees of modality)
- The intrinsic logic and composition of texts
- Implicit implicatures and insinuations
- The collective symbolism or figurativeness, symbolism, metaphors, and others, in both language and in design (images, photographs, caricatures...)
- Idioms, sayings, clichés, vocabulary and style
- Actors (persons, pronominal structures)
- References, for example to science(s)
- The particulars of the sources of knowledge
(Wodak, Meyer 2009, p.28)

Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) add further several points:

- interactional control – the relationship between speakers, including the question of who sets the conversational agenda (in this instance in terms of the relationship vis-à-vis the reader as well the described objects)
- ethos – how identities are constructed through language and aspects of the body
- metaphors
- wording
- grammar

(Jorgensen and Phillips 2002, p. 83)

Not all of these elements necessarily have to be addressed in all cases of CDA research, but provide a useful guideline along which to structure the selection of tools. The following section specifies the ways in which the text has been analysed throughout the process of multiple reading.

3.3.1. Thematic Grouping

All texts are, consciously or not, divided in various parts, which represent individual themes. These are frequently represented by paragraphs but not invariably so. The analysis of thematic groupings helps to divide the text into parts and consider the main premises of each of them, as well as who are the main participants and their relations to one another. Upon the second reading of the article, the text was divided into thematic groupings. The key determinants of thematic groups are:

- Time frame

- Place (location)
- Type of action (event, non-event, conversation)
- Participants

(Dooley and Levinshon 2000, p. 19)

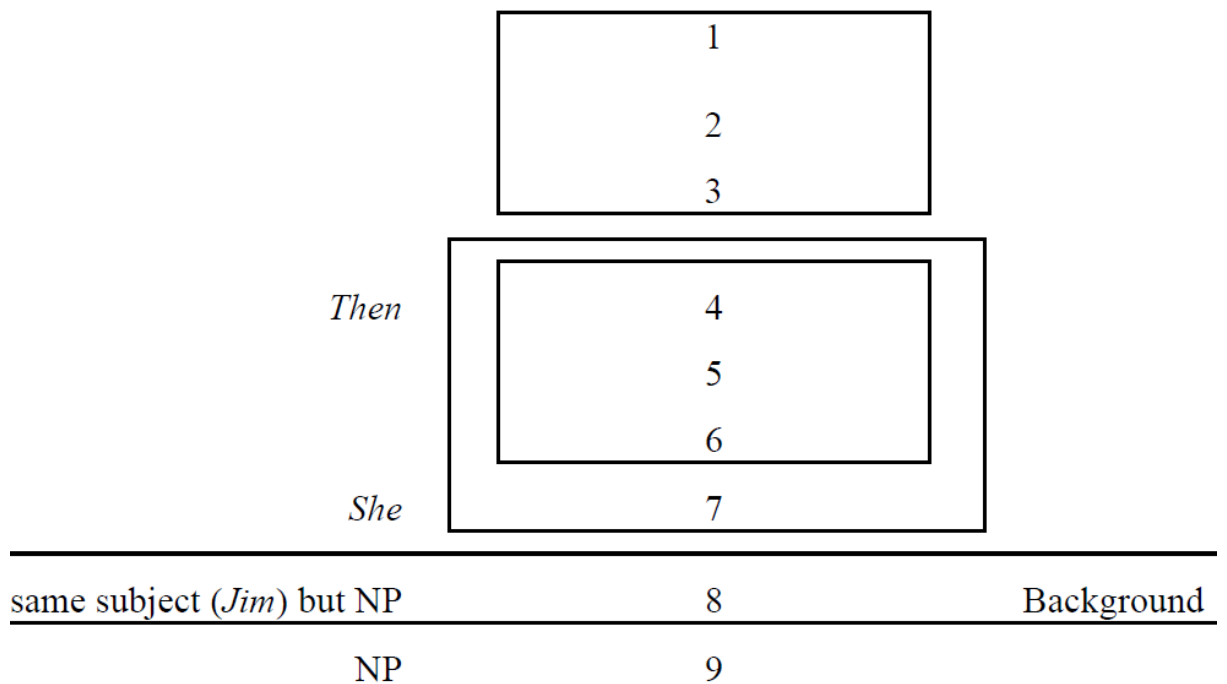
These characteristics hold the key to either ‘thematic continuity’ or ‘thematic discontinuity’ (Givón 1984, in Dooley and Levinshon 2000, p. 19)

Firstly I divided the text with these categories in mind rather intuitively, then, on a closer inspection re-evaluated these groupings based on certain common features which might represent signs of discontinuity. These include:

- Evaluations (at the end of a grouping, such as saying “that was that”)
- Pre-posed expressions (of time and space)
- Particles (‘well, so,’ often marking the transition between types of action)
- Reference to participants in full nouns

It is important to realize that thematic groups can be ordered hierarchically and larger groups can have various subgroups based on the mentioned criteria. Fig. 4 shows the possible division of text.

Figure 4



(Source: Dooley and Levinshon 2000, p. 24)

The numbers refer to the appropriate sentences (which usually correspond to the number each sentence is allocated during conventional text charting, which, however, had not been done for the purpose of this thesis, as it would have been largely redundant for the most part), on the left and right sides are located notes on possibly relevant observations. This ordering can, however, also be done with the text itself, as will be shown in the appendix. The division in thematic groupings served. The identified

themes can be assigned further notes of their main propositions and role within the text. It also helps to analyse the potential roles of participants within the identified themes, such as the purpose of their direct, reported, or indirect speech.

3.3.2. Designation of concepts

As next step would follow the annotation of the elements of the text identified as the concepts of interest. In every article, important entities would be highlighted with a colour. These would for example include “the guide”, “European explorers”, or “Africa” and would serve as important nodes. While entities are predominantly referred to with nouns, these nouns may often be **pre-modified** with adjectives which specify their nature, as is the case with “European explorers”. The identification of simple relations between the entities, such as direct action between them, or direct contrasts would follow as a second step. It is important to realize that not all forms of relation can be captured by simple linguistic designation. What follows is the third step of marking properties of both the entities and the behaviors they have. These usually come in the form of adjectives associated with the nouns representing the entities or adverbs tied with verbs representing actions (e.g. ‘served well’). It is important to realize that certain characteristics of properties, such as, for example as kind of behavior or thinking which an entity is supposed to exhibit, may not be recognized during this step and will only become apparent through the semantic analysis of meanings which comes after the linguistic steps.

3.3.3. Analysis of Reference patterns

One of the key ways in which a text has been analysed relates to **participant reference**. This particular kind of analysis was conducted on all of the articles marked as referring to ‘developing’ countries and a sample of 5 articles from the opposing spectrum. Dooley and Levinshon assert that the study of participant referencing helps to determine “Who is doing what to whom” (Dooley and Levinshon 2000, p. 56) and speaks about the relationship between subjects, objects and events, which within DA is termed **transitivity**. (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002, p. 146) The **participants** are persons or other entities which take an active role within the text, by which they differ from **Props**, which (or who) serve merely as passive objects (the bus in a sentence: ‘we got on the bus’) (Grimes 1975, p.43). The analysis of participant reference helps us to keep track of the **entities** which actively participate within the text (in this, instance when they serve as subjects or objects), and of the **relations** they may have to one another on the immediate linguistic level. Furthermore, analysis of reference patterns serves to determine the relative importance of individual participants, divide them between major and minor participants by the frequency of their appearance and signify if there are any VIP participants within the text or within a thematic group. In more laymen terms, VIP participants could be considered POV (Point of View) characters of a section of the text. Global VIPs remain important referents throughout most of the text, whereas local VIPs are specific for a given thematic group. Within Magazines concerned on travel experiences and combined with educational content, it would be reasonable to assume that the authors themselves would serve as global VIPs, but this is not uniformly the case. The analysis of reference patterns makes use of a **reference chart** – **Figure 5** (The model here has been taken from Dooley and Levinshon 2000).

Figure 5

Ref	Con	Subject	Non-subject	Notes and translation
1				
2a				
2b				
3				
4				

(source: Dooley and Levinshon 2000)

The first column in the chart marks the designated number of the sentence. The second is an optional column which features intersentential connectives and interclausal spacers (applied in case there are more predications per sentence). The third column features the subject of the sentence, the primary referent (even though, in certain languages, as in Czech, the sentence subject may be derived from the form of predication and not be specified by a separate word). The fourth column indicates referents who act as non-subjects within the sentence. The fifth column then features all notes and translations the analyst wishes to make, such as the predicate verb and its conjugation (such as 1.person - singular, can also make note on the use of passive voice), as well as contents of both direct and reported speech. By recording the predication in this column it is also possible to remain aware of the exact actions of individual participants, and also the use of the active or passive forms of verbs in relation to the participants. A useful practice is to designate recurring participants with a number (1 2,...) for easier recognition of their participation within the text. The key purpose of this analysis was to be able to better assess their prominence and the nature of their role (such as the level of their activity and participation) within the text from a linguistic perspective. The introduction and departure of participants was also one of the possible ways to reassess the boundaries of thematic groupings within the text.

Of course, this method did not provide the analyst with a complete awareness of the role of particular entities, especially when they did not appear as part of the main clause. In combination with the other forms of analysis, it helps to cover a wider range of relevant discursive elements.

It is important to understand that these forms of charting do not provide the analysis with a clear answer to the purpose, let alone social impacts of the discourse, since this was never their primary purpose. Linguistic tools merely highlight linguistic features within the text, may inform about regularities or specificities and inform the analyst about most of the concepts the text offers for them to deal with. They also help to guide the analyst towards a more bottom up understanding of the analysed discourse, preventing them from jumping to simplified conclusion based on a simple reading of the text with a desire to identify discursive practices.

3.3.4. Analysis of meanings

After these forms of text analysis had been conducted, I proceeded to the task of the analysis of content emerging from the analysed features. This would relate to the remaining areas of analysis specified at the beginning of the chapter, such as the use of **grammar** throughout the text, or within

specific thematic groupings, or in relation to specific entities existing within the text. The **wording** used to describe the actions or characteristics of participants (or other non-participant entities in the latter case), the use of **contrasts and comparisons, types of argumentation, the use of symbolism, metaphors, references to cultural concepts**, and other features like over philosophical or ideological statements. All of these analyses kept a clear focus on the three basic concepts which make up the mental representations provided by the texts: **entities**, their **properties**, and the **relations** between them.

If one is looking at a multitude of texts and searches for common discursive features, as this thesis indeed was, it is important to account for several factors. One of them would be what Halliday terms 'register' (Halliday 1978, p.31), which refers to the appropriate manner in which a text is written (by its organization or choice of words) in relation to the expectation emanating, for example, from genre and the type of relations the author has with the reader. Register is usually important to the analysts when they seek to differentiate it from a deliberate effort of authors to achieve a discursive outcome. In this instance, however, the register of geographic and travel magazines may help to account for certain elements of the text, the source of such features is of limited consequence when compared to the outcome. Within the analysed sample and for my purpose, features relating to the register had been acknowledged but not differentiated from the rest because they form an integral part of the discursive framework in this instance. A different situation applies to 'individual style' (Lyons 1977 vol.2, p. 614), which is a set of literary and linguistic features specific to an author. The relevance of individual style is in case where a certain feature appears to be of discursive significance, such as a particular way of referring to participants or wording of arguments, but might not be if used frequently by the same author in different contexts. For example, in terms of the thesis, a use of derogatory adjectives where referring to entities and participants representing inhabitants of the developing countries, has a somewhat different significance depending on whether the author uses derogatory adjectives throughout their articles to all entities and participants regardless of their origin or location, or whether this use of language is indeed specific to those living in the countries marked as 'developing'. In the former case, this element should be attributed more to a personal style in which the author takes liberties with their participants indiscriminately as a permanent feature of their writing. While the effort to reduce the effects of individual style is never perfect, it was important to maintain it throughout the analysis.

3.3.5. Clarifications and risks

An important clarification here needs to be made about translation. All of the analysed articles are written in Czech, whereas this thesis is written in English. The translation of the text into English has been done after the text was analysed in terms of both linguistic and semantic features. This later translation carries the danger of a purposeful transformation of the text in order to produce certain outcomes; however, translation prior to analysis would with great certainty completely have changed the sentence structures and resulting impressions, due to which the analysis would have been done on my translation of the text and not on the text itself. Subsequent translation was therefore used as a means of preserving the important features which inductively emerged from the analysis.

Another vital qualification should be done regarding the aspirations of the thesis. An inherent problem with discourse analysis consists in the great temptation to form convincing narratives out of suitable examples in order to impress an interpretation on the reader. The first reaction to this must be the

admittance that this danger is always present. However, if one takes the epistemological position of the post-structuralist thinking, which is one of the essential preconditions to even engaging in this kind of research, objectivity free of discursive constraints is unattainable by any form of science or research. The qualifying factor therefore largely rests in the reflection on this problem. As such the thesis is a form of critical reading of the analysed texts and by no means presents a complete picture or assessment of the discourse of geographic and travel writing. In order to best avoid the aforementioned issue of selectiveness, I have taken the following steps: Firstly, the use of the several forms of critical discourse and linguistic analysis to make the process of research more inductive. Secondly I have endeavored to avoid the main problems identified by Antaki, Billig, Edwards and Potter (2003).

In an attempt to find some crucial common ground, Antaki, Billig, Edwards and Potter, in their article *Discourse Analysis Means Doing Analysis: A critique of Six Analytic Shortcomings* (2003), bring attention to the necessities of conduct inherent in the desire to do analysis. This should have served to help potential authors ensure that their work does not fail in the very attempt at doing what it claims to do: discourse analysis itself. The authors identify six main types of failure through under-analysis, which will be listed here, since they will provide one of the criteria against which to measure the conduct of this thesis.

1. Under-Analysis through summary

This first point addresses the key failure to analyse data by presenting them with the assumption that they can somehow speak for themselves, wherefore they primarily (and only) need to be made available to the reader (Antaki, Billig, Edwards, Potter 2003). Furthermore, if the author does not present all the data (such as in the form of a transcript) and instead opts for a summary of the main themes, he loses the detail of the original dataset and replaces the words of the analysed authors with those of the analyst. Merely summarizing what has been said often tends to present the image in a simplified and tidier version, without actually adding any analytic value. Summarizing what the author appears to be saying, does not, however, draw any links with discursive themes a particular statement might be part of, or the effects it might have on the construction of social reality. Pointing out recurring themes within an individual text does not in itself represent an analysis, it merely enables one.

2. Under-Analysis through taking sides

The authors aptly remind us that not every personal input by the analyst beyond the presentation of the data counts as analysis, which is exactly the case for deliberate side-taking as a substitute for analysis (Antaki, Billig, Edwards, Potter 2003). There is, of course, much debate about the extent to which discourse analysis should seek to achieve particular social outcomes and whether there is a difference between taking a position to the analysed discourse and taking a position with or against the author, the principal point here, however, is that making a judgement on particular qualities or characteristics of the author (such as statements of the kind “*the author fails to understand...*, *the author appreciates*” etc.) does not count as a discursive analysis of the text at hand. Even if we keep in mind the mission some analysts attach to their work, such as Foucault or Spivak (to displace prevalent narratives), whom I have quoted before, this endeavour should not be personal.

3. Under-Analysis through over-quotation or isolated quotation

This problem is at the same time the opposite and an analogy to the under-analysis by summary. It is similar in that the author might be tempted to use quotations as self-explanatory pieces of evidence, and different in failing to make any contribution to the ordering and management of the text themselves. The authors hint that the under-analysis through over-quotation can be frequently revealed by a low ratio of the authors own text to the presented quotations. (Antaki, Billig, Edwards, Potter 2003). Furthermore, over-quotation often leaves little room for the author to inform the reader of any specific contexts the selected quotes have been extracted from and might therefore in some ways be directly antithetic to a proper discourse analysis.

4. The circular discovery of discourses and mental constructs

This type of under-analysis might frequently be difficult to avoid, if proper care is not taken. The use of shared metaphors, linguistic, textual or discursive features might be used as evidence of the existence of a particular discursive formation. The problem emerges, however, if the use of such features is then explained as being attributed to the existence of the discourse, which has been derived from the data in the first place. This represents a circular discovery (Antaki, Billig, Edwards, Potter 2003). In order to substantiate the claims for the existence of discourse and its impact on social reality, the analyst must make use of other sources, such as other extracts from the analysed texts, which have not been used for the discovery in the first place, historical examples, other research or some supporting context, before one can get on with the business of determining possible political implications of the found discourse (Widdicombe 1995 108). In the authors' own words "*Whatever kind of discourse analysis is being done, it has to amount to much more than treating talk and text as the expression of the views, thoughts and opinions, as standard survey, ethnographic and interview research often does*" (Antaki, Billig, Edwards, Potter 2003).

5. Under-Analysis through false survey

This form of under-analysis is rather straightforward and relates to an excessive extrapolation of the research findings towards the world at large, frequently along the lines of frequently used categories (such as women, whites, etc.), while often paying insufficient mind to the constitutive and contextual nature of such categories. Other than this, the problem of excessive claims based on potentially insufficient samples frequently plagues all forms of social research. In discourse analysis, there is always a need to delimit the scope of one's research in order to be both manageable and useful, and the amount of entry data needs to reflect the scale of the claims the analyst wishes to make (Neumann 2008 , p.65).

6. Under-Analysis through spotting

While discourse analysts have over time developed means of identifying a range of rhetorical, linguistic or literary features to be recognized, simple spotting of features is not analysis, unless the analyst is also able to explain what are the functions of the particular features they have identified, what they do as part of the discursive formation or what their outcomes might be. While Neumann informs us that the existence of a discourse can be, for example, documented by relatively simple means such as proving that certain metaphors can be found in the same texts (Neumann 2008 , p.62), this should serve as

a starting point for analysis, rather than ultimate explanation. A useful way of avoiding this form of under-analysis is for example to engage in the ordering of discursive features in terms of their relative importance and connection to various hierarchical layers of discourse. (Neumann 2008 , p.75) This form of under-analysis consists in an ability to recognize that something is up with the analysed text/conversation and a simultaneous failure or unwillingness to engage exactly what it might be

The avoidance of the underanalysis through summary has been striven for by a balance between the input done by the author of this thesis and direct extracts from the analysed texts in order to prevent the analysis to venture too far in its conclusions without presenting empirical footing. Furthermore, the individual extracts and themes have been presented and understood in their mutual relation, in order to not merely present the reader with a summarised content of the analysed texts. The struggle against underanalysis through taking sides mostly took the form of partial separation of the authors from their text. The main worry was that deeper engagement with the individual authors would make the analysis too personal and obscure the common discursive features. Of course, in discourse analysis the person of the author matters, but not so much in terms of their personal characteristics but rather in terms of their position (especially power position) within the discourse. Naturally, the knowledge of who has written what had to remain, in order not to confuse purely individual style with a larger discursive theme. Underanalysis through overquotation was fought against by providing an adequate degree of analytical input and devoting due attention to each quotation presented in the text. Underanalysis through circular discovery was targeted by a firm theoretical grounding and postulation of research questions and hypotheses, which should connect the analysed features with the wider themes of power in which it is embedded. Underanalysis through survey was prevented by presenting a sober view on the state of the findings and their applicability. Underanalysis through spotting was again dealt with primarily by locating the analysed features within a theoretical framework.

Now that the methods of inquiry have been introduced it is possible to present the main **hypotheses**, which have been examined on the analysed sample in order to help answer the research question.

The first hypothesis seeks to confirm one of the key premises of imaginative geography, that places are constituted in some kind of relation to each other

1. 'Other' places serve as a point of difference and contrast and are constructed alongside the identity of the authors

This implies that the discourse should include ample references to the identity of the author through such terms as 'we' 'European', 'Western', 'Czech' or other and contrast such membership by various memberships of the 'other' groups, whoever they might be at the moment. Identities might be even extended to spaces themselves, such as 'Europe' or 'Africa' and they might be personalized. These statements of identity were expected to be accompanied characteristics and properties associated with them, to provide the understanding of their differences.

2. Entities representing spaces within the developing world will be attributed negative characteristics or be described in terms of absences of good characteristics

This hypothesis mostly refers to the habit of describing developing countries as a series of absences which mark their inadequacy vis-à-vis the proper state of affairs to be found in advanced industrial economies. This hypothesis was not really expected to hold at least with reference to nature and landscape, but rather to the state of social organisation and advancement.

3. An evolutionary understanding of history and society will be confirmed

This will be posited in terms of either desirability or inevitability of the form of life the authors understand as their own in terms of its expansion into other places. This is linked with understanding of underdeveloped spaces as a series of absences regarding the proper state of affairs (e.g. lack of infrastructure) and a process of maturation, which might be referred to through metaphors and comparisons as well as signified through actions taken by entities, eg. *'Egypt moving towards western democracy'*, etc.

4. Entities referring to inhabitants of the developing countries are given reduced opportunity to speak to the reader directly

This refers especially to the incidence and length and function of quotations attributed to them within the text or within its thematic groups. It was also expected that these entities will not be addressed by personal names but rather by more generic designations. This establishes the imagined spaces as more passive and subordinated.

This hypothesis is in line with one of the main arguments of both Orientalism and Post-development that inhabitants of the spaces designated to serve as other's in the process of identity affirmation of the author are rarely given the chance to speak for themselves and are instead spoken for.

5. Entities referring to people within the developing world will exhibit a low degree of positive agency, or even demonstrate a negative agency within social processes.

This further speaks to the understanding of inhabitants of the developing space as incapable of social progress without external intervention. This can be demonstrated on the kinds of action (or inaction) participants representing local inhabitants take within the text, what habits are attributed to them, etc. This speaks to the perceived possibility to enact positive social change using local sources.

4. Empirical research

4.1. Who goes there

The principal question of concern was the conformation of the process of identity formation within the texts. The most significant way through which this can be observed is the use of identity categories ascribed to the group the author identifies with, as well as the ascription of identities to the entities they encounter.

The authors themselves directly participate in text, predominantly as global VIPs in a narrative, which is told from their view point. There are few exceptions to this, such as *Kruh bídy*, where the author never appears in person, but in all other articles their existence is confirmed through active participation or at least uses of personal pronouns.

In terms of the identities ascribed to themselves by the authors, as from 'I' or 'us', there are often accompanying labels.

'European', as a noun as well as an adjective emerged as by far the most significant marker of identity, sometimes replaced by being 'from Europe'

For an example, an author describes his group of comprising of 'four Europeans'(Gill, Dobrodruhem v Afghanistanu) on a way to Afghanistan.

The conscious affirmation of such identity sometimes takes the form of the combination of the personal pronouns and the identity markers, such as 'Us Europeans' (Mráziková 2012, *Lod' která se plaví za svobodou*, Mrazikova)

Being from Europe serves identical purpose:

'To us, people from Europe, such rituals might seem meaningless...' (Kubeš 2012, *Africká gotika*)

This identity becomes a subject of explicit comparison with other identities:

'Whereas the average inhabitant of Western or Central Europe in their homeland generally cleans after themselves...In Africa, the attitude is rather exceptional' (Kaman 2012, *Vygruntovaná poušť*)

Sometimes, the navigation of the European identity brings rather curious results:

'The abyssal gap between the mentalities of our nations, more simply put, Europeans and Sakalava, would become most apparent if we compared a Czech grave and grave of the Sakalava' (Lemberk 2012, *Erotika na hrobech*)

It is interesting that the European identity is not merely a reaction to the increase in scale (such as Europe vs Asia), but remains even during comparisons with tiny tribes within states. Secondly, the idea that the Czech example best represents European mentality further cements the rather surprising Europhilia, which might be caused by the fact that within their texts, the authors are freer to decide on what 'Europe' means.

Europe also has a number of features directly connected with it through a connection made by the use of adjectives such as ‘European stereotypes’ and ‘European worries’ (Petr 2012, Krok stranou)

The identity of ‘Czech’ therefore also appears several times, such as in:

‘three Czech journalists.’ (Klicperová 2012 Kurdky s šátkem I kalašnikovem)

Out of the entities described as Czech, a key role is also sometimes played by ‘Czech scientists’ (for example Kott 2012, Život pod Afrikou)

The idea of the West appears only marginally, although sometimes features as well, as in

‘Western tourist’ (Foffová 2012, Na pašeráckém bazaru)

The West is then a source of entities such as ‘critical western mind’ (Březina 2012, Pocta nedotknutelným)

‘Whiteness’ is also a significant marker of identity, but as self ascription and an assumption of perception by others.

M.Zelený, for example is ‘one of the few white men’ who have been invited to the ritual of kuarup. (Zelený 2012m Mrtví odcházejí)

Another author voices her concern over being the ‘only whites in the queue’ (Pešková 2012, Ostrov hudebního boha)

The perception of others is concerned when an author is concerned over how a group of Kurdish men might be looking at ‘us, three white women’ (Klicperová 2012 Kurdky s šátkem I kalašnikovem), but the issue of race appears also in much more biological, inevitable sense, which exists outside of the social construction.

On the way to the Benoue park, an author and his colleague hire a motorcycle taxi. Then he states:

‘The motorcycle was not thrilled with having to carry two whites, their baggage and one black, but we are mostly going downhill’. (Jůnek, 2012, Zapomenutý Bénaué)

The switch towards the point of view of the motorcycle as a common form on enlivening the narrative, but the insistence of the racial perception of such (presumably) unconscious objects is surprising. It is hard to understand why the motorcycle should make distinction between carrying blacks and whites, instead of only be concerned with the overall weight, unless blackness and whiteness are understood as primordial categories.

From some of the examples mentioned, we can already observe that categories are also ascribed to ‘other’ entities, such as the tribes (the Sakalava), races (the blacks) and this further extends to nations, e.g. ‘the Palestinians’ (Kalát 2012, Hyena v posteli). These categories also exist in regards to the inhabitants of the developed nations and there does not need to be anything hierarchical about them in all instances per say. An interesting designation which only appears in the developing world is ‘aboriginals/natives’ (for example Petr 2012, krok stranou, Jůnek 2012, Což takhle dát si Dibi, Budínský, 2012, Dominikána:

lék na zimní splín, Snigeon 2012, Bohatý chudobinec, and many more), whereas places in Europe or in Northern America this designation does not exist and ‘local‘ is always used instead.

These identities might then be given into comparison with the identity acquired for the self or simply with ‘us‘ in terms of their habits:

‘The world is too small and tourists too many. The Asian ones engage foreign territories in a way that is very strange for us. The priority is the immortalization of oneself in front monuments. It give their raids a provisional name ‘method of the marked cornerstone‘ (note: cornerstone marked by a dog is the exact formulation) (Petr 2012, Krok stranou)’

In this instance, the ‘Asian tourists‘ act in a way not understandable to ‘us‘ who are assumed to do things in a more respectful manner.

Characteristics are also often attributed to places, which are in turn defined through them:

‘Although the city has 1200 checkpoints with soldiers armed to their teeth, explosions are a daily reality. Soldiers and extremists often work together. That is Baghdad‘ (Klicperová 2012, Přežit Baghdád)

The location is also sometimes offered as an explanation for certain kinds of behaviour seen as inevitable associated with it:

‘However, we are in South America. Within two years –according to official statistics alone–the export of shark fins has risen from half a tone to 200 tones, and keeps rising sharply every year....I hope it is not necessary to add that the control over the observance of hunting limits in Equadorian villages is very complicated. More exactly, there is almost none.’ (Sochor 2012, Žraločí jatka)

Here, being South America provides the reasoning for the inability to follow regulation. Specific places might also have associated problems. Africa, for one, suffers from some ‘classic African problems‘ such as ‘overemployment‘ (Staňek, 2012, Tongové: půl století boje s přehradou)

An elemental aspect of interest was the degree of affiliation with Europe or the ‘Western world‘ in relation to its colonial past, which the specific country of origin of the authors (Czechia in a supermajority of case) did not really share in. (Nor any of the state formations it had been part of before its emergence).

The authors generally seem to be accept and recognize many of the cruelties and misgiving of the colonial regimes. As an illustration, let us use an example from *Mugabeho samota*.

‘Great Zimbabwe came under British control and the entire colony was named after Cecil Rhodes, the leader of their expansion – Southern Rhodesia. The racist administration could not possibly admit to the possibility that the alleged savages could have built such large structures as Great Zimbabwe. For that reason, some experts considered the builders to be the Phoenicians, Arabs or the subjects of the Biblical queen of Saba. Due to some shards from Chinese porcelain, they were willing to argue that it was constructed by Chinese masons. All of this just so that the, from the oppressor’s arrogant viewpoint, ‘incapable negrs‘ could be denied the possibility of the existence of state formation capable of

exchanging pottery for gold and ivory with the far east via Arab and Swahili traders.' (Nidr 2012, Mugabeho samota)

Yet there are appear to be little attempts on the part of the authors to somehow distinguish themselves from this association, despite its negative connotation. Upon observing Vietnamese villagers at work, the same author states:

'With a certain degree of shame, I feel like a white colonist.' (Nidr 2012 Ryzova plavba)

Explicit affiliations are then made with colonial exploration, which is considered primarily a scientific and adventurous exercise and does not appear to be in any way connected to the colonial practice.

As an example of the sense of legacy, when writing on the exploration of the table mountains in Amazonia, the authors present a chapter titled 'A long history of conquest':

'That there are table mountains in the hills of Guyana, which are virtually impossible to climb, became known in Britain in the first half of the 19th century...A truly respectable and directly scientific character can then be fully ascribed to the report of Robert Schomburgk and his brother Richard, Germans in British service, from their journeys in 1839 and 1939...' (Plešinger 2012, Ztracený svět - Tajemství nedobytných stolových hor) The author then presents the exploration carried out by his team as a continuation of this scientific process.

The fascination and affiliation with colonial exploration are also revealed through some direct comparisons and identifications. For example, upon freely driving through Tanzania on a motorbike, one author explicitly comments:

'We are enjoying it and feel like David Livingstone' (Vaňková 2012, Tanzání na motorce)

The above examples are supposed to document that the authors therefore place themselves firmly within the European colonial (and post-colonial, of course) community of travel, exploration (and metaphorical conquest), and, primarily, knowledge. While the easiness with which this is the case might be slightly surprising, this situation is far from unexpected. Yet, it is worth confirming that this form of knowledge community exists within the discourse, before getting deeper into the analysis. At any rate, it will be discussed later in more depth.

An important aspect of the travel narratives is an interconnection between the author and the reader and their sharing of identity. While the authors use categories to designate themselves or their homelands, it is important that they include their readers within such identifications. In order to confirm this point, let us consider some explicit examples. One of such would be direct calls and appeals to the reader for common action, such as:

"Within fifty years half of the overall size of Boreno's rainforest has disappeared. If we do not stop it, within the next thirty years, the rest will disappear as well." (A.Pospesch, 2012, Hulmani v mlze)

Another author is even more direct in this appeal to mutual action, after describing a ritual which might appear ‘naïve to our eyes’, he uses first person plural: *‘let us be tolerant.’* (Lemberk 2012, *Erotika na hrobech*) The author and the reader are in this instance told to have common experiences through which they look at cultural practices.

This is further amplified by occasional switching of the narrative into second person plural and the replacement of the protagonist with the reader.

‘Today, you can start conquering Dominicana from here’ (Budínský, 2012, *Dominikána: lék na zimní splín*)

Some authors use this form of intergation by turning readers into participants more regularly, by describing the impression from an event in the second person plural, such as *‘When you go..’* and *‘when you wade up to knees in water’*. (Jůnek 2012, *Zapomenuté Bénoue*)

The substitution of the narrator for the reader is used to demonstrate the affinity between them through which the experience of the reader, who shares the author’s identity, would be more or less equivalent to that which the author had themselves. This idea of the common position of the writer and the reader during the writing on other spaces is important in the consideration of implications of the analysed discourse.

4.2. Direct representation

One of the key issues in representation of other places and peoples consists in direct representation through quotation. While no regular pattern could be determined in the frequency and presence of quotes (Articles from both the developing and the developed World would number varying amounts of notes, including none at all, depending on the individual style of the author and the exact topic of the article), certain regularities can be found in the way the quotations have been used. This is especially important in the considerations of the degree of activity or passivity participants take within the narratives and their relevance as agents.

An important feature of the articles concerned with the developing countries is one-line quotes with very simple messages.

‘It was obvious that a ceremony was coming. “Paje` Takuma, the great shaman from the neighbouring village, has invited us and you to a Kuarup” stated Aritana simply.’ (Zelený 2012, *Mrtví odcházejí*)

The quotation here is a direct aspect of the narrative and if it was replaced with simple reported speech or even said with the author’s own words, the difference would be little. One line quotations are also used to illustrate already explained points to provide them with extra authenticity. This extract is preceded by an explanation of elaborate forms of greetings among the Dogon people:

‘ This complicated greeting is an effective bonding agent in a society built around mutual assistance in inhospitable conditions, where it is crucially important to find the time exchange greetings

with your neighbour. As Mamadou remarked: "When one day the Dogons stop hailing each other, it will be bad." (Svobodová 2012, Hvězdní dogoni)

The quotation comes after the main point has been made and closes the given thematic group. While it is not true that it does not provide any new information, it serves more as an illustration than a substantiation of a statement, which is a frequent characteristic of such short quotes.

This illustrative nature is especially poignant with quotations which do not have a direct attribution, either belonging to a group, or simply existing on their own:

'The majority of the people whom we encounter try to arrange a taxi for us. "It is too far, you can't walk there" say almost all the Palestinians after we familiarise them with our plan' (Kalát 2012, Hyena v posteli)

This quotation as presented as a direct quote, despite being an aggregate of a sum of likely different statements, but it is adjusted to the purpose in order to fill a role in the narrative. Let us consider some more examples of the atmospheric role of short direct quotations:

The needs of the tourists are reflected in the mantra of the barkers, who shout : "Tuktuk, motorbike, accommodation, lady buch buch! (possibly bang bang, in English)" (Petr 2012, Krok stranou)

And

There can be no illusions about some original forms of lifestyle, as it all rather resembles one huge tourist attraction. "Amigo, won't you buy a woven sweater? C'mon Amigo!" (Horváth 2012, Páchnoucí Titikaka)

In these instances, as well as in countless others, the quotes enlighten the narrative by providing alternative forms of storytelling, but they are by no means platforms of representation, since they are not attributed to a specific person, nor were they spoken towards such a purpose. The quotations therefore primarily form a part of the environment rather than providing the reader with specific views presented by local participants. The choice of quotes is adapted to the form and flow of the narration and does not represent fundamental pillars around which the text would be structured.

While this form of quotation is prevalent, it is not the only one. A special position is sometimes reserved to 'guides'. These do not have to be guides in the literal sense, but rather persons who act as a fundamental link to the visited place. These persons are often afforded both longer and more numerous quotations.

"Firstly, statues of the divinities are removed from the village temples and are placed into wood carved litters" Sudzan, a youth who firstly thoroughly showers me with an orange powder, in order to assume the role of my guide, explains.... "You should have seen it before" says Sudzan. "Only a few years ago, there were thirty-two litters! That really was quite a scuffle. In the end several groups of litter carriers got in a fight, so the village council decided to reduce the number of litters to sixteen," he explains. "Watch out," he interrupts the exposition excitedly "The litter with Ganesh is just arriving from Nagadesh!" (Thoma 2012, Oranžový rej duchů)

Here, the guide is seen as providing information and explaining things to the author, even though he simultaneously still serves the purpose of enlivening the narrative by describing what is currently happening to the reader.

The most profound example of the use of the guide as a permanent feature of the article would be *Lod', která se plaví za svobodou* by Diana Mráziková, where Elimine, who acts as the author's guide is afforded 25 full sentences of direct quotation (some of which have multiple clauses), usually in chunks of 3-4. Another form of attitude towards quotation are direct attempts at emancipation of particular individuals or groups, whose voices and personal stories are a particular focus of the article. This is way in which quotations are used is to specifically provide a platform from which the participant can address the reader. This form is very rare, but is featured prominently for example in the articles by Lenka Klicperová from *Lidé a Země*, whose work primarily focuses on the lives of third world women. This includes some of those who would have never been given a chance to speak to a European reader otherwise, such as Omzina, who works as a taxi driver in Baghdad:

“I drive through two main routes, I have my clients, but I do not get out of the car. It's better now, they even know me at the checkpoints, but the first day, when I sat in taxi for the first time – it was terrible. When I started announcing that people can get in, they laughed at me. In the evening, one person stole everything I have earned. I was so desperate that I had to start laughing over what I am doing,” recounts the mother of six' (Klicperová 2012, *Přežít Bagdád*)

In this manner, a local participant has been enabled to tell a sizable portion of her life story, which would otherwise not have been told. Of course the inclusion and interpretation of the quotation is still largely up to the author, and is used for a particular purpose, but a portion of the monopoly over the production of text has been given up in favour of someone else. This provision of space mostly relates to the telling of personal life stories, but sometimes even enables a certain degree of reflection and assessment. The following quotation is attributed to Mahjan from Kabul.

“Many men think that if they don't beat their wife then they are not real men. It is also the problem of those women who silently endure this. A women needs to create her rules. However, in our society, men govern everything. They often don't even permit their wives to visit her family. And if by any chance she committed something as terrible as adultery, the husband will slit her throat,” Mahjan performs the clear gesture.' (Klicperová 2012, *Talibánu navzdory*)

This quotation serves as reflection on the social situation in Afghanistan from the perspective of this woman, while simultaneously it brings a new topic into the article – female adultery, which subsequently becomes the central point of the next paragraph. Such a system of quotation, however, usually requires a conscious effort to provide a platform to individuals the author particularly seeks to emancipate.

Articles on the developed countries, when they feature quotations, never use the one-line atmospheric quotes dominant for the developing world. Reflection and opinion on the current situation a site finds itself in are rather common occurrences, even when the participant is otherwise (aside from the quote itself) unimportant in the narrative.

“The extraction brought a lot of job opportunities, the young no longer have to leave Hammerfest. Aside from them, considerable profit flows into the city coffers from the taxes: We have built kindergartens, repaired the roads. The extraction should continue, of course, in accordance with stringent security considerations.” 30 year-old Ovid expresses his opinion’ (Hupka 2012, Hammerfest: město probuzené ohněm) This citation is Ovid’s only engagement with the article, does not appear before or further, yet is afforded such a lengthy quotation by virtue of being a local inhabitant.

Inhabitants of the advanced nations are also frequently provided increased space within articles explicitly dedicated to the developing countries. For example, in the article *Disneyland podle Hizbaláhu*, which is concerned with the provisional war museum in Beirut run by the Hezbollah, where ‘Alex from Montreal’ gets to voice his opinion at length:

“In America and presumably also in Europe exists a clear view on the situation in the region. Israel is in the right and Hezbollah is evil, just like Hitler or Stalin. I came to make my own opinion. I got a job in Beirut and moved here with my family. After more than a year of living here, I must say that the reality is much more complicated than the media would have us believe,” says Alex...’

The director of the museum, however, only gets to say three sentences in quotation.

The proverbial cake would likely go to the article *Ztracený čas kaváren na Montparnassu* about Parisian coffee shops:

, ...waiters in white shirts and bowties will serve you oysters prepared at the fish bar right by the entrance to the restaurant (La Coupole). “Often we have here a very important clientele, especially actors, for example Angelina Jolie or Jodie Foster,” says the manager, Alexandra Rohr. “A few writers and professors come here too, they usually have their favourite table, but it is not much of a literature cafe anymore,” she admits.

“I like Coupole, I have my peace for writing here and the waiters don’t hustle me. But we all like different cafes. These days many writers go to the cafes in Saint-Germain-des-Prés, because they usually live someplace nearby. Publishers also settle there and it is livelier overall,” thinks the writer Gill Ben Aych. Painters may have moved more to the quarter near Bastille, but is more diverse these days, artists no longer congregate so much,” he adds. (Jelínková 2012, Ztracený čas kaváren na Montparnassu)

Quotations here serve as the principal sources of information and to complement each other in providing the reader with a more complete picture. The narrative is built around them as the main points of interest. The same situation exists throughout most of the article, where the author rather retreats into the background and primarily allows the participants to speak for themselves, of course in response to questions which have to be posed to them.

One important qualification needs to be made here, yet again. It is not the purpose of this section to argue that authors produce such discursive pattern intentionally or deliberately. The point is certainly not to criticize the work of the travel journalists as such (or rather, at all), but rather to point out certain discursive patterns which are of significance to the issue of representation. Even though authors of the articles often specialize in particular regions and are therefore likely to have the necessary language

qualifications, language might still serve as an important factor in the decision on who to quote and whom not to, both in terms of the knowledge of the author as well as the prospective participant. It is likely that participants from the developed world are more likely to speak the language which the author is familiar with. The role of language should not be overstated though. Partially, because of the aforementioned specialization of authors in particular regions. Secondly, the authors often tend to make use of guides and translators on their journey (for example, the quotations presented by Lenka Klicperová have been obtained through a translator), yet these are rarely explicitly used towards that purpose. Thirdly, it still does not explain the instances where western travelers are prioritized over local sources of information.

It does not really matter what the precise reasons might be, the bottom line stays, there tends to be a limited possibility for the local participants to speak out for themselves and interact with the Czech reader on their own terms. At any rate, while the authors are likely not to reduce the space provided for various local participants and their opportunity for self-representation both through the quantity and length of quotations and the importance these are attributed as part of the narrative, they (with the notable exceptions in mind) usually make no effort to bring such participation up to par with their counterparts from the developed world either. This saved space is then usually filled up by the author's own words, often by lengthy expositions.

4.3. Exposition and truth statements

While much information on the cultural background, historical developments or recent situation in the developed countries is provided by local sources, either through the form of direct quotations from current inhabitants, academic authorities or deceased scholars and intellectuals, or referenced in one way or another, in the spaces identified as developing, this function is often taken over by the authors themselves through the form of expository passages. These are often long paragraphs on the history and characteristics of the place obtained through sources which have not been specified. While the information has been likely obtained from sources either local or literary, such as academic works of western (or not) historians or other available sources of knowledge, these are not really used to substantiate these otherwise rather authoritative claims. The expository passages establish a very particular kind of relationship between the author and his objects. This kind of exposition also uses a very particular kind of modality – ‘truth’, which constitutes all of the provided information as truth statements based on objective knowledge, rather than personal and subjective perception.

Let us turn our attention to a few examples, in order to make clearer what is being spoken of.

This passage comes from the article for Koktejl called *Pocta nedotknutelným* about an encounter with Dr. Pathak, a local campaigner for better sanitation:

“For readers who are not familiar with the situation in India, it is necessary to make a small detour. About 160 millions of untouchables live in India. They are hereditarily condemned to perform unclean labour. They remove deceased animals, incinerate corpses, clean the sewerage, but primarily they empty toilets. A majority of Indians still has owns toilets comprising a simple bucket. Early in the morning you can encounter men and women carrying four-sided containers. They have been doing this

for over 1500 years, that is, since the caste system was established..." (Březina 2012, Pocta nedotknutelným)

The paragraph then continues to explain how the untouchables are discriminated about in all aspects of life, such as access to temples or sitting order in schools. The author could not have possibly acquired all of this information by direct observation, unless he is over 1500 years old and frequently attends Indian schools. All of this information must have come either from some specific local or international sources, none of which are identified. Instead, there apparently exists an unquestionable compilation of data on the visited place, which the author has access to.

This unrestricted access of truth is well distributed amongst the authors of geographic and travel articles. Another example I have selected comes from the article *Tanzánií na motorce* by Lenka Vaňková and follows immediately after a chance encounter with an albino man.

"In Tanzania, there live about 200 thousand albinos. They certainly do not have easy lives. They are frequently targets of attacks or are being killed during ritual ceremonies. In many places in Africa, it is believed that potions made out of the blood of albinos can ensure luck and wealth. Even though it might sound unbelievable, this belief has remained until today."

Since the narrative does not depict any encounters with such practices, the author is re-using some form of obtained knowledge, passing it off as a truth statement, which could be applied not only to the country of Tanzania, of which the author has only seen a rather small part (and did not encounter any potion-making rituals), but also to 'many places in Africa'.

Such long passages of explanation do not feature in the articles on the developed countries, especially not on the European or American ones, where information is either attributed to some source or derived from the direct experience of travelling. To a large degree, this makes perfect sense, since the authors likely assume that the reader already has substantial background knowledge on such spaces, but may lack most if not all knowledge of their own when it comes to the countries of Africa, Asia, or the native cultures of Latin America. While in the case of the developed nations, the reader's knowledge might come from a wide range of sources encountered throughout the course of entire life, including a sizable degree of personal experience, in this instance, however, the authors take it upon themselves to singlehandedly provide all information they deem relevant through several paragraphs of their text, which changes their position from 'pure' travel writers to public educators.

The expository passages are frequently concerned with cultural or historical specificities, by virtue of which the author takes over the role of a social scientist, or at least a public educator on the relevant topic.

'On the eight Thursday after Easter, Christians across the globe celebrate the Corpus Christi.. Because this religious festivity usually coincided with the period of the summer solstice – an important centre point for all animistic peoples – the early years of the Conquista saw a permeation of the customs of the native Americans, African slaves and the Spanish colonists. However, due to political dominance, catholic priests forcefully twisted the pagan mythology of the spirits, demons and sacred places and incorporated it, with different meanings, into the Christian theology. . The ritual worship of natural

forces turned into an allegorical struggle between God and the Devil, good with evil, in which God always triumphs and the Devil is defeated,' (Sochor 2012, Tanec d'áblú)

or

'The axis of the religion of the Indians (the Corra) is composed of four elementary gods. The principal being is called Tayau, ("Our father", in the language of the Corra) who is personified by the Sun. Tayau constantly journeys across the skies and on midday sits down on his golden throne. The second pillar of the universal unity is Tatei, the mother goddess, Mother Earth. Tamutzarama, the goddess attributed to the Moon and the corn serves as the third principal divinity. And finally, the fourth, comes Tahas or Hatzikan, the progeny of God the Father and the Mother Goddess, the messenger of all gods and the protector of mankind. He is often referred to as an 'elder brother'. Armed with a bow and five arrows, every morning he kills Cucu, the black snake, so that the Sun can provide light to mankind. To the Indians, Tahas is the syncretic image of Jesus Christ' (Sochor 2012, Kde se rodí démoni)

In this instance, the author acts simultaneously as a traveller, a historian, an anthropologist and a religious scholar, providing information far beyond the scope of his physical experience. He further continues with the description of the celebrations in the Atenqueza village and its ritual significance. In case any of this knowledge came from local sources, it has been absorbed into the authoritarian scientific game of the traveller, who reserves the right to make truth statements regarding the history and cultural habits of the people he had set out describe to the reader. Information about the developing places therefore does not come from them, but originates with the author and is superimposed on the location.

It is certainly not the case that the authors would be unfamiliar with the idea of providing reference for information used in their text. Jan Sochor, the author of the previous extracts, uses at another instance, in a different article what appears to be a rather genuine attempt at a discussion of sources:

'Although the majority of available research documents the connection between the pre-Hispanic rituals of death with today's cult (of Santa Muerte), some Mexican authors strongly disagree with this interpretation. Katia Perdigón, an anthropologist, argues that the Aztec roots of the cult of Santa Muerte, and of the November day of the deceased, have been invented by Mexican intellectuals. In their attempts to strengthen the idea of 'Mexicanism' they looked for any common features with the native American culture.' (Sochor 2012, Svatá smrt)

Here, at least one of the relevant sources has been identified (Katia Perdigón, a Mexican anthropologist) and the issue remained open to interpretation. It is important to note, however, that it was never particularly important for the content of the article in the first place.

Let us consider a final example, from the article *Erotika na Hrobech* by Vladimír Lemberk. It focuses on cultural peculiarities of several native tribes on the island of Madagascar. The following passage refers to ritual practices related to care for the deceased:

'Respect for the dead is also apparent in the customs known 'dressing up the dead' or famadihana. This custom, performed due to hygienic concerns during the dry periods in June and July and popular especially among the Merina tribe in Central Madagascar, is probably the strangest ritual on

Madagascar, from the perspective of a European. It is essentially a ritual exhumation, performed when the ghost of the dead visits one of the bereaved and expresses an intention to return into the world of the living. Sometimes, the ghost also might also complain that it feels cold, and demands new clothes...The mpanandro seer determines the most suitable date and hour of the ritual and the local administration issues a special permission. Before the ritual, emissaries are sent to the grave to inform the deceased that 'their clothes are to be changed'...It is therefore no sad occasion. On the contrary, cheerfulness and joy dominate the famadihana, everyone is glad that they have been given the chance to meet with their deceased ancestor...At the designated time, the cleaned remains are re-inserted into the family tomb and the deceased returns to the world of the dead." (Lemberk 2012, Erotika na hrobech)

Overall, this particular paragraph includes 21 lines of a vivid explanation of the form and purpose of the ritual; only in order for the author to say at the beginning of the next paragraph that

'Personally, I have never seen this strange ritual.' Which means that all of the information provided must have come from other sources. If any of this information has been obtained locally, the sources have not been given the chance to speak to the reader on their own behalf, even through a simple identification of their contribution. This further festers the impression that knowledge is something that 'the western traveller has' about 'other places'. Of course, it is perfectly possible that the author may have purposely decided to explain all of this information himself in order to lend extra credence to the explanation provided by the locals by showing himself to be onboard with their interpretation, such as by presenting the communication with the deceased as a normal thing. It presumably presents a more dignified picture than simply saying something along the lines of "well that is what they believe". Yet, such explanation would also confirm that the author is conscious of his supreme position of power over his imaginative geography and intends to keep it, which prolongs the power-disbalance in the long run and confirms the local populations as passive and dependent on his interpretation.

Now it might be useful to reiterate the basic argument of this section. It is not my point to argue that articles written for geographic and travel magazines should be transformed into dry scientific articles, lulling their readers to sleep with an unlively structure and a rigorous system of referencing, which eventually sucks all joy out of the travelling experience itself. Firstly, it is not a point of this thesis to propose improvements for the writing of such articles, since that is overwhelmingly beyond my qualification or ambition. The main point is different though. If the authors of such articles move beyond a 'mere' transmission of their immediate experience of travel (which is of course still beset with countless complications, many of which are discussed within other sections of this thesis) towards the 'education' of their readers on both general and specific information relating to the places they visit and serve as experts on the particular location, it is important to be aware of the dangers of such an authoritative platform. Primarily, it confirms the vision that 'other' places are our domain of knowledge and are here for us (or the authors, in this instance) to talk about, analyse and describe and evaluate as if that was an essential prerogative. The provision of references in academic works is an important element which renders the text to potential scrutiny and to a critical reading, and puts the author's work into perspective. In the instance of travel articles, it also puts certain constraints on the author's monopoly of meaning and interpretation, where it is present.

Not all of the analysed articles are affected by this feature to the same extent, even though it is a very dominant element throughout the discourse of the magazines, and it is important to consider those least affected, if only to provide a useful comparison. After much searching, I have identified Tereza Hronová's article "Kruh bídy" (Circle of poverty) in *Koktejl* as the example which most diverges from this tendency, in which it remains quite solitary. Information presented in this article comes either from direct observation, as in the following passage

"10 year old Rathana, together with his only a little older sister pushes the salt into wicker-made scuttles. They make use of a piece of wood, which serves instead of a scoop. They do not have any gloves nor shoes..." (Hronová 2012, *Kruh bídy*)

This is a prevalent form of information transmission done by the authors in all instances and takes the form of a direct narrative, where the author describes unfolding in front of their eyes, or, more likely, their interpretation and perception of these events.

Another way in which the article substantiates information is by providing a quotation by either local or international sources:

'Until recently, one of the largest scrapyards in Southeast Asia had been located right in the middle of Cambodia's capital Phnompenh, by now, however, it has been moved out of the city and access for foreigners has been prohibited. Other than that, however, nothing has really changed. "Many children still work there, including the very little ones. They don't weigh much and can climb the mountains of garbage with ease," forty-five-year-old Heang, who herself makes a living by gathering and sorting junk, explains.' (Hronová 2012, *Kruh bídy*)

It also employs the most essential form of referencing by pointing towards a source of information, such as *'according to the statistics of the International Labour Organisation, child labour affects almost 45% of children younger than 15 years of age.'* (Hronová 2012, *Kruh bídy*) The recognition of sources provides the reader with an important element of perspective on the information provided to them. This is, however, virtually always absent within the expository section of the analysed articles. Even the article by Tereza Hronová, here used as an example of an important exception in this regard is not completely free of such tendencies, for example in its closing sentences, which read: *'If this country starts to develop and grow in wealth, there will likely be less children who spend their childhood in brickyards, slat or rice fields...It also holds that a studying child significantly contributes to such development, whereas a working child obstructs it. And not only in Cambodia.'*

This last part of the article is based on assumptions not presented anywhere else in the article and represents a truth statement based on an outside knowledge which the author feels is not necessary to substantiate or reference, even though it represents an important piece of information on 'how things work' in other places.

There are other instances of information being attributed to local sources, but this is often of very limited significance, as mentioned in the previous section. Among the articles frequently using information provided by a local source instead of an extended exposition, I would like to highlight the article *Lod', která se plaví za svobodou* by Diana Mráziková.

'Many questions were stirring in my mind, but I was in luck – Elimine spent the entire day with me and kept explaining everything to me' (Mráziková 2012, *Lod'*, která se plaví za svobodou)

From this point on, the author presents a lot of information provided by this local source, much of which is served through direct quotations, often of considerable length. Interestingly, much (actually, all) of this subsequent information is also taken at face value, which is extremely unusual for information obtained from sources within the developing spaces, and it is not even that common with regard to participants from the developed countries, whose views are often presented as legitimate and educated opinions, but opinions nonetheless.

Overall, however, the tendency towards exposition is very dominant within the articles on the developing places, often rivalling the extent of the personal narrative inherent to the genre of travel writing, and sets a very clear power structure between the author and other participants in the articles. This is very similar to the effect recognised in the section on direct representation, since these are closely connected. It also significantly affects the perception of local knowledge capacities. It is important to stress here that my argument is not that geographic and travel magazines should start referencing every piece of information presented in them in an academic fashion (which is also far from perfect), but rather to point out what sort of effect does the particular attitude to information and use of modality have on the position of the author vis-à-vis the places they write about, and also on their position towards the reader, who receives the information presented.

4.4. Linearity of achievement.

The standards accepted by the authors as 'their own', mostly referred to as 'European', always appear to serve as the highest ultimate level of achievement.

If we consider the example from the chapter on identification, where the author spoke of a cultural border between Europe and Asia, the article further reads:

'In Iran, there is order and tidiness and most things work with practically European quality, In Pakistan, everything is governed by a true Asian chaos' (Březina 2012, *Divokým Balúčistánem*)

Not only is European quality a trademark which signifies that things work the way they are presumed they should work, it also signifies order and reason, as opposed to Asian chaos.

This notion of hierarchy appears in various forms. Upon describing an encounter with a trio of PKK fighters, which surprised her through its civility, an author states:

'It could be said that it was a very seemly conversation almost on the level of a debate at the Faculty of Philosophy (of Charles University in Prague)'. (Klicperová 2012, *Kurdky s šátkem I kalašnikovem*)

This sets up the standard of the Faculty of Philosophy as an achievement which is being striven for in terms of civility and intellectual prowess. In this form of comparison, if any subaltern entities reach a level considered adequate or good by the observers, it stops being part of the original place and are considered as belonging to somewhere else. (e.g European quality)

The ability to lead to engage in a discussion is connected with another important point – Reason.

The existence of reason on the side of the authors and their identities features in a multitude of examples, of which I will present several.

'We come to the meeting place to reunite with our carriers. Why there is only a half of them and why the particular half which carries our food in their backpacks has gone on ahead, that is beyond the limits of the reasoning of a white man. We rather turn to focus on the beauties of nature. (Jůnek, 2012, Nejvyšší hora Západní Afriky)

The ironic statement implies that a behavior which is illogical – half of the baggage bearers with food departing, leaving the travelers hungry is incompatible with the thinking of the white man, although it is within the competence of the local baggage bearers. A key logical implication that arises from such a statement is that being a white man makes a person immune from nonsensical behavior.

The author is also said to possess a 'critical Western mind', which provides him with skepticism and restraint. (Březina 2012, Pocta nedotknutelným)

On the other hand, unreason or lack of reason are the characteristics of the other places. We have already mentioned the 'Asian chaos', but there are other examples. Upon being stopped by a policeman demanding payment over what the author claims to be a non-existent offence, she asserts that *'Reasonable conversation is impossible'* (Vaňková, 2012, Tanzanií na motorce), which she attributes to the officers' desire to get money.

While describing some of the rituals of the tribes of Madagascar, another author states:

'Perhaps a little naïve, funny, in our eyes, but please, let us be tolerant. (Lemberk 2012, Erotika na hrobech)

The seeming craziness and lack of expected order does not carry only negative connotations but sometimes acts as a source of genuine fascination and joy, as when an author affectionately refers to a Nepalese celebration as a 'Crazy whirl' (Thoma 2012, Oranžový rej duchů)

On the other hand, inhabitants of the developed world share in the culture of reason, which is sometimes explicitly highlighted, such as when it comes to the Norwegians in the article *Hammerfest – město probuzené ohněm*.

'The truth is, the northerners are not used to do anything rashly and without due deliberation.' (Hupka 2012, Hammerfest: město probuzené ohněm)

This 'truth' is not really a result of some systematic observation on site, but instead is invoked as an explanation and justification of some actions taken by the Norwegian government.

It must be said that the issue of reason only appears several at occasions in such explicit forms, and especially the attribution of un-reason to the inhabitants of other places is not very frequent. The assumption of the possession of reason on the part of the traveler, however, exists throughout, primarily through their connection with science.

The magazines show a great focus on religious festivities within the developing world as the main attractions, which is understandable due to search for the exotic.

Science remains one of the fundamental aspects associated with categories of the self and which are considered as part of the domestic space. The articles in the geographic and travel magazines frequently feature articles with explicitly scientific objectives, such as *V zatopených jeskyních mayského podsvětí* about a research of Czech speleologists. References to science, however, can be found throughout the articles. In *Parfěmy faraonů*, the author discusses the extent to which the existence of various ancient smells has been ‘confirmed by science’ (Horváth 2012, *Parfěmy faraonů*)

The focus on the relevance of science is sometimes contrasted with the traditions of indigenous populations in the developing countries, such as in Nepal, where Himalayan tribes near the Dhaulagiri mountain engage in ritual drinking of yak blood:

‘Although the benefits of (drinking) blood are not substantiated by any scientific research, this event occurs several times a year and is very popular with the aboriginals.’ (Ašennbrennerová 2012, *Himalájští pijáci krve*)

Science and ‘civilisation’ can be directly contrasted with religion, establishing a division between the cultural formation represented by the author and local populations.

‘Even Miga, our guide, swallows papers with prayers instead of medical drugs in order to get better. Surprisingly, he appears to be healing’ (Vičar 2012, *Mongolskem na koni*)

The local entity uses prayers instead of what the author considers ‘normal’ or expectable behaviour – use of medical drugs. The fascination with the apparent healing is then based upon a ‘surprise’.

The expectation that the coming of western influence brings a contrast between traditional religions and modern science is also evident in the description of the life in (apparently not only) Benin:

‘The world of Magic is deeply rooted in Africa and despite the coming of civilization, Shamans hold great power over all mortals in this part of the world.’ (Kubeš 2012, *Byl jsem prokletý*)

As the world of magic is rooted ‘despite’ the coming of civilization, the presumption is that the coming of civilization would be expected to usher in its end.

The affinity for science is also manifested in the assertion of the curiosity and the will to knowledge of the European subject also manifests in the relationship towards nature and history. For example Jůnek states in *Nejvyšší hora Západní Afriky*, after presenting an impressive list of endemic animals concludes:

‘It is impossible not to look forward to the results of the biodiversity research, which the ecologists Ondra Sedláček and David Hořák started on the southern slope of the volcano in November 2011.’ (Jůnek 2012, *Nejvyšší hora Západní Afriky*)

Interestingly, the author is not merely voicing his personal excitement at the biodiversity research, but by claiming that ‘it is impossible not to look forward’ to it, the author constructs the fascination with a

scientific study of biodiversity as something the readers must inevitably understand and share, because not to look forward to it would be doing the impossible within the cultural formation both the author and the reader are understood to be a part of.

It is, however, possible, when you are part of the local populations of the developing world. Another chapter of this thesis deals with the lukewarm relationship of certain domestic populations towards their natural (relates mostly, but not only, to sub-Saharan Africa) and cultural (relates especially to Northern Africa and the Middle East)

Of particular interest is the appropriation of the term ‘civilization’. Whereas in reference to the past, it is not uncommon to encounter multiple civilizations, such as the ‘Mayan civilization’ or ‘Egyptian civilisation’ in reference to the present, the choice is rather narrow. Civilisation in reference to the past implies tradition and in the sense of the present world, civilisation is directly opposed to tradition, such as in the following example:

‘Satellites, accumulators and solar panels glittering in the south leave no one in doubt that civilisation has come even here. In contrast to that, the interior (of the yurt) is still organised according to tradition’ (Vičar 2012, Mongolskem na koni)

Here civilisation is constructed primarily in the form of modern technology. It is interesting that civilisation has a progressive spatial mobility, since it ‘has come even here’.

“Whale-fishing village of Lamelara is no small romantic hamlet, but a rather sizable village, where traces of penetrating civilisation were rather noticeable. There was already a small stand selling cigarettes, beer and basic necessities.” (Lichtag 2012, Soumrak lovců)

‘Penetrating’ civilisation further emphasises the dynamism of ‘civilisation’, this time including also elements of infrastructure. There is currently only one ‘civilisation’ within the discourse of geographic and travel magazines, sometimes explicitly specified as ‘Western civilisation’. This reference was made about the Massai in Tanzania:

‘External signs of western civilisation have reached these people in the form of digital watches and t-shirts’ (Kolman 2012, Masajský šerosvit)

Civilisation therefore has external signs, which represent the aspects and products of industrial lifestyle.

‘Western civilisation’ is also contrasted with ‘tradition’ and ‘religion’ in the article *Život Indického teenagera*. (Kovářová 2012, *Život Indického teenagera*)

The spreading of civilisation forms as part of a natural progression. An author makes this observation while visiting a Kazakh village in northern China:

‘From time to time, a motorbike passes by; it is not absent at any Kazakh yurt. The modern age cannot be stopped!’ (Mikoláš 2012, *Život v nájmu*)

The modern age is symbolised by the motorbike, which is seen as an active agent of modernity – the bike passes by, not a person on a motorbike. Another author makes this claim about the bazaar in Kabul.

‘Of course, progress cannot be stopped! The 21st century has reached even here – you can buy a washing machine, a microwave or a mobile phone.’ (Gill 2012, Dobrodruhem v Afghánistánu)

All of the mentioned technologies were, of course, invented in the 20th century, but the main point is that time itself, here again represented by technologies developed in Europe and Northern America, has the capacity to pass through spaces. What triggers the comparison is rather the feeling of resemblance with European shopping places in terms of content, which makes this place appear ‘up to date’. Western civilization, with its industrial and technological achievements, and time are to a large degree the same thing in the relation to other places.

Civilisation, technology, time, they all appear to be moving through places at different rates yet with merciless inevitability. This inevitability is also represented in the ways in which European standards are understood as a logical historical progression. This is best exemplified in an interview with Emire Kahadayer, who employs this evolutionary narrative when she speaks about the state of culture in Egypt:

‘The European society is much further ahead in its progress. Therefore, we cannot expect a society (of Egypt), which still deals with the questions of human liberty and individuality or existential issues to care for other cultures for any reasons other than economic.’ (Valtrová 2012, Arabský sen Emire Khadayer)

In this instance, the hierarchy used is explicitly normative, and being ahead means also being better. The evolutionary narrative, as opposed to the previous examples which mostly refer to the evolutionary progression of life in terms of becoming more technological and more complex and the judgements relating to the status of agency or normative quality of different places and their peoples tend to be more implicit.

Within such evolutionary understanding, it is not surprising to find that many places are described and constituted in their relationship to the ‘normal’ places – the homeland of the authors and the readers, as collection of various lacks and absences.

The most striking example could be found in the definition of the ‘African soul’ in *Masajský šerosvit*:

‘Their soul, thank God, has remained purely African. They have no electricity, no running water, cannot read nor write, do not know newspapers or magazines.’ (Kolman 2012, Masajský šerosvit)

The African soul is therefore derived from a lack of features known from the homeland, be it technological achievements or lifestyle habits and skills.

The absences which places may suffer from are various but usually revolve around a lack of technological or civil infrastructure, or systemic features.

In his Interview, Martin Bandžák describes his first impression of Cambodia:

“When we first came here eight years ago, HIV was not monitored here at all, as if it ‘didn’t exist’. There were no doctors, who would know what they are dealing with, there was no treatment, functioning system of testing and identification of the infected. Mortality was enormous. And that propelled us to action” (Valterová 2012, Martin Bandžák: fotit kvůli senzaci? To ne..)

While this certainly provides a partial description, it constructs the place mainly in a lack of features which are considered adequate for purpose – there was insufficient qualification, no treatment, no system, etc.

The logic of absences is also often employed in combination with the language of poverty, such as in the case of the Char islands where

‘missing infrastructure, limited communication, little or no access to markets’ create a *‘vicious circle of poverty’* (Syed Zain Al-Mahmood 2012, Život v Čárech: Zatím nad hladinou)

The system of absences and insufficiency of various societal features is indeed most visible within texts most closely related to the topic of development. In an article named *Circle of poverty* its author provides her explanation for the causes of the continued use of child labour:

‘poverty remains the primary reason, but non-functioning laws are also to blame, the inability of the local persons to demand their rights, and also climatic changes’ (Hronová 2012, Kruh bíd)

Poverty, a lack of material provision, insufficient functioning of institutions and inadequate personal education and initiative are seen as roots of the problem, along with climate change (which implies a lack of agency, but there is no need to press on the point).

A very important form of absence featuring in texts in all of the visited places in one form or another was the feeling of a lack of security, often tied with the issue of poverty. A good example of a perception of deep insecurity is voiced in the article *Tam kde končí Afrika*:

‘Beneath the eastern slope of the Table mountain lies the infamous slums known as ‘quarters’. Thousands of black-skinned wrecks have built a city within a city here out of plastic sheets and cardboard, where the law of the stronger prevails. Streetlights placed on very high columns seem out of place when compared to the surface dwellings. However, their location far from the ground ensures them longer survivability... The only option how to shine at least a little bit of light on a world full of crime. Adam, our guide warns us: “If we get a red light at the crossroad, we cannot stop, or our car would be immediately targeted by the locals”. With a serious face he turns to the driver: “Don’t stop, not even when someone gets under the car. Better to run over one then let them all slaughter us.” (Beránek, 2012, Tam, kde končí Afrika)

The quotations made by the local guide (the only ones appearing in the article) serve to increase the atmosphere of terror in the construction of the ‘city full of crime’ inhabited by ‘thousands of black-skinned wrecks’.

Lack of security, explicitly or implicitly stated is an important feature of many developing spaces. Aside from the example of South Africa, it is primarily dominant in the countries of North Africa and the

Middle East, where AK-47 (or the Kalashnikov) is one of the most frequently appearing entities in the text and people get described as armed, or even ‘armed to their teeth’ (for example Gill 2012, Dobrodruhem v Afghánistánu). Danger is also present in other places, such as the Kenyan city of Marsabit:

‘The city is also a centre of frequent violence and clashes between individual tribes, which compete primarily over trade opportunities, control over desert springs and pastures. Cattle thefts and murders of bothersome members of rival factions are almost a daily occurrence.’ (Houdek 2012, Gabrové – národ odpočinku)

The perhaps somewhat excessive focus on the dangers encountered while travelling (and the descriptions of personal fear) might perhaps be for the reason that it underlines the level of heroism the authors are willing to perform in order to bring their stories to the reader. This would further confirm that places are constructed in a direct relationship with the observer who participates in the creation of their imaginative geography.

There are some very interesting (I would, however, not argue that it is impossible not to be interested in them) implications from these acknowledgements, which need to be understood in the context of another discursive feature. The construction of spaces within historical narrative.

In terms of the spread of consumer culture as an aspect of Western civilisation, an author has this to say about Burma:

‘You get to know an Asian country, which is, compared to neighbouring Thailand or India several years delayed, wherefore there are no crowds of people swarming cultural landmarks, miles of beaches are empty and hotels and airplanes do not need to be booked in advance.’ (Macků 2012, Je čas objevit Barmu)

Time seems to flow through spaces at an unequal rate which accounts for most of the differences among them. Not only do some places seem to move slower through time than others, but some of them are reported to be stuck altogether. This idea is very beautifully formulated by Tereza Šírová when describing the eastern mostly Arabic and Kurdish part of Turkey:

“It is interesting, how in certain places in the world, time stops for thousands of years, even though they are not conserved into museums. A shiver runs down my back, when I realise that the same houses by the dirt roads, same clothes covering the bodies of women tired with labour, same marriage habits function today as they did when forefather Abraham spent his days of preparation and rest in Harran, before his journey to Syria.” (Šírová 2012, Cesta ke kořenům)

It is not my place to speculate on the true extent of social change since the times of Abraham, but this assertion of spaces affected by their relationship with flow of times has interesting implications for the travellers. It allows them to directly observe human history from the present by travelling into places within the developing world.

There are places within places on the road to the past, some of which might be rather small, like a Batak house:

'Upon entering a Batak household 'The doors creaked and suddenly I found myself in ancient times of the cannibals....Everything shimmered with sweat, soot and greased smoke. And in this tropical night, our gentle cook became the pagan mother of all Bataks and glared with satisfaction and sensuality. (Páleníčkovi, 2012, Oheň na talíři)

While others might be big, like the African Savannah:

'I shift my look towards the opposing horizon and imposing panorama of animal life reaches its climax. A giant herd of gnu and zebras trots through the boundless bush in a profound testimony to the magnificence of unrestrained nature. This is how our entire planet used to look like in the past. This is how we all used to live...True Africa remains wild. Only in some places by now...' (Švaříček 2012, Osudová hora)

The 'true' nature of Africa therefore consists of its role as a repository of the past (regardless of whether the statement on our planet corresponds with academic evidence) – Africa is supposed to be like this, it is what makes it 'true'. However, this true essence is under an inevitable assault which brings its destruction, therefore the emphasis on 'remains' and 'by now.'

Places therefore largely exist as points on a timescale and served as windows through which we can, through the physical presence of the authors, directly enter or at least observe moments in our shared past. Furthermore, although this is Africa's role, it is being continuously eroded, that is why 'by now' ("už" in the original) it remains wild in only some places. While places exist which act as priceless windows into the past, or more precisely, where the past exists, they are also subjected to the inevitable flow of time which gradually eliminates such diversity.

While I admit that the term is perhaps a bit of a hyperbole, the authors have essentially helped to create a geography of time travel. Perhaps this achievement deserves a degree of admiration regardless of its problematic implications. This geography is based on an evolutionary understanding of history, where the western civilisation and Europe (primarily) serve as the current endpoint.

While many encountered places are said to represent various points in the human past, none is referred to as a 'place of the future', not even among the developed and wealthiest countries visited. This carries with it the implication that the place of origin of the author, which is overwhelmingly understood to be Europe, represents the present and current pinnacle of human history, more or less the end point of development achieved as of yet. If other places are understood as in the past in relation to the place of origin of the observer, in turn, the homeland of the observer represents the future of the place that is visited, or at least the logical outcome of history the place is moving towards, however slowly.

This is reflected for example in the use of European past as a suitable comparison to the current state of affairs elsewhere. I will present at least one example of such use – the middle ages. This turn of phrase has been used by Prof.Miroslav Verner in his interview for Koktejl:

'Let us hope that the Egyptian government will respect reality and will not drag the country back into the Middle Ages after the fashion of the Taliban.' (Sarvaš 2012, Bojím se o Egypt)

The idea of the Middle Ages as the terrible age of darkness from which European civilization has fortunately emerged is one of the most powerful narrative legacies of the enlightenment and became well entrenched in speech. Here, the speaker directly compares the possible current event to a period in European history, which is meant to provide the listener (or reader) with a useful starting point from which to think about these events. The Middle Ages also appear in Lenka Klicperová's article *Talibánu Navzdory*.

'Untimely marriages, domestic violence of frequently monstrous extent, the criminalization of women for so called moral crimes or punishment for running away from a husband. Not even the Middle Ages in Europe saw such cruel interdictions.' (Klicperová 2012, Talibánu navzdory)

This extract places an imaginative geography of contemporary Afghanistan against an imaginary European past. The idea that the Middle Ages was the time of the ultimate suffering of women, from which point on their fortunes have been rising is a very contentious assumption to say the least, which goes to show that one does not actually need any real knowledge of European history in order to use it as a useful reference point in the assessment of the current state of other places. What is required is primarily a will to affirm the progress Europe is considered to have made through its history. The statement therefore fulfils a dual purpose, the rejection of the problem of rights of women as part of the past in Europe and a simultaneous externalization of the issue by placing it in the contemporary Afghanistan.

Whereas the comparison of the suffering of women in Afghanistan to the imaginary European past comes naturally, likely because that problem is considered as solved throughout the proud course of European history, in other instances, where available and perhaps much more acute comparisons could be drawn, none feature. When Tomáš Halda in *Dvojí hrozba pro Hmongy* states that

'The Vietnamese majority society, same as, for example, Thai society, frequently looks at its minorities as inferior and sometimes even with disgust' (Halda 2012, *Dvojí hrozba pro Hmongy*),

the comparison is kept local and does not draw any available links with the continuously problematic relationships many European states, including Czechia might have with some of their minorities. Even more glaringly, when Tomáš Jůnek speaks of the lives of the albinos in Cameroon, he asserts that:

'In different areas of the world, this disability brings varying fates. In Africa, where prejudices and superstitions impact on human lives to a significant degree, their lives are more complicated for it.' (Jůnek 2012, *Předpeklí albínů*)

In this instance a European white man attributes Africa with a special tendency towards prejudice and superstition. While there prejudice and superstition affect people's lives to a significant degree, it follows that in places which it was compared against, these features affect people's lives to an insignificant degree at most.

In this manner, problems which European society still profoundly struggles with are being externalized as the property of 'other', less developed places.

This evolutionary understanding of history and human society certainly has rather darker moments, which push the evolutionary narrative to the extremes. In his article tellingly named *Lidé z pravěku*, Radek Borovka makes this observation of the tribal community of the Hazda people: ‘*They used their teeth to tear the largest bits of flesh from the skull’s cheekbone. The atmosphere of this feast resembles, more than anything else, a situation when you throw a banana to a horde of baboons.*’ (Borovka, 2012, *Lidé z pravěku*)

If anybody thought that the old fashioned comparison between African populations and monkeys was a thing of the past, they might want to think again. At the same time, it would be rather unfair to blame the author for such comparisons, because they are simply a variation on the same evolutionary theme. This more menacing form of historical evolutionarism is also voiced by Jůnek in *Což takhle dát si dibi*, where he firstly describes the dibi as local speciality much favoured by the Senegalese. Later in the story the author endeavours to make a purchase of dibi, which, however, he and his team find too chewy to eat. After going to bed hungry he muses: ‘*What I would give to have a jaw of a Neanderthal.*’ (Jůnek, 2012, *Což takhle dát si dibi*) While one of the rules of discourse analysis is that no quotation should be considered self-explanatory, it might be useful to reiterate that the implication emerges that if the local food is too chewy for the European traveler, and in his opinion is more suited for the jaws of a Neanderthal, the local inhabitants who favour the dish are likely to bear some features of the latter.

Again, I would like to stress that this should not be considered as some form of damning evidence regarding the personal beliefs of the author involved. It is far more likely that this comparison was intended as joke, in order to enliven the narrative. Of course, ridicule is one of the most significant forms of intellectual violence and much attention is devoted to it, for example, in Said’s *Orientalism* (see the relevant chapter for details). We are, however, more interested in the content of the utterance and the framework in which it finds itself. It is a variation on the theme of linear history and development, which in this instance happens to be framed in a rather Darwinian imagery.

Another variation on this narrative of evolutionary growth, and one which explicitly interested the authors of post-development, is the understanding of social and cultural hierarchies through the process of the maturation of the human body: from children to adults, and especially the relationship between ‘children’ and ‘parents’.

On an explicit level, this has been part of the Czech discourse as well, demonstrated for example by the assertion of Václav Foit that “blacks are like children”, through their curiosity and tendency towards playfulness, highlighted in Michael Borovička’s article *Africká inspirace českého sochaře*. As the comparison to children has become very problematic over the years, it is not surprising that it does not explicitly appear in contemporary articles, where the authors understandably make more effort to polish their writing of such blatantly patronising language. It did, however, appear in an interview in *Lidé a Země*, done by Veronika Valterová, where Radana and Jan Dungelovi refer to the Amazonian Indians as being ‘a little bit like children’ due to their lack of reliability and unconcerned attitude. (Valterová 2012, Jan a Radana Dungelovi: *Cesta do hloubi vlastní duše*).

The post-development critique did not, however, concern itself with this comparison because of some explicit comments of such kind, but rather due to the perceived attribution of child-like features to

the inhabitants of the underdeveloped spaces (especially in terms of their capacity to provide their own guidance) and the unequal attitude to the value of knowledge possessed by both parties, as well as the perceived infantilisation of the developing world by placing increased emphasis on children in media coverage.

The Concept of knowledge as uniformly emanating from one direction appears in articles and interviews connected more directly with the topic of development.

As an example, in his interview for Lidé a Země, Martin Bandžák, a photographer and founder of the organisation called 'Magna Děti v tísní' (Magna children in need) presents pretty much exactly this kind of informational flow. He asserts that his organization *"trained" local doctors and his system of projects seeks to 'create a working system', which can then be 'passed on to local authorities'*. (Valterová 2012, Martin Bandžák: fotit kvůli senzaci? To ne...) It is a rather classical example of development project which comes in with an idea over which it negotiates with the local administration, attempts to train local workforce to maintain the designed system, to lead it through a process of maturation and subsequently leave it in place, having provided the local population with the necessary knowledge. Of disappointments he has experienced over the years he says:

'In this line of work, disappointment usually comes while dealing with bureaucracy. Agreements, contracts with local structures, everyday you deal with paperwork. Not all doctors, hospital or administrative personnel are helpful. And everything takes very long... Sometimes, it is a question of months before they accept us. Constant bargaining over agreements and the breaches of agreements or failures to fulfill them on the part of the local structures also complicates the work of our teams in the terrain and frustrates us. But the patients always give us new drive and energy for our work.' (Valterová 2012, Martin Bandžák: fotit kvůli senzaci? To ne...)

In this extract, the 'local structures' serve as a permanent source of obstruction in the development work, and not all of the local inhabitants are said to be on board with the project. The transfer of knowledge (as well as the process of development itself) is therefore contingent on the persistence of the development worker, rather than on the interest on the local.

But it also appears elsewhere, as a reflection on the observed situation in a place. As a suitable example, in the Senegalese village of Kayar, where, after encountering and consulting a member of a local initiative for the rehabilitation of the community, she contemplates:

'In Senegal, I have heard a number of stories which made me both laugh and cry. I know, I have to pass them along, because thanks to these stories, people in the developed countries can learn more about Senegal and perhaps help it. Tourists can spend their money here and others might be willing to share their know-how, to share their experiences with the locals, show them, how to do certain things more effectively and productively.' (Mráziková, 2012, Lod' která se plaví za svobodu)

This assessment is particularly interesting, because while Elimine, a member of local NGO who acted as the author's guide throughout the article and provided her with much insight into the topic, explicitly mentioned that they are 'looking for investors', who would help them renovate the village, not once did he or anyone else mention the issue of knowledge, or know-how (or at least it is not mentioned

in the article, despite extensive space provided to this participant in the form of quotations). Yet, the author presents the flow of knowledge.

Furthermore, the theme of a parental relationship towards the developing spaces was expected to include a deliberate infantilisation of the concerned places through an excessive concern of children as participants, excessive appearance of entities representing children and especially the focus on their suffering. This certainly did not prove to be the case, as entities of children (either children as a group, or individual children) never outnumbered other participants, with the exception of the article *Kruh bídy*, which is explicitly concerned with child labour in Cambodia (it does, however, still include plenty of other local entities, for parents of individual children, adult workers and representatives of local NGOs) and a distinct focus on children is notable in an interview with Rastislav Maďar, a doctor and founder of the organisation ‘International Humanity’, which specialises in care for children. Children also feature prominently in an interview with Martin Bandžák (whose organisation is aptly named ‘Magna children in need’ after all), who, through the course of the interview asserts an explicit focus on children as part of his work. (Valterová 2012, Martin Bandžák: fotit kvůli senzaci? To ne...) At any rate, these three cases of an article and two interviews do not appear to have significant discursive reflections in the other analysed texts.

4.5. Time to mourn

While the destruction of native communities under the heavy boot of homogenising civilisation has been time and time again confirmed as inevitable, this does not mean that it is perceived as uniformly positive. The authors are frequently very vocal in their expression of regret towards the perceived elimination of indigenous traditions and desire to postpone it. We have seen this in the case of Africa, which remained ‘wild, now only in some place’, the case of the Gabra and of the Masai, whose ‘soul has thankfully still remained purely African’ and elsewhere. This desire appears strongly connected with a desire to maintain these cultures as valuable insights into human history, as well as the idea of a romantic place where the overwhelming pressure of the western lifestyle does not reach, largely because escape from this pressure is one of the key motivations beyond travelling.

The sense of mourning at the passing of the indigenous cultures, which are assumed to have remained unchanged for prolonged periods of time (often of seemingly arbitrary length, preferably since ‘the old times’) is concisely captured for example by the following passage:

‘Some images, however, remain, like postcards from the past, painted with different, perhaps prettier, colours: A young villager takes a furry yak out for grazing and exchanges glances full of love with her child clinging onto her back. After a moment, the mum puts it on its feet on the edge of a newly built road. It is one of those, which bring the world into the lost places, in order to slowly take away their beauty and peace.’ (Petr Hupka 2012, Na návštěvě u lidí I)

It speaks of a slow destruction of a community which seemingly has all the simple joys of life, such as parental love, yet it is being slowly consumed by the outside world, same as many other places are across the globe, or were in the past..

It would be tempting to argue that the authors mainly regret the departure of indigenous cultures as their objects of fascination (such as a source of good photographs and interesting stories), rather feeling a genuine sadness at the elimination of a cultural formation, but this would not be accurate.

While to some authors such instrumental thinking could perhaps be attributed, it is hardly the norm and some of them directly reflect on their own role in this process.

In his article *Soumrak lovců*, Lichtag describes a situation when a number of European conservationists arrived at the village of whale hunters the author came to write about. Their desire was to change the habits of the community and end the custom of whale fishing as the primary source of provision.

‘and so they managed to split up this formerly close-knit old fisherman community.

When we considered the impact of the ideas brought by conservationists-entrepreneurs from Europe, we realised that we are actually invaders in equal measure, since we have also sneaked into their lives without invitation. That was the reason why we then swiftly packed up, said our polite goodbyes and disappeared from their lives for good.’(Lichtag 2012, *Soumrak lovců*)

There is strong acknowledgement that civilisation in the sense understood by the authors comes at a heavy price, which we have no right to exert on anyone at the expense of their happiness. While this feeling of responsibility surely comes from genuine affection, it is, however, strongly connected with the aforementioned topic of evolutionary growth, where ‘our’ civilisation (should we chose to call it European, Atlantic, Western or industrial) provides its inhabitants with the ultimate knowledge as well as the burdens of responsibility for others. The local populations, be they Massai, Gabra or Polynesian shark hunters are in the position of the children, whom the authors would like to shield from our burdens, since once they get fully in touch with the world at large, they will find themselves on the painful path towards becoming like us. The inevitability of this process is indeed what makes the incursions by foreign travellers into the traditional communities so dangerous to their survival.

If we combine this with the sense of inevitability of the eventual triumph of market economy and industrial technology, it emerges that the discourse voices the same kind of slight envy which adults feel towards children, for whom happiness comes from much simpler enjoyments of life, those which the adult, with all his worries and responsibilities, can simply no longer enjoy. While the industrial way of life may not actually be considered ‘better’ in all instances, or somehow socially superior, it still remain more powerful and advanced, wherefore it always naturally brings the destruction of more primitive forms of life, even though these might have initially provided more happiness.

Therefore, there remains little the author or the reader can actually learn from such visits, except that perhaps they might make a feeble attempt to rekindle the simple person in them and be able to worry a little less. This phenomenon, however, further confirms the problematic implications of this evolutionary perspective. While some spaces might provide us with a ‘postcard from the past’, they are incapable of devising any kind of future of their own. The past is what defines them and with its

departure, they will lose their identity and become absorbed within the wider global culture, where they will understandably start in the weakest position. If all the qualities of the developing spaces, and their positive differences, which the authors present as significant, are remnants of the past, sooner or later to be replaced by the encroachment of western civilisation, it becomes impossible to expect any positive contributions towards a meaningful future. The best that can be achieved is a mere delay of the inevitable.

4.6. For the money

The theme of material profit over natural or cultural considerations has also been touched upon in the previous sections, but it is worth exploring in more detail. The perceived constant desire of the local population to acquire material wealth at the expense of the authors-travellers seems to be rather particular African feature. Let us consider some examples, such as from Lenka Vaňková's article *Tanzánií na motorce*. After having been stopped by the police, on what the author sees as an unreasonable charge, she continues

“we are mzungu, whites, in which the officers see their chance to cash in. (original formulation “vytřískat”, essentially means to batter money out of someone or something) Reasonable conversation is impossible, therefore we only bargain about the size of the “fine”. (Vaňková 2012, Tanzánií na motorce)

While the main message here is that the locals' desire for money trumps the proper exercise of the law towards white visitors, it is also of particular interest that 'reasonable conversation is impossible'. The pursuit of such unsavoury profits goes in fact so far as to defy reason itself.

As this particular story continues, one of the travellers forgets his camera at a local snack bar, of which he informs its owner, after some moving around, the owner takes the traveller to another establishment where they confront the persons who has appropriated it in the meantime. The author then continues with the narrative

“Of course, the boss had not done this out of the goodness of his heart, he demands baksheesh of 6000. He receives two thousands and we can finally get on our way.” (Vaňková 2012, Tanzánií na motorce)

As we can see, it is not necessary to be an expert on people's motivations in order to know that this act could not possibly be done out of the goodness of the heart, which carries a strong implication that in Tanzania (or all of Africa), all acts of goodwill must necessarily be economically motivated.

The use of the word bakshees is also interesting, because it appears more frequently within the articles. It is of ancient Persian descent and refers to charitable donations made to beggars, but later became adopted as a word for various forms of patronage given by the powerful in exchange for negligible services as a show of greatness. While the complete origins of the word may have been largely forgotten by its European users, it still refers to a distinctly oriental practice in which excessive sums are given in exchange for disproportionately minor tasks.

All of the identified elements can be corroborated with further evidence from the articles. Let us consider this extract from *Africká gotika*.

'A big concrete board in front of the first building brings attention to the UNESCO protection of the site, but the crowd of encroaching saleswomen and begging children did not even let us read it. Here, it is primarily about business. One could not speak of any form of taboo, respect towards a nation and its customs, because this crowd let loose does not care for anything other than immediate gain. (The original formulation reads "a crowd torn off from its chain", which has some very unfortunate connotations both in terms of its animalistic implications and a possibly unwitting reference to the practice of slavery; it is also, however, a rather common Czech saying in reference to people devoid of their reason⁴). Fetishes in front of the house interest no - one, take a photo; whatever you'd like, just pay. There are no other restrictions. Primarily, it is important to take out some money; tradition will come after the pay. Instinctively, we looked for the chieftain, who could perhaps tame the unruly mob demanding baksheesh' (Kubeš 2012, Africká gotika)

This passage takes further the idea of an absence of reason of the local populace when confronted with the vision of a possible quick gain. The lack of reason regarding financial matters should not be considered in isolation with the perceived irregular working ethic associated with the populations of the developing nations, again, especially Africa. This topic is addressed in a separate section.

Upon finding the chieftain, the story continues

"Do you have a present for me?" he (Antoan, the chieftain) asked without hesitation. Immediately we paid his tax of 2000 CFA (roughly 80KC – about 3.00 Euro). Antoan smiled for the first time...' (Kubeš 2012, Africká gotika)

This section further confirms that money is supposed to be the ultimate source of happiness. In the same article, the author sums up his view by stating that

'In Africa, a person quickly learns how to prevent their purse from bleeding.' (Kubeš 2012, Africká gotika) Even though the expenditures encountered by the travelers are minor compared to daily expenses for daily existence in Europe, the 'bleeding purse' creates a powerful image. The African suffering of the purse carries on throughout other articles as well, such as in "Nejvyšší hora Západní Afriky":

"Agreed. Immediately each of our purses is suddenly lighter by 56000 Franks."

(Jůnek 2012, Nejvyšší hora Západní Afriky)

The desire for money has become the presumed primary objective of the local inhabitants, at least when dealing with foreign travelers.

"During a walk through the city, an older ragged man hangs onto us. It is obvious that he wants money." (Pešková 2012, Ostrov hudebního boha)

⁴ Possibly derived from a biblical reference to a madman chained to a pole who broke free and caused considerable chaos

Interestingly, this insistence on the obviousness of money as the motivating factor for all behaviour towards the travellers appear rather contradictory to a broad affirmation of the general kindness, helpfulness and goodwill show towards travellers by local populations virtually regardless of location. The same is expressed in this article itself, where in the author's own words the locals are

'kind, friendly, willing to help. They are keen to stop walking while on the stress to speak to us and ask us how we like the island or where we are from....They are glad if we occasionally try to use some of their words in Swahili. A greeting or a thank you is enough, they will appreciate it.' (Pešková 2012, Ostrov hudebního boha)

Despite this assertion of general kindness and good will, acts of begging, cheating or extortion are suddenly seen as typical and natural in this environment to the point that it is obvious that actions must be economically motivated.

The orientation towards money is also shown in the descriptions used towards the encountered entities and the adjectives being used, such as 'greedy driver' (Kubeš 2012, Týden pekla na pralesní dálnici)

The theme of Begging and Monetary extortion is not limited to Africa alone, as one example should serve this excerpt from a travel to the Palestinian territories:

"Shekel, dollar, euro..." echoes more strongly and loudly. The crowd demands a reward, but we do not have one. I do not like to support the begging of children...we try to lose them, but they start to be rather intrusive and bothersome." (Kalát 2012, Hyena v posteli)

However, while the desire for money from tourists through all sorts of activities is not reserved to Africa, nowhere else it is given such prominent representation and nowhere else does it achieve such a high degree of expectation and obviousness.

A typically African logic, presented by Jůnek, then involves the system of payment upfront and the provision of service may or may not come later.

Apparently, swindling is another important feature of African life. Upon describing an experience of one such swindle, Pešková asserts *'We are not really surprised'* (Pešková 2012, Ostrov hudebního boha). Furthermore, upon climbing up the supposedly highest mountain in Cameroon, Jůnek comments on his uncertainty on whether they are indeed on the right hill, posing the question *"...have the Cameroonians tricked us yet again?"* Even though actual accounts of swindles are not particularly common among the articles dedicated to African countries, the authors demonstrate a considerable degree of expectation towards such behaviour.

It needs to be stated, however, that while the focus on money largely dominates the discourse on Africa, the magazines also present cases which are meant to run precisely counter to that predominant line of thought. One of such stories relates to the Dogon people in Mali:

“And truly, not a single child reached to us with their hand in begging gesture....Nobody wanted money from us, because the system was designed so that at the entrance to the village Mamadou (the guide) handed the money somewhat centrally – to its boss.” (Svobodová 2012, Hvězdní Dogoni)

While this passage shows a behaviour contradictory to the narrative described above, it still reveals a considerable degree of expectation. The negative formulation (such as ‘not a single child’) reveal what is considered a norm with regard to such behaviour and while this exception is remarkable, it remains an exception explained by a unique institutional setup – ‘because the system was designed so that...’

Some other authors present us with examples of even starker contradictions. This excerpt refers to the Hazda people in Tanzania:

“One can feel an apparent openness, confidence and pride emanating from them. Traits which I admire and value. It is not obvious from 100 yards away that they need to milk the foreigner for some change and that every thing has its value to them. They do not chase after possessions and do not feel the need to own something at all cost. They are not obtrusive and pushy, they respect the word NO. ...Civilisational values matter little to them.” (Borovka 2012, Lidé z pravěku)

This assertion of exception from the conventional view of African populations is also applied to the tribe of Gabra in Kenya.

‘The Gabra are a very proud and confident people...Unlike other tribes, they are not interested in tourists and are virtually immune to the charms of their money...It is true, however, that during our visit to one Gabra village near Kalacha, one woman neighbouring the huts of our informants spent the entire duration of our visit by running around her hut and with inexhaustible energy continuing to shout” Beesse!Beesse!(Money! Money! It might therefore merely be a question of time, when even Gabra communities succumb to the allures and advantages of tourism’

(Houdek 2012, Gabrové – národ odpočinku)

The immunity towards materialism is therefore inherent to an originally African way of life, which stands somewhat contradictory towards the assertion that obsession with material gain is an essentially feature. The greed is therefore not a historical but rather current feature. Moreover, at the end of the last extract, the author muses that it might be the question of time before the Gabra join the rest of the African tribes in falling victims to blatant materialism. This also applies to the Hazda tribe:

‘It is absolutely clear that tourists’ interest in their tribe leads to a deformation and distortion of their original economy based on barter. The bigger this interest will be, the more of various temptations and allures of the modern age will appear. At any rate, I think that so far they still manage to successfully resist and remain their own, true to their values’ (Borovka 2012, Lidé z pravěku)

It is clear that contact with the outside world is going to twist their attitudes, but they have managed to remain their own – so far. If we place it within the context of what we have learned from the discourse so far, the bottom line is that while there are exceptions, they are mostly remnants of primitive ways of life, which are expected to collapse and give way to the culture of materialism.

4.7. A dirty picture

The section on environmental awareness has already touched upon the topic of cleanliness within developing societies. Among the entities populating the developing world of our analysis, those associated with public cleanliness and attitude towards maintenance of public places feature prominently, as well as characteristics related to this topic. Let us consider some of the examples.

We have already encountered the *'sewage, excrements and other organic waste'* (Horváth, 2012, Páchnoucí Titikaka) and other forms of disregard for the everyday environment in the previous section. While this neglect mostly related to the protection of natural environment, the lack of attention to the habitat does not appear to stop there. Lack of maintenance is also an attribute to both urban and rural settlements in the developing world, such as in Cambodia, whose capital city features a huge scrap yard, where T.Petr identified *'a growing stench and thick gutter streams'* (Petr 2012, Krok Stranou), in the more destitute parts of town.

At times, the untidiness of the landscape is expressed in the form of a darkly poetic description, for example as:

'Deep valleys full of rubbish' where 'plastic bags flutter about in the air like huge black birds.' (Kalát 2012, Hyena v posteli) Through such descriptions, the untidiness becomes a rather essential part of the landscape of the visited place.

On a personal level, the perception of dirt and untidiness is also expressed through vocal misgivings of some authors about the state of hygiene on the local populations, most acutely voiced with regard to the preparation of food which the travelers were about to eat (perhaps to demonstrate their devotion to exploration), where 'dirt' and 'dirty' (or other entities associated with a lack of hygiene, such as the presence of flies) frequently feature (for example Jůnek 2012, Což takhle dát si Dibi) A distinctly 'dirty buffet' also hosts the famed cock fights in Haiti. (Budínský 2012, Mužské ego a kohoutí krev)

The list of instances of imagery of untidiness by the use of entities and attributes could go on. On the other hand, descriptions of the developed countries, such as those in Europe or America, do not feature such entities or attributes, despite sometimes dealing with old industrial urban areas (such as Detroit, for example), where such features could be reasonably expected.

The significance of the imagery of untidiness of other places (and their populations) is more fully revealed through statements more directly locating the issue both geographically and ethnographically:

'Palestine truly is a very dirty ('špinavé' in original) place and the Palestinians really do not bother themselves with tidiness.' (Kalát 2012, Hyena v posteli)

In this instance, an entire place (Palestine) can be within the discussed context described as 'very dirty', which makes dirtiness an important feature of its imaginative geography. This is further cemented when the population of the explored place is attributed a kind of behavior which conforms to this image – they do not bother themselves with tidiness. Considering that this is the only characteristic attributed to the group (Palestinians), it is also its most poignant.

Untidiness and affinity for a messy environment can also become an explicit matter of comparison during identity formation and maintenance, as in

'Unfortunately, the majority of Egyptians lives to greater or smaller degree surrounded by rubbish since their childhood, therefore they do not consider their presence as something negative which should be fought against.'

Whereas the average inhabitant of Western or Central Europe in his homeland usually cleans after himself, does not throw rubbish all around and makes use of the extensive network of rubbish bins, the contents of which, thanks to a functioning system of public services, end up in waste incineration plants or managed dumping-grounds. In Africa, this approach is rather exceptional. (Kaman 2012, Vygruntovaná poušť)

While the language of the author is somewhat more careful (by saying 'the average inhabitant', and 'usually' or 'rather') than it likely would have been in the colonial times, the message is rather clear. In Egypt, and in Africa, untidiness is the rule (because the locals grow up in rubbish) and attention to public maintenance is the exception, whereas in Western and Central Europe (which emphasizes the commonality between these two spaces, further accented by their differentiation from other parts of Europe), tidiness is the rule, extending both to the population and the space they claim as their own.

Africa seems to be indeed hardest struck by this vision of a place largely defined by its messiness to the point of conscious and explicit expectations:

'Of course, we are still in Africa, therefore lots of rubbish still lie around in the ditches.' (Jůnek 2012, Zapomenutý Bénoué)

This remark is placed in the context of a description of an approach towards a national park, where the author specifically takes time (and space) to remind the reader of the presence of rubbish as a necessary African feature. The use of 'of course' underlines the natural causation between being in 'Africa' and the constant presence of 'rubbish'. In this instance (as well as in the cases of the other examples included and other which were not), the existence of rubbish is no longer a by-product of human activity which emerges as outcome of various human activities across the globe, but its presence is associated with 'being somewhere'.

It is important to realize that the allusions to untidiness are therefore not so much guided by their objective presence within the localities, but rather by the importance and attention attributed to them by the authors throughout the course of their physical passage and subsequent storytelling.

At the same, the narrative of untidiness does not feature in all of the analysed articles related to the developing countries, and it is not an all-encompassing feature which could be found in all of the texts. The perceived untidiness of the developing spaces rather across the board, spanning Southeast Asia, the middle East, Africa (where it seems to be most at home) and Bolivia is but one link in the attitude on the capacity of the developing spaces and their inhabitants to successfully cater for themselves and their habitat. It also serves as an important element in the author's perception (subsequently relayed on to the reader) and a point of comparisons during the process of identity formation and ascription.

4.8. Nature and culture

'It is time to exchange cultural gems for natural sceneries.' (Macků 2012, Je čas objevit Barmu)

This statement neatly sums up the two main attractions the travellers usually focus on in search of exciting and overwhelmingly positive experiences. This is one feature which the developing places largely share in common with their more developed counterparts. One such example comes from the article *Single jízda po jižním ostrově*, focused on New Zealand:

'The photogenic landscape with steep rocks and waterfalls diving into the dark watery abyss are certainly worth an entire day trip and the journey through majestic Fjordland appears as if from a different world.' (Zemanová 2012, *Single jízda po jižním ostrově*)

However, magnificent descriptions of nature are both longer and more frequent in the descriptions of travels through the developing world, where it seems to play a more significant role in the nature of the travelling experience.

Snigeon described the journey through Gabon as *'travelling through a green paradise'* (Snigeon 2012, Bohatý chudobinec). There are numerous expressions of the similar fashion within the articles, such as *Ostrov hudebního boha* which the author claims to host 'Elysian nature' (note: 'rajská příroda' in the original) (Pešková 2012, *Ostrov hudebního boha*). Tanzania also appears 'beautifully green' (Vaňková 2012, *Tanzanií na motorce*), and the list could go on for long.

Through colourful descriptions, natural entities, such as trees and rocks frequently become active participants assigned their own actions via predication. Sadly, in order to retain the linguistic features, the translation of such descriptions hardly does them justice, but readers are welcome to look them up in the original articles. This passage describes the sight of coastal beaches on the Andaman Islands, which belong to India:

'Tall trees frame the beaches and the trunks of their older counterparts create impressive opaque sculptures on the coast's gentle sand.' (Páleníčková 2012, *Útěk na Andamany*)

Seemingly 'simple' natural processes can leave strong impressions on the mind of the traveller:

Spindrift caresses the water surface, a giant whirlpool spins in the lake and impedes swimming, but these are exactly those moments which remain ever memorable. (Budínský 2012, *Dominikána: lék na zimní splín*)

By acting as subjects of individual clauses, originally inanimate objects start the process of coming to life and engaging the narrator.

This beautiful description by Tomáš Jůnek comes from the article *Nejvyšší hora Západní Afriky*:

not only people, but the landscape itself loses her breath when faced with such scenery. The clear air removes the differences in distance and strips the world of perspective. In front of one, one volcanic slope rises up after another exactly like it has been formed by the magma erupting from the depths of the

Earth. Everything is grown through with a bronze hair of grass, sharply contrasting with crystal-clear blue of the sky above” (Jůnek 2012, Nejvyšší hora Západní Afriky)

Much of the poetry of the description has been lost through my non-artistic translation, but the amount of effort devoted to bringing the African nature to life should have remained visible.

The process of animating nature and making it engage directly with the traveller sometimes takes the form of personifications, such as in the following example:

‘Over at our right hand, we have the massive of Kili, almost as if she mocked us. At this very moment, the peak shows itself in all its glory, free from the cover of all clouds.’ (Švaříček 2012, Osudová hora)

In this instance, the natural element (the mountain massive) is attributed human characteristics by seemingly engaging in mockery and makes not only direct (since we have seen that even before) but intentional interaction with the traveler. The natural beauties within the developing world are very much alive and seemingly engage in a form of relationship with the travelers. This point will be elaborated on further.

While the traveller takes immediate pleasure from the encounter with beautiful nature, the locals of the developing countries do not seem to share such fascination. Not only are they never referred to as taking an active interest in nature, their overall role tends to be more of the opposite.

The following passage is from the article *Páchnoucí Titikaka*, understandably interested in the Titicaca Lake, from the Bolivian side. It is reported to exude a rather unsavoury smell in some places.

‘The problem is caused by sewage, excrements and other organic waste, which flows into the city from the surrounding towns. Nobody takes into consideration the tens of rare species of fauna which live in the lake.’ (Horváth 2012, Páchnoucí Titikaka)

As nobody on the side of the developing country (Bolivia in this instance) really cares for this malaise, it remains up to those coming from the outside to bring this to attention.

Bolivia seems particularly struck by this malaise, when even in a designated ecolodge the situation is rather unpromising

‘Nobody really concerns themselves with ecology here, for example, right behind the ecolodge, we saw some people burning plastic bottles.’ (Roleček 2012, Peklo v Ráji)

Africa is also significantly affected by a lack of interest in nature. The following passage refers to the country of Gabon

‘Because the people of Gabon are mainly interested in the enormous wealth hidden underground (mainly oil and ores), they leave the natural treasures on the surface in peace, for now.’

Here the 'People of Gabon' are presented as very economically minded agents (something which will be later discussed in more detail), whose attention to the 'natural treasures on the surface' would likely be of an exploitative nature. The author then continues:

'...in the recent years, there is even less (of work) because of the limitations imposed on logging, and the local population understands the government's decision for increased forest protection very little.' (Sniegon 2012)

This further emphasises the lack of understanding the local population has towards the protection of nature, likely due to their lack of appreciation for the complexity of the issue.

The comparison between the perceived economic attitude towards nature by the locals in developing places and the curiosity inspiring the Czech travellers is demonstrated in the article *Život pod Afrikou*, written about field research carried out by Czech scientists on naked mole rats:

'Field research of these animals in Africa always raises a big commotion among the local inhabitants, especially in the rather underdeveloped Malawi, where Radim Šumbera started with his now extensive zoological project. He used to pay rewards to local hunters, who shook heads at his activity and could not grasp it. A local village smartie (originally "chytrák", which is a rather informal designation) therefore came to the conclusion that the naked mole rats probably accumulate gold and that the white man found a way to extract it from them.

Unfortunately, this is not the case, yet Czech scientists and students of biology still travel to Africa in order to study these bizarre animals.' (Kott 2012, *Život pod Afrikou*)

While for the local population, an active interest in biodiversity can only be justified by the vision of a profit, Czech scientists and students of biology weight their long journey for the sake of science alone.

All of the mentioned examples construct an impression that there exists some sort of direct intimate relationship between the travellers and the natural environment that they interact with, where the local populations play a rather insignificant role, since it does not understand the poetry and significance of natural beauty.

'After a while in the tropics of Cameroon, you might find that you have had enough of the humidity, moulds, and the population of the Bantu language group. The good news is, you have someplace to escape to. Therefore – let's head up north, to the Bénoué park.' (Junek 2012, *Zapomenutý Bénoué*)

Here, the population of the Bantu group acts as one of the elements which the reader might seek to want to escape from (similar to humidity and mould in its obtrusiveness) and instead seek solace in a direct embrace of natural scenery.

However, it would be too simplistic to argue that the discourse divides the world into the eco-friendly westerners and uncaring subalterns. Much criticism has been reserved for the action of European or American corporations, as an example let us consider the extract in which Jan Sochor thunders against the shark trade organised for profit by firms from the developed world:

“Do the Western environmentalists, mostly youths living in material wealth, coming from countries which over centuries cruelly colonised Ecuador or, today, prevent it from developing with the means of economic and monetary protections, any right to judge the deeds of the poor Equadorian fishermen...? These simple, and unfortunately frequently little informed men will never grow rich from the shark trade... in this complicated and multi-layered story, they only play a marginal role...Who, however, I ask, are those other players, those who truly pull the strings of the business with shark fins? Traders without names, with companies secretly registered somewhere on the Cayman Islands, who do not ask about details, for them, shark fins are just numbers on a screen on a monitor, a figure in their bank statement. Who are those who elevated financial gain to an ultimate value?” (Sochor 2012, Žraločí jatka)

It is interesting that the defence of the actions of the local entities (the Equadorian fishermen) does not consist in the defense of their actions as such, but rather in pointing towards their insignificance and to the real responsibility which rests with global businessman.

It is certainly the case that the authors attribute a large deal of environmental negligence to western entities. What the antagonistic entities have in common with the authors and the readers, who act as the protagonist entities with regard to this topic, however, is not their attitude, but rather their responsibility and capacity for agency. This is reflected in occasional calls to arms by the authors towards their readers in the name of environmental action.

“Within fifty years half of the overall size of Boreno’s rainforest has disappeared. If we do not stop it, within the next thirty years, the rest will disappear as well.....it is probable that virtually every drop of the so-called ‘vegetable oil’ brings with a bit of the destruction of tropical nature. A bit of destruction therefore rests in the hands of all of us and our decision whether we change it or not.” (A.Pospěch 2012, Hulmani v mlze)

There were only two instances in which the local relationship with nature was deemed superior by the author to that of his own or that possessed by ‘Europeans’, from two articles written by Tomáš Kubeš. There he asserts the realness of the natural forces the local shamans can communicate with and when speaking of animistic rituals he argues:

‘Perhaps to us, people from Europe, such rituals may seem meaningless, but those who live in accordance with nature have not lost contact with it yet.’ (Kubeš 2012, Africká gotika)

In his insistence that the local African tribes might possess some superior form of knowledge about the forces of nature, the author remains quite solitary.

The sense of intimate relationship bordering on a romantic or even sexualised encounter reaches its apex through some rather explicit comments. This is the opening paragraph of *Vygruntovaná poušť* and, as yet unknown to the reader, refers to the White Desert in Egypt:

‘It was love at first sight. As soon as I’d seen her photo, I knew I wanted to get to know her better. To spend at least a week in her company and enjoy her through all of my senses. However, I did not want to be a regular customer, who pays for his enjoyment. I had a feeling that I will enjoy her even more without paying. I was not mistaken.’ (Horváth 2012, Vygruntovaná poušť)

While this allegory on the prostitute is the most extreme of the cases of personified relationships with spaces, there are many other, less sexualised by perhaps more romantic examples, primarily dealing with the personification of Africa. These usually look something like this:

'The bewitching and beautiful Africa is also merciless.' (Jůnek 2012, Předpeklí Albínů)

Or

'The relationship with Africa is changing into a beautiful infatuation of a lasting character' (Švaříček 2012, Osudová hora)

It is not surprising that this explicit language is used primarily by male authors, but the overall theme of a direct and intimate relationship with a place through its nature is pervasive throughout the discourse.

A surprisingly similar image appears if we consider the second important aspect, the cultural heritage.

Descriptions of cultural monuments also feature prominently in the articles. They come in more simple descriptive forms, such as the following:

'The giant Shwedagon Pagoda with a gilded, almost hundred meters spanning stupa is the magical centre point of Rangoon and actually the entire country as well.' (Macků 2012, Je čas objevit Barmu)

But also in more poetic forms including personifications and emotional descriptions:

'We saw them from afar. Majestic spires in the middle of a desert, confidently inert and indifferent to events, affairs and people passing their sacred repose. A thousand years ago the same as today. The forgotten pyramids in Sudanese Meroe, in a country resigned to war for decades.' (Svobodová 2012, Ježaté Meroe)

The local inhabitants, however, tend not to show appreciation of historical legacy. This is best recognised by taking a look at the actions of local entities towards cultural legacy. Let us consider an example from the article 'Dobrodruhem v Afghánistánu' by A.Gill for Koktejl. *"The museum has suffered a serious blow during the carnage of the Taliban, when both famous statues of the Buddha in the Bamyán valley were destroyed. In the national gallery, the curators have yet managed to save tens of 'objectionable' works by simply repainting them with watercolours into harmless landscapes; this, however, was impossible to do with three-dimensional exhibits in the museum. Many exhibits have been destroyed and others stolen..."* While we can identify the effort of the curators in the gallery, the impact of the actions done by the entity marked as 'Taliban' seems to be much more predominant. Hostile entities are more powerful than positive ones.

The reported lack of interest in history is later further amplified. After the author provides expository information about the ancient Bactrian city of Balkh, he continues *"Today, they [the city walls] lay abandoned on beautiful plains grown over with grass, where local youngsters prance about on their horses, motorcycles or in chipped Japanese cars. The local youths, whom we have spent some time talking to, know nothing of this past glory. They do not know that the city is one of the oldest in the world,*

certainly oldest in Afghanistan, and that it played a vital role in the region.” While the youths know nothing of their historical heritage, the authors express a direct thirst for historical knowledge: *“We would like to visit other places – remains of the Buddha statues in Bamyan, Band-e-Amir national park, the city of Heart, full of historical sights...”* This comparison, however, does not merely stop on such personal level. More becomes apparent when the author presents his hope of future improvement of historical appreciation in Afghanistan *“We know that it will change. The war will end, archaeologists will come, UNESCO will come, tourists will come, Western money will come. This (Western money) Afghanistan desperately needs.”* The remedy of the unfortunate situation therefore comes from the outside by the physical (or abstract) movement of entities such as tourists, UNESCO (a western institution), archaeology (western form of science) and western money (rather self explanatory, really). Positive attitude towards historical knowledge is therefore something external to the region and remains the propriety of advanced industrial civilisation with its capital, institutions, scientists and active inhabitants, who are potential sources of positive change.

A very similar picture is also provided by Jitka Soukupová in *Sahara: co zbylo z pravěkých rituálů*.

‘However, the attitude of today’s Tuaregs towards pre-historic art is poor, even though it is their cultural heritage. People from the surrounding oases have no interest in the rock art and have never been to the mountains. Only those who work as tourist guides regularly go there with groups of Europeans...The Algerian and Libyan academic sphere also does not bother itself with their national heritage. From 95%, rock art is studied by archeologists from Europe... Therefore Sahara still withholds many secrets, which can be uncovered, if changes occur not only in the political climate in North Africa, but mainly in the attitude of local inhabitants.’

While the most curious element of this extract is undoubtedly the seemingly arbitrary number of 95%, more relevant is the persistent reproduction of a comparison between the locals who are not interested in heritage which should be their (and therefore their responsibility) and the European tourists and researchers, who devote their time to this phenomenon not out of nationalistic pride but because of intellectual curiosity. Variations on this situation are voiced most frequently with regard to the countries with predominantly Muslim populations, in North Africa and the Middle East, but lack of attention or selling out of national heritage is also attributed to sub-Saharan Africa.

By rejecting the responsibility for the discovery of their past, this further cements the position of the author as a representative of both the European community in general, and the seemingly scientific community in particular, to claim authority over statements regarding the history and culture of the visited places and the seeming redundancy for the consultation of explicitly local sources for direct information.

4.9. Maning up

Through the observation of the relevant entities, the research also uncovered certain discrepancies between the roles of men and women in discourse. One of the most significant differences was the perception of the different relationship between men, women, and work. Women are much more frequently described and understood as engaging in work. This does not apply in the countries of Asia,

such as Burma , Vietnam or Indonesia, where both men (for example, men mining sulfur in Indonesia, - Chelebounová 2012, *Sirný zážitek*) and women (Nidr 2012, *ryžová plavba*) are seen as doing work. Also the appreciation of work is seen through designations such as ‘labourious villager’, which the author bestows on communities of farmers in Burmese valleys.

‘Laborious villagers make their living by growing flowers, vegetables, fruits or rice.’ (Macků 2012, Čas objevit Barmu)

In other places, and especially in Africa, the role of women is the primary labour agents rather explicit.

‘We are greeted by manager (woman) of the local community of women who craft baskets out of banana leaves.’ (Staněk 2012, Tongové: půl století boje s přehradou)

This is one many examples in which women act a sort of exclusive workforce of some kind. It would be of little significance of its own, but the role of such observations becomes clearer within the broader context of feminisation of work. Upon arriving to a village of Lamalera in Indonesia, an author makes this observation.

‘It was obvious from the first glance that women have always plenty to do here. They would sweep their clay yards, carry wood, cook and I don’t know what else more.’ (Lichtag 2012, Soumrak lovců)

Upon describing a group of playing children, he continues:

‘Their dads and granddads lied around their ships and kept whale-watch. With the exception of Sundays, they did this virtually every day.’ (Lichtag 2012)

Whereas men spend most of their time lazing around boats, their views have so much work that it is ‘obvious from the first glance’. The interesting point here is not whether this observation corresponds to the observed situation (or permanent situation, considering that the visits are always short term), but that the perception of the division of labour is of such significance.

One author, when endeavouring to describe a Massai shack starts his description:

‘A Massai shack, by the way, built by women, by the way...’ (Kolman 2012, Masajský šerosvit)

Even though the passage is about the description of the Masai huts, the division of labour seems to be a theme of special significance.

‘The boys have taken the animals away for grazing a week ago... Women and older girl start milking the goats and the sheep. Little kids care for the young ones, overnight enclosed in a pen for protection. The new milk can only be poured into the supply containers after the head of the family has tasted it. Throughout the entire time, the man sits in front of the shack and observes the work of the women and children.’ (Houdek 2012, Gabrové: Národ odpočinku)

The article also features a photo with explicit caption: *“When the morning milking and other domestic works commence, men sit in front of their houses and watch how women and children work.”*

(Houdek 2012, Gabrové: *Národ odpočinku*) On this photo a man is sitting in front of a shack, although there is no proof that this picture was actually taken during morning milking and domestic work and not, for example, during a regular afternoon break also described in the article. In this way, the perceived laborious activities of women and a lack of labour by man become key aspects of the description around which the readers can build their mental representations.

Women also seem to be more interested in and capable of positive social progress and improvement, since they are much both individually and as a group presented as innovative agents.

One such example can be used from an article on the Tonga:

Over time the women have learned to negotiate on the price....Despite living far from civilization , the women have-also thanks to the mobile phones-found out the market price of their products . They know that in tourist shops, Mweemba sells their baskets for a price that is at least three times, but sometimes even ten times higher. (Staněk 2012, Tongové: půl století boje s přehradou)

In this instance, the article talks about a group of women workers, so not of all women in general, yet, what is of interest is the emphasis on the recent achievement – they ‘have found’ the prices, by which they showed an enterprising spirit.

As another example, women are also credited with an invention of a particular rowing style in Vietnam. The author describes his boat owner and subsequently places his observation within a wider context:

‘From her smile it seemed that rowing does not require any real effort from her. She has got it well in hand. That is, in her leg, it would be accurate to say. Local women have discovered that moving boats with the use of their weaker limbs requires an unnecessary amount of effort. Therefore, why not use the lower limbs...’ (Nidr 2012, Rýžová plavba)

Not only does this woman engage in her work with apparent joy (which is virtually unheard of with third world men), but women in general are in this instance credited with an important discovery, stressing their creative capacity. Interestingly, another description of the same phenomenon is offered in another article, this time focused on neighbouring Burma:

‘Local fishermen are also rather unique: As the only ones on the planet, they use a particular paddling technique. They have the paddle hooked to their legs and hold it under their knees. Thanks to this, their hands are free to work....’ (Macků 2012, Čas objevit Barmu)

This version attributes the invention of this system to all local fishermen (including, but not limited to women) and even presents a photo of a man using this style. Yet, for the first author, his immediate experience appeared sufficient to draw the conclusion on the exclusivity of women in regards to this invention.

Women also appear to be more involved in direct actions aimed at the improvement of living conditions, as well as exhibit greater success. For illustration, one such example refers to Madame Paul St.Vitus

'Sometime in the mid 90s, when 'Madam Paul St.Vitus, an older Creol woman..., raised her 11 children, she spontaneously started to care for orphans and street children in her neighbourhood. In 1998, at the behest of one of her daughters, she established the Bon Samaritan orphanage.' (Sochor 2012 – Kšefty s bídou, Haiti)

The woman is presented as having achieved (not just attempting) an number of feats, including raising 11 children and establishing an orphanage, and a long history of public service. The article focuses on the problem of orphans in Haiti on a more general level, wherefore madam Paul remains the only notable protagonist

The feminisation of progress is a topic the reader is expected to be interested in, as also demonstrated in *Lod' která se plaví za svobodou*, where the author encounters Elimine, one of the founders of a local community Katoul Organisation.

Women are also more likely to be given positive characteristics and empowering traits. This is most profound in the *Writing of Lenka Klicperova* who often provides her women protagonists with an air of dignity and recognition.

'I am heading to the Logar Zinat radio, where I am to meet with two local journalists. They come, of course, with burqas, but then they take their burqas down and with remarkable bravery talk about their so dangerous work.' (Klicperová 2012, Talibánu navzdory)

The adjective 'brave' features at several other instances in her articles in connection with the struggles of women. Nataša al-Rádí, who was born a Czech but lives in Baghdad is then described as 'energetic' (Klicperová 2012, *Přežit Baghdád*)

A strong sense of acknowledgement is also found in the description of a Kudrish fighter:

'Soon, three black-haired women dressed in green uniforms enter the room. They put their Kalashnikovs in the corner and we all observe each other. However, especially the oldest of them affects all of us with her personal aura. She has a noble face, which betrays years of a hard life in the mountains, but also emanates peace, intelligence and wisdom.' (Klicperová 2012, *Kurdky s šátkem I kalašnikovem*)

This is not restricted to this author, however, other articles highlight women as *Cesta ke kořenům*:

In a shop with Arabic clothing and scarves we meet a beautiful Arab-woman Camille, dressed in wine-red abaya embroidered with glitters, which crackle melodically while walking...Camille has a strong leather belt around her waist and her mouth full of beautiful straight teeth is decorated with a friendly smile. Camille never learned how to read or write, because a school for girls only opened in her village in 2005...during the season, she helps her father in the souvenir shop, where, through her dealing with tourists she has learned the basics of six languages! (Sirova 2012, *Cesta ke kořenům*)

The use of attributes and adjectives is more common and frequent in reference to women than it is to men. In another, example, a fiale karate fighter from Gaza, whose story plays a prominent role in the article *Breakdance v Gaze* is described as a 'charming karatist' (Whereas Mohammed, who is also

depicted an an agent attempting positive social change is simply a 'breakdancer from Gaza')(Break Štuková 2012, dance v gaze)

Dignified descriptions of women are sometimes also provided by male authors, such as in *Předpeklí albínů* where the author describes a woman whose family he stays with:

'She can be about forty. Hard labour at the family farm forged her body into a single bundle of muscles, sinews and bones, covered with a parchment of bronze skin..' (Jůnek 2012, Předpeklí albínů)

While the descriptions of women and their involvement usually revolve around being empowering and respectful, they sometimes take a more sexual charge.

'A young woman of the Damara tribe sits next to me and reveals a smile full of little white pearls...actually, she is a babe. With features of a European woman with a light brownish skin, large dark eyes and a slightly broader nose. A slender and tall woman with firm breasts, over whom many plastic surgeons would would admire the work of mother nature.' *"If I stayed here after dark, If fear I would have to get married in the Epupa village.'* (Jaronek 2012, Hovory H)

The sexualisation of local women can also be seen in *Krok stranou*, where the author observes the talks about the nightlife in the Burmese Capital (both through observation and exposition), in order to assert:

'Night is the time of Khmer amazons who spin the white men's head'. (T.Petr 2012, Krok stranou)

Women and their lives are also more deeply explored within the texts usually by making them local VIP's

'Young Josephine approached us at a monastery in a neighbouring village. She invited us to her family house. She was proud that she could translate for her parents what the foreigners are saying. She showed of her school grades and her textbooks. One of the best students in the district...! with certain difficulty, we explained to Josephine where the Czech Republic is located. A journey to Europe, albeit brief, was one of her goals. The current situation in the country is not very favourable for her dreams.' (P.Zouhar 2012, Sýrie se bouří)

Woman Josepfine occupies only two paragraphs within the article, we get to know more what she is like through adjectives and attributes then is the case with anybody else in the articles, although some male entities, such as businessman Wadah who act as participants over a textual space free times the size of hers. We learn that she is young, one of the best students in the district, as well as what her desires are and how these relate to the current state of Syria.

Women are given more extensive descriptions and overwhelmingly positively loaded attributes, in which they differ from men who tend not to be spared some rather coarse descriptors from time to time. Through these features, there also appears to be a heightened positive interest in women.

If we leave aside the slight propensity towards sexual objectification, which is somewhat ambiguous, it must be asserted that disrespectful or derogatory language towards women does not exist in the analysed discourse. I can only speculate on the extent this has to do with thorough editorial work.

In comparison, subaltern men seem to take the back seat in the process of improvement of local communities, and are also frequently seen as working exactly in the opposite direction, being the problem rather than the solution.

One of the features through their presence differs from their counterparts from the developed world or even from the women of the developing world is a decreased presence of positive attributes and an increased amount of negative descriptors in terms of appearance or personality. One such description of appearance for example relates to a Bolivian farmer Cristobal Colquechoque: 'He is approaching sixty. This appearance is dilapidated, his teeth yellow from the constant chewing of Koka' (Nidr 2012, Lamy v klobouku) The impression the man made on the author is one thing, however, for this negative description to become part of the property of this entity in the text is a matter of decision.

Sometimes, the attributions are even more apparently a matter of interaction and perspective. While visiting a fon's birthday in Cameroon, one traveller is said to have come under verbal fire from a 'hysterical old man' ('Děda' in original)

Another author, when travelling to a smuggler's market in Pakistan, encounters whom she claims to be a 'slimy fella', not to mention that her soldier-guide appears to be 'very untrustworthy' (Foffová 2012, Na pašeráckém bazaru)

Occasional slips of language into more colloquial forms are sometimes also related to entire groups of subalterns, undifferentiated by gender, such as when a man who got almost run over by the car transporting the author in Což takhle dát si Dibi, is referred to as a 'type' (týpek, originally) (Jůnek 2012, Což takhle dát si Dibi), bystanders and observers in Týden pekla na Kamerunské dálnici are identified as 'rubbernecks' (čumilové, originally) and other instances. This may even apply to activities they perform such as in Pocta nedotknutelným, where the author asserts that 'Half a billion of Indians shit outside' (note: in the original it reads 'půl miliardy indů kálí venku', the possibility cannot be excluded that what I determined as use of lapse language was in fact an elaborate word joke on the Indian goddess). On an individual level, however, such language of disagreeableness is only reserved for male entities.

The level of disagreeableness is also shown in an author's description of passing through the scrapyards in Burma: 'I have placed cigarets into hobos' dirty paws as a entry fee' (Petr 2012, krok stranou) Not only are the concerned entities referred to as hobos ('Drbani' in original), but they are also in the possession of 'paws', which also happen to be 'dirty'.

The description might even reach a pseudo-poetic degree, such as during a narration of a prayer done for the Santa Muerte in Tepito. The opening paragraphs document the piety of one man in particular: '...The only then left after the man are bloodspills on the ground. Like a snail leaves a dried up trail of slime. The only things remaining are tearful eyes, naked fear and last ten meter to the altar' (Sochor 2012, Svatá smrt)

The male entities, when elaborated on in terms of their physical presence (such as being attributed actions and not just assigned quotes, for example), often exhibit a certain degree of ridiculousness. In such capacity they often serve as sources of comic relief, which is meant to enliven the story (and it must be stated that in most cases, it does this very well) This might start from some very mild examples, such

as when Dinéš, a university student who works as a bartender and appears in *Útěk na Andamany*, is repeatedly explained to use his mother as a primary source of information. (Páleníčková 2012, *Útěk na Andamany*)

Alternatively, a shipmaster on the Kinabatangan river is described as 'so desperate' that he cannot please his tourist visitors that he wildly steered the boat to one shore in order to state: "This is a squirrel." (Bambousek 2012, *Ohrožená pokladnice*)

It is important to realize that I am certainly not arguing that the authors are in some way inventing the events they describe, they do, however, have the authority to interpret them, for example through the use of adjectives and adverbs, which define the shipmaster as 'desperate' and his steering as 'wild'. Discourse is primarily formed by interpretation of experience. Furthermore, the author always makes a decision about which aspects of their journey to include in their narrative towards which purpose, since the set of experiences is probably far larger than the space provided for their description.

But might also appear in more directly confrontational forms as presenting what is seen as acute, if amusing, failures.

'We heard that in one hotel in Omboue, it is possible to borrow bicycles... The hotel steward swore that that the bikes will be available in the early morning tomorrow. They were, however, we still only managed to take of f by noon. When the steward appeared with roughly a 30minute delay and proudly presented his bicycle stand with eight items, from the first glance it was clear to us that none of those bikes can be ridden on. What followed were several hours of patching up of break wires and a desperate search for a hand pump was only solved with the use of a compressor from a car service at the other side of town. In the end, we selected two bikes which we (!) managed to make operational and set off into the unknown.' (Sniegón 2012, *Bohatý chudobinec*)

The comparison is pushed by elaborations such as that the steward 'swore', and the next day he 'proudly presented' his selection, which the traveller recognised 'from the first glance' to be non-functional. Furthermore, in the end, it was travellers themselves who had to correct the error of the local man.

Some examples have been already mentioned earlier, such as in *Njevyšší hora Západní Afriky*, where the author muses over the inability of his baggage carriers to make rational calculations.

Ridiculousness and incompetence also be a feature of important power holders, such as the Egyptian president Mursí, whom an author considers 'without charisma' and incapable and described the contemporary situation with the words 'Egypt does not have a constitution, nor parliament, but a president whom nobody takes seriously' (Spencerová 2012, *Egyptská revoluce v bodě nula*). (A situation citizens of some European countries might find familiar)

Men also frequently appear in the role of outright antagonists within the narratives, both individually and as part of a group. Some examples of this have also been discussed as parts of the other topics, such as the police officer who is said to have charged an author for no reason in *Tanzání na motorce*, or the swindler who tricked the travelers as part of *Ostrov hudebního boha*. That situation is

further amplified by the author's assertion that they have picked 'the one who gave off the most reputable impression' (Pešková 2012, *Ostrov hudebního boha*). This insistence further implicates the other men whom have not been trusted in the expectation of the same kind of behaviour.

Local men do appear as antagonists even in relation to the rest of their populations, which can be determined from the kinds of actions they are attributed.

Two police officers in grey-blue uniforms immediately evict the Burmese in order to make space for us... For themselves, the men of the law reserve the VIP zone at the head of the train, separated by a rope. Just let others squeeze' later through the narrative, the policemen throw begging children and wretched old men out of the train. (Sodomková 2012, *Rangún express*)

The Officers, over the course of their presence 'evict the Burmese', 'reserve a VIP zone' for themselves' and perform other actions not within the immediate extract; they abuse their power. They are also attributed a particular thought – 'let the others squeeze', which the author attributed to them from her observation.

The roles of antagonists are also often played by local politicians and power holders, such as Robert Mugabe in *Mugabeho Samota*, who is for his political purges described as a 'tyrant' (Nidr 2012, *Mugabeho samota*), or H. Karzai, of whom an author says that he has 'sacrificed women' for the sake of his political power. (Klicperová 2012, *Talibánu Navzdory*)

Men as a group are also frequently identified as actively restricting the access of women to modern achievements and forcing them to live in the past while they take advantage of new developments themselves.

'Although the men of the Himba tribe do not honour traditions, wear trousers, shirts and watches, they strictly require their women to follow all traditions. This includes the painful ones, when the most orthodox among them further bend the row of teeth right next to the ones knocked over with a knife and sharpen their points.' (Jaronek 2012, *Hovory H*)

This is a prototype example in which a kind of behaviour is systematically attributed to 'men of the Himba tribe', which is directly oppressive towards women.

In the article *Talibánu navzdory*, the author identifies the oppressive conditions in the country as a 'Dictatorship of the world of men' (Klicperová 2012, *Talibánu navzdory*), which thankfully not all women chose to subject themselves to without a fight, rather than with some alternative significations, such as an authoritarian traditionalism, or anything else. The focus is firmly on the role of 'men'. Virtually never are men seen as taking an active stance against such situations or any such stories explored.

The critical attitude towards the role of men individually or as part of a group is in many ways conducive to the combating of unequal and oppressive power structures which exist in the developing world (yes, it also has them); however, systematic and liberal denigrations of subaltern men are also a common practise of colonial and neo-colonial discourses, and as such act as new forms of (not only)

intellectual oppression towards communities within the developing world, even though the criticisms may have been done with completely different intentions.

This trend towards the undermining of local men should not, however, be taken to apply completely universally, as there are several cases which seem to defy this orientation. The most profound case to point out is that of Dr. Pathak from *Pocta nedotknutelným*. In this article there authors are said to have come across the ‘mission of remarkable man’ whose work helps to ‘humanise all of India’ (Březina 2012, *Pocta nedotknutelným*)

The author then goes on to list the achievements of Dr. Pathak: *‘In 1970 he founded the association called Sulabh International.....he created a “technological revolution”(with his improved toilet)...Dr.Pathak’s invention (note: the second time in which the word ‘invention’ has been used in association with an entity within the developing world) is successfully being spread across India with the help of the activists from Sulabh International. It has already replaces so many bucket toilets that 50000 intouchables can devote their lives to something else then their daily maintenance.’* (Březina 2012, *Pocta nedotknutelným*) Dr. Pathak, whom the author calls a ‘social reformer’ is further attributed with the construction of 3200 public toilets in over 240 cities, and much more. This emphasis on achievement sets Dr. Pathak apart from other entities functioning as local actors attempting improvement, from whom their effort is their main characteristic, such as the ERuDeF, an NGO in Cameroon, which *‘has been trying to establish the (natural) reservation for years.’* (Jůnek 2012, Gorilí mystéria). Dr. Pathak is also afforded an extraordinary space for direct quotations (17 sentences).

“Unlike other bodily functions, like dance, singing, running or martial arts, defecation is considered as something ugly and unclean, which is not to be spoken of in public” Explained dr. Bindheshwar Pathak, a charismatic man in a snow-white shirt. (Březina 2012, *Pocta nedotknutelným*)

Important is also further reflection he has been allowed to make on the state of his work as well as on the society he exists in.

“Neither soap nor shampoo can bring you purity,” he says. “Purity is the state of the soul, therefore you can be pure even even in the case that you come in contact with unclean objects. In modern civilised society, however, nobody should earn a living by carrying somebody else’s excrements on their head....The museum was created in order to show people how interesting and unrightfully neglected aspect of human history this is. Hygienic toilets with flowing existed in Mohenjo-Daro, 3000 years before Christ. So, nobody should be telling me that it is impossible in today’s india.” (Březina 2012, *Pocta nedotknutelným*)

What is especially exceptional here is that while Dr. Pathak refers his efforts to the existence of modern civilised society, he also makes a connection to purely Indian history, making personal hygiene not a matter of the coming of progress of Western civilisation, but is allowed to claim a continuation with a local legacy. It cannot be therefore argued that positive attitudes towards the actions of subaltern men are impossible, even though it might take a considerable degree of achievement for them to earn it.

Another important case to consider is Mr. Aly from *Vygruntovaná poušť*:

“Exceptional, that is also Mr. Aly, one of the Egyptians from the Farara oasis. For a number of years, he had studied in Germany and in Austria and the clean environment of European countries appealed to him so much that he decided to strive for it even after he had returned home. . He decided to change the lax attitude and environmental ignorance of his compatriots by leading by example....He had to work systematically. However, in Europe, they taught him that as well. He started his campaign on many fronts. He aided in the creation of several non-profit organisations, lobbied politicians, created the association Friends of the White Desert. He personally agitated, personally engaged in cleaning up and also became the spiritual father of the yearly event called Desert Cleanup, for which volunteers come from the entire world...” (Kaman 2012, Vygrunťovaná poušť)

The article mentions further other successes of Mr.Aly, attributes him further activities and bestows positive characteristics on him and his employees, such as his “capable team”. Even though the rest of the article concerns itself primarily with the actions of the author as part of the volunteer group during the Desert cleanup, there is no question that it shines an unwaveringly positive light on a local actor and his team. That makes this article part of the small group, which I have decided to highlight. However, there are certain elements which require analytical attention. The cited passage follows directly from the passage presented in the previous sections, about the differences in attitudes between Europeans and Egyptians, which established tidiness and care for the environment as a European characteristic and mess and untidiness as Egyptian features. This is continued in the cited passage, where a ‘clean environment’ is a feature of the European countries and that is where Mr.Aly also developed his views. His European education is therefore directly responsible for his efforts to protect the environment. This is further enhanced through the sentence ‘However, they taught him that in Europe as well.’ Not only does the ability to work systematically come from Europe, but he did not learn it there ‘they taught him.’ Despite Mr.Aly’s considerable personal achievements, in the article he essentially acts as an emissary of European values being brought into practice in an Egyptian environment. This makes Mr.Aly’s position rather different from that of Dr.Pathak.

The last case I would like to consider here relates to Javier Meza pinot a Columbian economist said to be the chief organizer of the projects carried out by ISALP (which stands for Social Research and Legal Consultancy Potosi). He too, is provided with a certain degree of space to inform the readers on the state of affairs in his location (in this instance of the use a consumption of llama meat):

“” Although it has fewer fats and more protein than beef, it has a bad reputation. Spanish colonizers refused to eat it, because that considered it to be the food of the Indians. After the independence, more affluent classes did not want to buy it because of that...People have an excessive fear of the trichinella..”’ (Nidr 2012, Lamy v klobouku)

However, the contribution of Meza is consists not only in the provision of information, but the achievements of his organization are also presented. After a description of a conversation with a local farmer, the author continues:

‘ Suddenly, his face brightens a he starts to applaud the ‘Engineers from the city’, as he call Meza and his colleague. His work goes much better now, he can cut the wool with scissors...Scissors are not the only thing, which ISALP brought to the herdsmen. The chief contribution consists in advice on how to

care for the animals, which can live up to twenty years. For example, the advice that related animals should not be allowed to breed, because subsequent generations degenerate.' (Nidr 2012, Lamy v klobouku) Even though this information is later qualified as having been possessed by the herdsmen in the past but forgotten, this still remains the most successful example of a transfer of knowledge and social improvement achieved within a developing country by only actors.

4.10. Synthesis of research

The primary characteristic found within the analysed discourse was the tendency towards an evolutionary understanding of geography. In this understanding, places are considered under an assumption of a historical flow directed towards the emergence and spreading of society the authors come from, in this instance most frequently referred to as 'Europe'. Not only does Europe exist as a rather solid reference point against which other places can be compared, it also usually acts as a measure of how things 'should' work within human society. Especially, it is understood as a space from which knowledge and innovations, as well as civilization itself emanate outwards, rather than as a place which receives and absorbs knowledge from elsewhere. Europe, or Czechia specifically, embodies various characteristics such as rationality, science, affluence, amiable labour relations and generally good governance. In many ways then Europe acts as a proper state of affairs other places are to emulate. It would be tempting to forge an agreement here with the post-development critique as to the existence of discursive relationship between the identity assumed by the author and those imposed on objects and the hierarchy of development. There are, however, several important qualifications and discrepancies which need to be addressed.

One of them, Europe as a marker of identity is much more powerful than the idea of the 'West' or of being 'developed', even though these also occasionally feature. Together with a frequent assertion of 'whiteness', the discourse on identity seems to be more geo-cultural than geo-economic. Also, while there is an evolutionary sense to geography and history in which progress on a linear scale towards an inevitable convergence on the model of the 'western civilisation', achieved through the presentation of Europe as chronologically ahead of other places, by locating spaces in the developing world as being windows to the past and by presenting the process of 'civilisation' as equivalent with unstopable modernization, the inevitability of this process is more profound than its desirability. The inevitability of the flow of history appears with much higher frequency than the expressive affirmation of the superior state of affairs at the imaginary end of the timescale. So Europe is not considered so much an end of history because of the achievements it has achieved, but the achievements it is attributed (and the hierarchies emerging from them) are to a large degree a product of being ahead in time.

In this sense the discourse shows a greater reflection what Soja has decried as excessive 'historicism' in which space (and places) is considered as a mere environment in which the passage of time takes shape. Of course, in the historicism critiqued by postmodern geography, space often did not feature at all as an analysed entity. This is impossible within the discourse of geographic and travel magazines, since moving through space is an essential part of the travel experience. The resultant discourse then appears as a result of the encounter of the historicist mind with the experience of travel. In this narrative, Time can flow more slowly in different spaces, or can even stop completely, but in the end the progression

of time is always towards the same direction, whereas spaces might be somewhat responsible for the place of departure, they are not capable of creating 'alternative' histories of their own.

This difference should not be overestimated or blown out of proportion, since many of the basic implications remain, as will be discussed.

It does however go a certain way to explain the sense of mourning authors often feel about the departure of indigenous cultures. The pursuit and maintenance of such perceived time capsules has to an extent become an objective of some of the travel writing.

It allows the authors to be more sober regarding the achievements of the 'homelands' and able to point towards some aspects of 'western civilisation', such as its problematic colonial history, or the dangerous power of large corporations and business interests. It does, however, also make the assumed achievements of the European identity even more natural and unquestionable. This especially concerns the monopoly over the possession and generation of knowledge.

The discourse on the developing places, although greatly toned down, therefore seems more orientalist than developmentalist, since its language is more adapted to the grand themes of 'civilisation', 'progress', 'history' and 'evolution', rather than the more technical and goal-oriented discourse of development.

This evolutionary geography puts considerable constraints on the perceived ability of the local entities or the spaces themselves to provide knowledge which would be somehow considered as superior or of profound interest to the European audience, since they essentially represent 'voices from the past'. This appears to be substantiated by the tendency about direct representation and direct access to the reader provided to subaltern entities. Their voices are not sought about due to a profound interest in their opinion on an informational level, but rather as means of making the narrative more lively, effectively reducing them to aspects of the environment. Alternatively, they are approached with a desire to do them a specific favour by providing space for their life stories, which would otherwise be unheard.

The presumption of a historical advantage, as well as the alliance of reason and science endow the authors, and by inference other members of their identity formation with the authority to present and possess knowledge on other spaces, which is shown itself in long expository passages providing information on such places as a matter of fact without providing substantiation through direct experience or by reference to the source of information, confirming a kind of natural right to understand and speak on such spaces.

The evolutionary imaginative geography also endows the authors and their identity group, though their post-materialist attitude, education, curiosity, affinity to science or feeling of responsibility, to claim a more intimate relationship with history or nature (or both) of some of the described spaces.

Combined with the emphasized lack of interest of the local populations in their communal space (such as by not looking after it, or by not working together to improve it), in the nature around them (by not understanding its appeal and existing as passive wanderers throughout the landscape), this often results in a perception that the level of understanding and relationship with the visited place is somehow

greater on the part of the travelling author (and prospectively also other members of their identity group) than on the part of the local populations. This constructs the developing spaces as places of both interest and responsibility to the identity group the authors find themselves part of. The extension of such position to the readers of the articles is perpetuated by linguistic techniques which directly involve the readers in the travel experience, such as occasional substitution of the reader for the position narrator, assertions of commonality or calls for mutual action.

While this discursive outcome was somewhat unexpected, it is not without theoretical precedent.

The chapter on orientalism brings several examples of what seems to be a similar practice of constituting the local inhabitants as unable to appreciate and take care of the space entrusted to them. While the created imaginative geography therefore designates 'our' space and 'their' space, it also justifies a significant incursion into and appropriation of 'their space', mostly by constructing a superior relationship with it and sense of responsibility towards it (such as the rainforests on Borneo, or in Amazonia). This relates not only to the authors themselves, but also to other members of the authors' identity group, such as enlightened European tourists and primarily European scientists. It is further extended to the readers who are assumed to share the designation of identity of the authors and who become involved in this simultaneous sense of relationship, responsibility and authority towards the places they come to read about.

While an author complained about the habits of Asian tourists as a method of the 'marked cornerstone' through, it might be worth considering whether the Czech travel writer is not somehow engaged in an appropriation of space through claims of unique knowledge and relationship with the locality.

An interesting aspect of the analysed discourse is the feminization of agency within some of the developing spaces and an increasing attention devoted towards women. One of the possible explanations would be the Said's assertion to the feminization of 'other' as a means of control and a strategy of conquest (of space and of women). This has found later echoes for example in Campbell's analysis of American foreign policy being constructed as 'masculin', representing the correct form of manhood with the masculinity of the 'other' described as either lacking or hyperaggressive. This has been further analysed by some critical feminist writers such as Iris Marion Young, who considered the violent actions taken by Western democracies towards states primarily within the developing world as a 'logic of masculinist protection' in which 'other' women are presented as oppressed by the 'dangerous' masculinity of the 'other' men, and need to be protected by the gentlemen of the West. (Young 2003, p.3)

It is however not sufficient to explain the phenomenon in merely such terms. While it would help to account for the occasional denigrations of men (especially those done by male authors), but would not fully account for the emancipator rhetoric towards women. In this regard, the discourse of travel writing departs from the expected schema by constructing women not only as primary features of the imaginative geography of the developing world (as would have been the case with the erotisation of the Orient)

The uneasy alienation between the sexualized dynamic of traveling and the drive for the emancipation and distinct (although not overwhelming) strive towards emancipation and empowerment of women entities has several important implications. On one hand, it creates new avenues and opportunities

for the understanding of agency within developing spaces, as well as the attention towards themes development might want to concern itself with. On the other hand, it creates a sense of alienation from subaltern men, who, however, still play vital roles within the developing communities, and without whose inclusion any attempts at development initiatives grounded more in the idea of participation are significantly undermined. If the discourse perpetuates decreased trust and respect for such entities, it puts further strain on this complicated yet necessary relationship. The argument here is definitely not (!) that there should be a lesser degree of interest in the role of women and men should be given more attention instead, but rather that the interest in men.

Now would be a good time to reflect on the state of the hypotheses

1. 'Other' places serve as appoint of difference and contrast and are constructed alongside the identity of the authors

This hypothesis has been confirmed through the relationships places play in the construction of identities of the authors and their readers

2. Entities representing spaces within the developing world will be attributed negative characteristics or be described in terms of absences of good characteristics.

This hypothesis has been confirmed only partialy

3. An evolutionary understanding of history and society will be confirmed

This hypothesis has been confirmed

4. Entities referring to inhabitants of the developing countries are given reduced opportunity to speak to the reader directly

This has been largely confirmed, but there are important exceptions which could serve as points of inspiration

5. Entities referring to people within the developing world will exhibit a low degree of positive agency, or even demonstrate a negative agency within social processes.

This hypothesis has been confirmed partially, with an emphasis on the difference played by female and male entities

An analytical thesis (especially a lengthy one) is also expected to provide suggestions and directions towards possible improvements on the state of the analysed issue. In this instance, this role is rather complicated. Firstly, offering suggestions for possible changes in the habits of travel writing would carry the nonsensical implication that the authors are somehow not good enough in their job. I am not in a position to fully judge the position the authors find themselves in within the journalistic profession and what constraints do they feel are imposed upon them in their work, nor do I engage in travel writing.

It is within my power, however, to provide insights into what would be required to upset or limit the radical disparity of power (primarily over representation), which this discourse appears to perpetuate.

I will attempt to use some selected examples from the articles itself in order to hint at some potential for a practice more fruitful towards this end.

The image of the 'other' places is tightly linked with the perception of the self. To large extent then to question the evolutionary nature of history would mean to question all the progress that European society believes to have done. This is outside of the capability or scope of the geographic travel magazines, not to mention that its practical implications we could not begin to comprehend. There might be, however, several practices through which to mitigate to power dynamics of such understanding.

The primary concern is with the reduction of the level of omniscience of the author. This is meant both personally, but especially, in the context of the membership of the European knowledge community. A first understandable step would be a certain degree of abandonment of the expository natures of many sections of the articles by providing more careful referencing to the information they use as a substitution for personal experience. It is understandable that travel articles will not approximate the structure of a scientific piece; the idea is to open up the text for critical reading as well as to remind the reader that all information 'comes from somewhere'. Especially, the authors could perhaps make explicit notes of information obtained from local sources (as well as increase the efforts to use such sources of information, even if these will have to be presented as personal opinions), and perhaps specifically use them in order to let the place more 'speak on itself' (While keeping in mind the partiality of all such accounts).

One of the ways in which simultaneously the authors cede a degree of narrative power without abandoning aspirations to artistic writing is through the use of "magical realism", of Which Campbell, in his article on the photographic work of Sebastiano Salgado, says "*magical realism seeks to transcend, and to resituate the real as an incomplete and even misplaced account of the totality of life.*" (Campbell 2003, p.75)

One of the way could certainly be to allow local cultural figures more space to make statement of the either to explain their cultural heritage or to make statements of the current state affairs in the place. A good example of this would be in the article *Rangún expres*, where the author provides King Zero (a local monk, who is not physically encountered during the travel) to assess the merits of tourist visits to Burma:

"Foreign tourists in Burma stay in state hotels. Therefore they support the Junta. They feed it with their money. On the other hand, since the country is more open to tourists now, they have the chance to see the lawlessness that occurs here. If they have their eyes open, they can spread the word." (Sodomková 2012, *Rangún expres*)

Local intellectual traditions and mythology can also be used instead of some of the Eurocentric forms of description, such as a description of a mountain formation at the tip of south Africa as resembling 'Neptun's trident', or at least complement them as alternative options for imagery. This would also to retain the sense of the space's individual history, which would not be understood as merely a process of gradual nivelisation. While European or American authors and intellectual get a chance to feature in articles on different parts of the developed world, such as Jane Austin in *Lake District: Kraj anglických románů* (Mudrová 2012, *Lake District: Kraj anglických románů*) or by Honoré de Balzac in *Ztracený čas kaváren na Montparnassu* (Jelínková 2012, *Ztracený čas kaváren na Montparnassu*), artists and intellectuals in the developing world are sometimes acknowledged to exist, such as the Chinese poet

Su Š', who said something regarding the use of wine in China, but the reader never quite learns exactly what it was.

While instinctive resemblances are likely impossible to avoid, it is good to explicitly state that this is a resemblance with meaning to the author and the reader, but not a universally acceptable comparison. A possible example to this would be from the article *Život Indického Teenagera* (Kovářová 2012, *Život Indického Teenagera*), where the author says that the atmosphere in some Indian cities 'resembles' the atmosphere in Europe in 1968, without claiming that these events have common historical significance.

The neglect of male characters within the story and its harmful effects on the perception of these key components of the developing communities could perhaps be addressed by the provision of such entities with greater physical presence and personal depth, bringing a sense of life towards them, similar as is being done for female characters. An example was found in an Article focused on crocodile spotting in Jamaica, where the author describes his Rastafarian guide:

'Fisherman Sean is a rastafari with grey dreads to his waistline and a sparkle of life in his eyes. He commands respect before he even starts talking. His eyes speak in his stead, even though they are bloodshot due to the sharp sun and the amount of smoked weed' (Pechánek 2012, Doktor Jamajka)

This account gives a large degree of humanity to a character whose primary achievement is to live his life in his own way.

5. Conclusion

In order to fully determine what has been learned, it is necessary to restate the purpose and nature of the research. The thesis performed a form of discourse analysis on a textual sample of the 2012 issues of *Lidé a Země* and *Koktejl* in order to examine the images and representations of the developing world facilitated by Czech geographic and travel magazines. It posited the following main research questions:

- 1. What kind of geographies in terms of spaces and people emerge from the textual discourse**
- 2. What are the characteristics of such entities and their relationship vis-à-vis the author and the reader?**
- 3. What kind of popular geopolitics is being created and how do the findings relate to the post-development critique?**

The kind of imaginative geography emerging from the discourse might best be understood as evolutionary. This imaginative geography takes the reference point of the spatialised identity of the assumed by the authors themselves and extended to their reader audience. This identity is usually expressed by a reference to 'Europe' as a space or 'European' (alternatively Czech, white or occasionally Western) as an adjective of associated entities, such as inhabitants. This identity then encounters a wide range of entities representing spaces or populations inhabiting them (or individual members of such groups), which can be of various magnitudes, such as 'Africa', 'Cameroon', the Skalava or the Palestinians.

The encountered spaces are then considered as subordinated to the referential identity within a process of historical progress. This is exhibited through several important interrelated forms. One of them is the direct comparison of a state of affairs in the described place as contrasted with characteristics ascribed to the identity of the author or to their homeland. (such as setting 'European quality' as a bar to be aspired to). Another form consists in the description of places and peoples in terms of lack of features considered desirable, such as 'missing infrastructure' or 'non-functioning laws'. A third crucial form through which places are established as subjected to a historical linearity taking them towards the state towards convergence with the norm rests with frequent references to the inevitability of a historical process which appears to eventually affect all places and is a necessary outcome of the flow of logical time, such as the spread of western civilisation, considered as unstoppable. Even more explicitly, through a fourth form, places are frequently directly referred to as defined by their position on the imaginary timescale, such as being pockets of a time which elsewhere had already passed. Even though the authors of geographic and travel magazines emphasize the difference and individuality of spaces, occasionally even to a point of intimacy, ironically, the focus on the perception of time reduces the true significance of places as potential sources of alternative histories. This finding simultaneously confirms the first and the third hypotheses, while giving ambivalent support for the second hypothesis.

While being ahead in time does not guarantee the identity the authors assumes an inherent ethical superiority, which is at times acknowledged by a sense of regret over the presumed departure of certain indigenous cultures in the face of the perceived spread of European culture, it does grant them with a

superior possession of knowledge and agency. This is caused less by an objective superiority of the authors' identity formation, but rather by its seemingly unquestionable position ahead of the time curve. Knowledge, science and capacity for understanding and transformation therefore seem to be the most important characteristics related to the identity of the self and its community.

A key aspect of the analysed travel writing is the emphasis on an active interest and engagement the authors in the place they visit, especially in its nature and history. Nature and natural objects often act as active participants in the narratives, engaging the authors on a personal level and serving as an instrument for the personification of places, such as 'Africa'. The authors often seem to be engaged in some form of personal relationship with places or their important landmarks. Natural and cultural heritage is also the source of most positive characterisations (often in a romanticised fashion) with regard to the visited places, being most in defiance of the second hypothesis. The curiosity and desire for understanding the authors are said to have towards the visited places is through the discourse extended to other members of their identity formation, such as their readers, but frequently put in contrast with members of the local communities, who do not appear to show much appreciation of their both natural or cultural heritage. To a large extent this seems to drive wedge between the populations and the places they inhabit, leaving room for more engagement by the authors and their identity group. This sense of detachment or perhaps a perceived lack of appreciation by the local populations for their habitat is further enhanced by the appropriation of tidiness and care for the communal space as traits related to the self and alien to the populations of the developing world, who, similarly to the case of historical or natural protection are described as unwilling or unable to see the bigger picture.

This understanding then informs the popular geopolitics with an image of the developing spaces whose populations are somewhat detached from their environments and contexts, leaving increased space for various forms of intervention from outsider actors on the basis of superior knowledge and capacity for transformation. This should not be confused with an unquestioning belief in the infallibility of such interventions, it does, however entail a belief in the responsibility and authority to act on situations within the developing spaces, which are seen as a legitimate and natural sphere of activity.

The authority to not only act, but also to know, understand, describe and represent is also reflected in the distribution of power relation between the authors and the objects of their narrative, where the articles on the developing spaces show a much reduced tendency to directly involve local participants through a form of lengthier and informative quotations which would form the basis of the articles' informative value. Instead, these articles usually opt for short citations, often by unknown participants, the purpose of which is to give the text flow and character, rather than to allow the participant to directly address the reader and provide them with a perspective. Exceptions to this trend certainly exist, but are very irregular and usually done according to a specific selection done by the author (such as through a desire to interview a particular group). Information is usually provided through frequently long expository passages in which the author takes it upon themselves to give both general and specific information about a particular group of people, usually without support from personal experience and without any references to informational sources, making the process through which the traveller authoritatively speaks on places natural and incontestable. This predominantly confirms hypothesis four.

This greatly reduces the possibility of subaltern entities to interact with the readers and subsequently their perceived ability to speak on their own behalf.

The developing spaces also seem to exhibit a certain degree of feminisation. This might take the form of increased focus on women participants through positive descriptions, ranging from dignified and supportive to romantic and sexualised and more negative and unflattering descriptions of men.

It is also facilitated by an emphasis on the perceived divergent roles men and women (both individually and often as a group) play in communal life. With exception of South East Asian countries, women are disproportionately more often associated with work and production, to the point of direct comparison with the perceived laziness of men. Women are also seen as more inventive and involved in active struggles to improve their communities, including some actual achievements, whereas men, again, both as individuals and as a group, are, with notable exceptions discussed in the relevant chapter, perceived to be ambivalent, unable or directly hostile in relation to the betterment of their communities and women in particular. While the sections on the relationship between authors, locals, and the spaces provided general credence to the fifth hypothesis, this finding puts it in an interesting gendered perspective, making it more inconclusive.

While this tendency might in some ways be understood as positive for the emancipation and support of the struggles of women within the developing world, the constructions of inadequate or dangerous masculinity have also often played an important role in colonial discourses.

Overall, the evolutionary imaginative geography creates a notion of popular geopolitics of radical power disparity, which endows the travelling authors and other members of their identity group, predominantly termed as 'European' with a unique authority to understand, appreciate, speak and act towards the developing spaces, because they possess superior knowledge of, and ability to reflect on, the universal historical processes supposedly affecting them. This constructs these places as in direct relation with the imaginary European past, creating an environment inhospitable to the flows of knowledge and information from the opposing direction. The final empirical chapter offers recommendations on how to possibly alleviate some of this disparity.

The methods of research have served the purpose of the thesis correctly. In terms of possible improvements for the thesis, there are four principal directions which could be followed. The first concerns the increase of the analysed sample to a larger amount of articles, spanning more years and also the inclusion of supporting literary materials, such as books published by the authors as reflections on their travels. The second direction would also engage in an increase of the sample, but primarily in terms of timescale, in order to be able to examine changes which occurred within the geographic and travel discourse over the years in a style more resembling a genealogy. The third line of improvement would involve a greater engagement with the authors of the articles in a form of interviews or reflections, in order to better map the process of travel writing and the authors' own awareness of the impacts of their literary choices. The fourth avenue for enhancement would be to take the opposite direction and attempt to approach the readers of the geographic and travel magazines through qualitative research in order to provide a better understanding of the discursive impacts of the analysed body of texts and might help to draw more explicit practical implications. The last two approaches would, however, require a combined

use of methods and would likely have to be addressed in a separate research or in an academic thesis of even more extensive length.

6. Bibliography

- Antaki, C., Billig, M., Edwards, D., Potter, J. (2003): Discourse Analysis Means Doing Analysis: A Critique of Six Analytic Shortcomings. In: *Discourse Analysis Online*. 1(1). Available online at: <http://www.shu.ac.uk/daol/articles/v1/n1/a1/antaki2002002paper.html>
- Arellano-Lopez, P. J. F. (1994): Non-Governmental Organizations and Poverty Alleviation in Bolivia. *Development and Change*, 25/3, p. 555-568.
- Babbington, A. (2000): Re-encountering Development: Livelihood Transitions and Place Transformations in the Andes. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 90, No. 3, p. 495-520.
- Batterbury, S.P.J., Fernando, J. L. (2004): Arturo Escobar. In: Hubbard, P., Kitchin, R., Valentine, G. (eds): *Key thinkers on space and place*. Sage, London, p. 113-120.
- Bialasiewicz, L. et al (2007): Performing security: The imaginative geographies of current US strategy. *Political Geography*, 26, 4, p. 405-422.
- Blunt, A., McEwan, C. (eds) (2002): *Postcolonial Geographies*. Continuum, New York, London, 245 p.
- Butler, J. (1993): *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*. Routledge, New York, 304 p.
- Cameron, J., Haanstra, A. (2008): *Development Made Sexy: How it Happened and What it Means*. *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 8, p. 1478-1489.
- Campbell, D. (2003): Salgado and the Sahel: Documentary photography and the imagining of famine. In: Debrix, F., Weber, C. (eds): *Rituals of Mediation: International politics and social meaning*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, p. 69-96.
- Campbell, D. (1998): *Writing Security: United States Policy and The Politics of Identity*. Manchester University Press, Manchester, 308 p.
- Collier, P. (2008): *The Bottom Billion: Why the poorest Countries are Failing and What Can be Done About It*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 209 p.
- de Beaugrande, R., Dressler, W. U. (1981): *Introduction to text linguistics*. Longman, London, 288 p.
- Deleuze, G. (1988): *Foucault*. MN, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- Dijking, G. (1996): *National identity and Geopolitical Vision: Maps of pride and pain*. Routledge, New York, London, 200 p.
- Dooley, R. A., Levinsohn, S. H. (2001): *Analyzing Discourse: A Manual of Basic Concepts*. SIL International, Dallas, Texas, 174 p.
- Duffield, M. (2001): Governing the borderlands: decoding the power of aid. *Disasters* 25, p. 308-320.
- Edwards, R., Nicoll, K. (2001): Researching the Rhetoric of Lifelong Learning. *Journal of Education Policy*, 16, 2, p. 103-112.

- Escobar, A. (1988): *Power and Visibility: Development and the Invention and Management of the Third World*. *Cultural Anthropology*, Volume 3, Issue 4, p. 428-443.
- Escobar, A. (1995): *Encountering development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 273 p.
- Escobar, A. (2000): Beyond the search for a paradigm. *Development*, Volume 43, Number 4, p. 11-14.
- Esteva, G. (1992): Development. In: Sachs, W. (ed.): *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. Zed Books, London, p. 6-25.
- Fairclough, N. (1992a): *Discourse and Social Change*. Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, 135 p.
- Fals-Borda, O. (1984): *Historia Doble de la Costa vol. 3*. Carlos Valencia, Bogota.
- Fine, B. (2009): Development as Zombieconomics in the Age of Neo-liberalism. *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 30, no.5, p. 885-904.
- Foucault, M. (1966, 1994): *Order of Things: Archeology of the human sciences*. Vintage, London, 404 p.
- Foucault, M. (1972): *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Pantheon Books, New York, 275 p.
- Foucault, M. (1973): Truth and judicial forms. In: (ed.) Faubion, J. (2000): *Michel Foucault, Essential works of Foucault 1954-1984. Volume 3. Power*: Penguin Books, London, 528 p.
- Foucault, M. (1977): Truth and Power. In: (ed.) Faubion, J. (2000): *Michel Foucault, Essential works of Foucault 1954-1984. Volume 3. Power*: Penguin Books, London, 528 p.
- Foucault, M. (1980): *Power / Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972 – 1977*. (ed. Colin Gordon) Harvester Press, Brighton, p. 63-77.
- Foucault, M. (1982): Subject and Power. In: (ed.) Faubion, J. (2000): *Michel Foucault, Essential works of Foucault 1954-1984. Volume 3. Power*: Penguin Books, London, 528 p.
- Frank, M. (2009): Imaginative Geography as a travelling concept: Foucault, Said and the spatial turn. *European Journal of English Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1, p. 61-77.
- Graham, L. J. (2011): The Product of Text and Other Statements: Discourse analysis and the critical use of Foucault. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, Vol. 43, No. 6, p. 663-674.
- Graham, S. (2009): Cities as battlespace: the new military urbanism. *City* 13, 402 p.
- Gregory, D. et al (2011): *Dictionary of Human Geography*. Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, 1052 p.
- Gregory, D. (1995): Imaginative Geographies. *Progress in Human Geography*, 19, 4, p. 447-485.
- Gregory, D. (2011): The everywhere war. *The Geographical Journal*, 177, 3, p. 238-250.
- Grimes, J. E. (1975): *The Thread of discourse*. Mouton, The Hague, 827 p.

- Hames, R. (2007): The Ecologically Noble Savage Debate. *Annual Review of Anthropology* , 36, p.177-190.
- Henderson, R. (2005): A Faircloughian approach to CDA: principled eclecticism or a method searching for a theory? *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 46, 2, p. 9-24.
- Herath, D. (2008): Development Discourse of the Globalists and Dependency Theorists: Do the Globalisation Theorists Rephrase and Reword the Central Concepts of Dependency School? *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 29, no.4, p. 819-834.
- Hulme, P. (1986): *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797*. Methuen, London and New York, 368 p.
- Chard, C. (1999): *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Imaginative geographies 1600-1830*. Manchester University Press, Manchester, 256 p.
- Chouliaraki, L., Fairclough, N. (1999): *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking critical discourse analysis*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, UK, 224 p.
- Irwin, R. (2006): *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and Its Discontents*. The Overlook Press, New York, 409 p.
- Johnson-Laird, P. N. (1983): *Mental models*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 528 p.
- Jørgensen, M. W., Phillips, L. (2002): *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. Sage, London, 230 p.
- Kiely, R. (1999): The Last Refuge of the Noble savage? A Critical Assessment of Post-Development Theory. *The European Journal of Development Research*, vol. 1, issue 11, p. 30-55.
- Kitchin, R., Kneale, J. (2001): Science fiction or future fact? Exploring imaginative geographies of the new millennium. *Progress in Human Geography*, 25, p. 19-35.
- Lefebvre, H. (1974, 1991): *The Production of Space*. Blackwell, Oxford:, 464 p.
- Loomba, A. (1998): *Colonialism-Postcolonialism*. Routledge, London, 272 p.
- Matthews, S. (2007): What then should we do? Insights and Experience of a Senegalese NGO. In: (ed.) Ziai, A.: *Exploring Post-development: Theory and Practice, Problems and Perspectives*. Routledge, London, p. 64-84.
- Mawdsley, E. (2008): Fu Manchu versus Dr Livingstone in the Dark Continent? Representing China, Africa and the West in British broadsheet newspapers. *Political Geography*, Volume 27, Issue 5, p. 509-529.
- Mills, C.W. (1959): *The Social Imagination*. Oxford University Press, New York, 248 p.
- Naz, F. (2006): Arturo Escobar and the development discourse: an overview. *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 28, No. 3, p. 64-84.

- Neumann, I. B. (2008): Discourse Analysis. In: Klotz, A., Prakash, D. (eds): *Qualitative Methods in International Relations. A Pluralist Guide*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, p. 61-77.
- Ó Tuathail, G. (1999): Understanding critical geopolitics: Geopolitics and risk society. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Volume 22, Issue 2-3, p. 107-124.
- Peet, R., Hartwick, E. (1999): *Theories of Development*. Guilford Press, New York, 265 p.
- Peet, R., Watts, M.J. (eds) (1996): *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, Social Movements*. Routledge, London, 288 p.
- Pennycook, A. (2001): *Critical Applied Linguistics: A critical introduction*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, London, 206 p.
- Rahnema, M., Bawtree, V. (1997): *The Post-Development Reader*. Zed Books, London, 384p.
- Rostow, W. W. (1960): *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 179 p.
- Sachs, W. (ed.) (1992): *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. Zed Books, London, 320 p.
- Said, E. (1978, 2008): *Orientalismus* (Czech translation). Paseka, Praha, 459 p.
- Said, E. (1993): *Culture and Imperialism*. Alfred Knopf, New York, 315 p.
- Simmel, G. (1997): *The Sociology of Space*. In: Frisby, D., Featherstone, M. (eds): *Simmel on Culture*. Sage, London, p. 137-169.
- Slater, D. (1993): *The Geopolitical Imagination and the Enframing of Development Theory*. *Transactions of the IBG*, Vol. 18, No. 4, p. 419-437.
- Smith, S., Owens, P. (2006): *Alternative Approaches to International Theory*. In: Baylis, J., Smith, S.: *The Globalization of World Politics*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, p. 174-191.
- Soja, E. (1989): *Post Modern Geographies: The reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. Verso, London, 266 p.
- Soja, E. W. (1996): *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Blackwell, Oxford, 352 p.
- Spivak, G. (1987): *In Other Worlds: essays in cultural politics*. Routledge, London, 309 p.
- Taylor, S. (2004): *Locating and Conducting Discourse Analytic Research*. In: Yates et al: *Discourse as Data: a Guide for Analysis*. Sage, London, 339 p.
- Tilly, C. (1985): *War Making and State Making as Organized Crime*. In: (eds) Evans, P. B., Rueschemeyer, D., Skocpol, T.: *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge University, Cambridge, p. 165-191.

- Todorova, M. (2009): *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford University Press, New York, 288 p.
- Torring, J. (1999): *New Theories of Discourse: Laclau, Mouffe, and Žižek*, Blackwell, Oxford, 356 p.
- Weiss, G., Wodak, R. (2003): Introduction: Theory, interdisciplinarity and critical discourse analysis. In: Weiss, G., Wodak, R. (eds): *Critical Discourse*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 300 p.
- Widdowson, H. G. (1998): The Theory and Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis (Review article). *Applied Linguistics*, 19, 1, p. 136-151.
- Wodak, R. Mayer, M. (2009): *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. Sage, London, 216 p.
- Young, I. M. (2003): The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State in Signs: *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 29, 1, p. 1-25.

Speeches and lectures

Truman, H. (1949): Harry S. Truman's Inaugural Address - 1949.

(Available online) [http://www .re-quest.net/history/inaugurals/truman1](http://www.re-quest.net/history/inaugurals/truman1)

Towards a New Paradigm for Development: Strategies, Policies, and Processes, Joseph E. Stiglitz, Senior Vice President and Chief Economist, World Bank Given as the 1998 Prebisch Lecture at UNCTAD, Geneva

Website:

Člověk v tísni <http://www.clovekvtisni.cz/en>

Ministry for foreign affairs <http://www.mzv.cz/pomoc>

Mladá fronta publishers <http://www.mf.cz/>

prodáný náklad, čtenost a inzertní výkony titulů členů Unie vydavatelů v období 1. až 3. čtvrtletí 2010, Unie vydavatelů, <http://www.unievydavatelu.cz/Upload/864.pdf>

Lidé a Země <http://www.lideazeme.cz/>

Koktejl <http://www.czech-press.cz/index.php>

Polyp's Big Bad World http://www.polyp.org.uk/about_polyp.htm

UN Human development reports <http://hdr.undp.org/en/>

7. Appendix

7.1. Časopis Lidé a Země

ročník 2012	Ztracený čas kaváren na Montparnassu	Život v čárech Zatím nad hladinou
Leden	Vladka Jelínková	Syed Zain Al-Mahmood
Ženské zbraně vládou Argentíně	Francie	Bangladěš
Tomáš Nídr		
Argentina	Hammerfest: město probuzené ohněm	Jan a Radana Dungelovi: Cesta do hloubi vlastní duše
	Petr Hupka	Veronika Valtrová
Vězni libyjské revoluce	Norsko	Česko
Tomáš Halda		
Libye	Naši vědci na Špicberkách	
	Michael Borovička	Přežít Baghdád
Martin Bandžák: „Fotit kvůli senzaci? To ne...“	Norsko	Lenka Klicperová
Veronika Valtrová		
Slovensko	Tajemné podzemí města Cambrai	Irák
	Pavel Novák	Nejvyšší hora západní Afriky
Což takhle dát si DIBI?	Francie	Tomáš Jůnek
Tomáš Jůnek		Kamerun
Senegal	Únor	
	Puč legální cestou	
2012: konec světa?	Tereza Spencerová	Zapomenutá Bénoué
Petra Ježková	Pákistán	Tomáš Jůnek
Mexiko		Kamerun
	Svatá Smrt	
Růže za branou pouště	Jan Sochor	
Petr Hupka	Mexiko	
Maroko		

Předpeklí albinů

Tomáš Jůnek

Kamerun

Tanec v Bafutu

Tomáš Jůnek

Kamerun

Sinaj, země bez zákonů a pravidel

Tereza Spencerová

Egypt

Útěk na Andamany

Irena Páleníčková

Indie

**Alasitas, svátek
miniatur**

Anna Sehnalová

Bolívie

**Maljovica, kde horalé
zůstali horaly**

Petr Hupka

Bulharsko

**Vídeň, druhé největší
české město**

Michael Borovička

Rakousko

**Keňa: největší vývozce
čaje, který zůstal utajen**

Jaromír Marek

Keňa

Březen**Čekání na Obamu**

Tereza Spencerová

Palestina

**Oslizák, manžel
nejvěrnější**

Tereza Hrazdírová

Nepál

Tiksi Život na konci světa

Filip Singer

Rusko

**Arabský sen Emíre
Khidayer**

Veronika Valtrová

Irák

**To my jsme praví
kovbojové!**

Tomáš Nidr

Mexiko

Návštěva u lidí I

Petr Hupka

Čína

Tam, kde končí Afrika

Tomáš Beránek

Jihoafrická republika

Vlídna Menorka

Dana Jakoubková

Španělsko

Budoucnost české Vídně

Michael Borovička

Česko

Ohrožená dlažba

David Koubek

Portugalsko

Duben**Tibet v izolaci**

Tomáš Beránek

Čína

**Kurdky v šátku i
s kalašnikovem**

Lenka Klicperová

Irák

**Do svatého města
etiopských muslimů**

Vladimír Plešinger

Etiopie

**Antonín Kratochvíl:
poslední kovboj**

Marie Frajtová

Čína zažívá vinné časy

Robert Mikoláš

Čína

**Lod', která se plaví za
svobodou**

Diana Mráziková

Senegal

Oranžový rej bohů

Michal Thoma

Nepál

Zelená brána Černé země

Markéta a Michael Foktovi

Francie

**Peak District: kraj
anglických románů**

Ivana Mudrová

Velká Británie

Květen**Živé vzpomínky na
revoluci**

Tomáš Nídr

Tunisko

**Skutečný poklad ze země
Inků**

Kamila Šimková-Broulová

Peru

Himálajští pijáci krve

Jana Ašenbrennerová

Nepál

**Jihoamerický posel Josef
Opatrný**

Eduard Freisler

Brazílie

**Všichni chtějí do
Alcatrazu**

Julie Urbišová

USA

**Single jízda po Jižním
ostrově**

Magdalena Zemanová

Nový Zéland

**Whistler, město
s otevřenou náručí**

Veronika Schiebertová

Kanada

Romové z Drákulovy země

Jiří Havrda

Rumunsko

Lesní víly v Zone	Rastislav Maďar: lékař s jasnou vizí	Jak se češou banány
Ivana Mudrová	Veronika Valtrová	Tomáš Nídr
Itálie	Mosambik	Ekvádor
Pacaltsdorp, město pojmenované po Čechovi	Mužské ego a kohoutí krev	Ostře sledované sopky
Robert Mikoláš	Libor Budinský	Tomáš Nídr
Jihoafrická republika	Dominikánská republika	Ekvádor
Červen	Do kraje zeleného zlata	Souboj velkoměst
Hlad po Barmě	Petr Hupka	Tomáš Nídr
Tereza Spencerová	Turecko	Ekvádor
Barma	Sahara, co zbylo z pravěkých rituálů?	Magicky zmatená geografie
Návrat k africkým kořenům	Jitka Soukupová	
Tomáš Nídr	Sahara	Červenec
Západní Afrika	Město, kde mají labutě za trest	Egyptská revoluce v bodě nula
Kus Číny v San Francisku	Markéta a Michael Foktovi	Tereza Spencerová
Jana Ašenbrennerová	Belgie	Egypt
USA	Mandalay: město tisíce bohů	Na pašeráckém bazaru
	Jaromír Marek	Mira Foffová
	Barma	Pákistán

Kirkpinar: pěkně mastní borci

Vladimír Pomortzeff

Turecko

Zuzana Ondomišiová: Západ by k Tibetu neměl mlčet

Veronika Valtrová
(rozhovor)

V zatopených jeskyních mayského podsvětí

Marek Kožušník

Mexiko

Život indického teenagera

Petra Kovářová

Indie

Parfémy faraonů

Andrej Horváth

Egypt

Je libo hadí srdce?

Veronika Pešková

Vietnam

Starý i nový Londýn

Ivana Mudrová

Velká Británie

Pravda o městě tří lží

Markéta a Michael Foktovi

Španělsko

Socha slavné špiónky

Ivana Mudrová

Nizozemsko

Krajané pod pyramidami

Michael Borovička

Česká stopa v Berlíně

Klára Stejskalová

Německo

Srpen

Jak Mali k ještě větším problémům přišlo

Tereza Spencerová

Mali

Dvojí hrozba pro Hmongy

Tomáš Halda

Vietnam

Break dance v Gaze

Jarmila Štuková

Pásmo Gazy

Zdeněk Thoma: „Má zkušenost z cestování? Tolerance.“

Veronika Valtrová
(rozhovor)

Fly 7000: s padákem v Himálaji

Marek Kožušník

Pákistán

Je čas objevit Barmu

Pavel Macků

Barma

Město starosty Čermáka

Julie Urbišová

USA

Tongové: půl století boje s přehradou	Titovo podzemní království	Gabrové, národ odpočinku
Roman Staněk	Martin Dorazín	Lukáš Houdek
Zambie	Bosna a Hercegovina	Keňa
Vinetu u Hrvatskoj	Září	Bojovníci zahnutého nože
Karel Jordán		Tereza Hrazdírová
Chorvatsko	Když se hrozby válkou mění v mantru	Nepál
	Tereza Spencerová	V zemi pánů holand'anů
Malé lucemburské Švýcarsko	Zašpiněná Amazonie za 18 miliard dolarů	Irena Páleníčková
Ivana Mudrová	Tomáš Nídr	Nizozemsko
Lucembursko	Ekvádor	Uhudler, vinný unikát
Zkamenělý ráj francouzského inženýra	Čankišou: oslava duhy uprostřed města	Bohumil Brejžek
Kamila Šimková-Broulová	Veronika Valtrová (rozhovor)	Rakousko
Česko	Komín jako výzva	Tunel osvětleného tyrana
Africká inspirace českého sochaře	Barbora Fialová	Spyridon Triantafyllakis
Michael Borovička	Česko	Řecko
		Kokořínskem bez značek
		Ivana Mudrová
		Česko

Trampové, skauti a učitelé v Egyptě	Dřevní časy – dvacet let Milana Holečka s Lidé a Země	Start do Nového světa
Michael Borovička	Veronika Vatrová (rozhovor)	Michael Fokt Španělsko
Na největším rybím trhu světa	Týden pekla na pralesní dálnici	Portugalské pastorále
Jaromír Marek	Tomáš Kubeš	Vilém Řehák Portugalsko
Japonsko	Kamerun	Romantické sebevraždy konce století
Říjen	Sami ve smaragdové laguně	Richard Grégr Česko
Španělský exodus	Tereza Hrazdírová Thajsko	Soudný kámen u Kosovy hory
Tomáš Nídr Španělsko	Zjevení na Karmínové hoře	Ivana Mudrová Česko
Schody starého blázna	Zdeněk Štipl Indie	Volyň, země zaslíbená
Jan Sochor Brazílie	Delfíni ve žraločí zátocce	Michael Borovička
Man machine	Karel Kýr Austrálie	Poklady královského paláce
David Těšínský Japonsko		Robert Mikoláš Itálie

**Ztracený svět –
tajemství nedobytných
stolových hor**

Vladimír Plešinger

Bolívie, Brazílie, Guyana,
Venezuela

V nitru ztraceného světa

Vladimír Plešinger

Brazílie, Guyana,
Venezuela

Listopad

**V úterý chodí Bhútanci
pěšky**

Michal Thoma

Bhútán

**Disneyland podle
Hizballáhu**

Tomáš Halda

Libanon

**Válečný fotograf na
prázdninách**

Antonín Kratochvíl

Galapágy

**Damir Šagolj: chci
zachytit obnaženou
pravdu**

Veronika Valtrová
(rozhovor)

Býčí sumo v Ománu

Tomáš Gindl

Omán

**Jurský park na ostrově
Coiba**

Lubomír Palkovič

Panama

Indiáni od červené půdy

Jana Chaloupková

Brazílie

**U hrobu skotského
psance**

Ivana Mudrová

Velká Británie

Itálica, město císařů

Petr Škrabala

Španělsko

Svatyně krvavého kultu

Ivana Mudrová

Slovinsko

Fantom brněnských ulic

Barbora Fialová

Česko

**„Volyňáci“ na polích
válečných**

Michael Borovička

**Byzantské dědictví v
Kosovu**

Martin Dorazín

Kosovo

Tatínek poletí v kufru

Irena a Jiří Páleníčkovi

Indonésie

Modř bez konce

Irena a Jiří Páleníčkovi

Indonésie

Kdo je tady zvíře?

Jan Sochor

Kuba

**Na šiškovici do
Turracheru**

Petr Socha

Rakousko

Oheň na talíři

Irena a Jiří Páleníčkovi

Indonésie

**Viktor Mendes: tančící
živel ze slumu**

Veronika Valtrová
(rozhovor)

Francie: kam letos na lyže

Marie Frajtová

Francie

**Když si Batakové
vyhrnou rukávy**

Irena a Jiří Páleníčkovi

Indonésie

**Jak se padá
z velbloudího hrbu**

Tomáš Nidr

Tunisko

Modlešovická Modlitba

Irena Páleníčková

Česko

Prosinec

Sen o svobodné Biafře

Tereza Spencerová

Nigérie

Tálibánu navzdory

Lenka Klicperová

Afghánistán

Dívka s plnovousem

Ivana Mudrová

Česko

Něnci, indiáni Sibíře

Štěpán Černoušek

Rusko

Život pod Afrikou

Ondřej Kott

Zambie

**Průkopníci vědy o
člověku**

Michael Borovička

V tygřím náručí

Irena Páleníčková

Thajsko

**Comback gruzínského
vína**

Lenka Kabrhelová

Gruzie

7.2. Časopis Koktejl

ročník 2012

Leden

Hvězdní Dogoni

Martina Svobodová

Mali

Břicho matky země

Barbora Scheinherrová

Velká Británie

On the road

Vít Moudrý

USA

Elixír mládí

Klára Jakubovská

Norsko

To bylo tak...

Martin Dlouhý (rozhovor)

Trpaslíkov

Lenka Stránská

Česko

Šestinohý byznys

Michael Fokt

Česko

Odysseova riviéra

Lucie Chvojková

Itálie

Šílený nápad

Jiří Kalát

Izrael

Páchnoucí Titicaca

Andrej Horváth

Peru

Čert ví proč

Jaroslav Macura

Austrálie

Rýžová plavba

Tomáš Nidr

Vietnam

Asasínům v patách

Richard Hons

Írán

Únor

Ježaté Meroe

Martina Svobodová

Súdán

Peklo v ráji

Petr Roleček

Bolívie

Sirný zážitek

Pavla Chlebounová

Indonésie

Zamořeno

Markéta Kutilová

Nový Zéland

Bojím se o Egypt

Rostislav
(rozhovor)

Sarvaš

Když přijdou Kukeri

Tomáš Kubeš

Bulharsko

Ti druzí

Ondřej Kolman

Bulharsko

Divoká růže

Vladimír Šoltys

Kanada

Bohatý chudobinec

Artur F. Sniegón

Gabon

Nepotopitelná loď

Michal Dvořák

Malta

Kavkazský Babylon

Tomáš Kučera

Gruzie

Fénix a Múzy

Lenka Stránská

Česko

Březen**Pán bažin**

Petr Slavík

Brazílie

Život ve škarpě

Rostislav

(rozhovor)

Sarvaš

Zvířecí akademie

Michael Fokt

Česko

Z pole na hrad

Stanislava Jarolímková

Česko

Trosky amerického snu

Kryštof Kříž

USA

Vyroběno ručně

Radka Hášová

Indie

Jak utopit sv. Patrika

Monika Otcová

Irsko

Vygrunťovaná poušť

Juraj Kaman

Egypt

Cesta ke kořenům

Tereza Šírová

Turecko

Sandokanova země

Milan Deutsch

Malajsie

Záhada blahobytu

Kateřina Svobodová

Honduras

První dáma Francie

Štěpánka Strouhalová

Francie

Naši milí Pémové

Topi Pigula

Rumunsko

Slovácko sa nesúdí

Martin Dlouhý

Česko

Riviéra východu

Petr Andreas

Ukrajina

Duben**Lidé z pravěku**

Radek Borovka

Tanzanie

Pirátem v Karibiku

Jiří Kolbaba

Malé Antily

Přízněj barvu

Michael Fokt

Řecko

Deset dvacet Petr Vok

Michal Dvořák

Česko

Konec světa nebudeRozhovor s Erichem von
Dänikenem**Hledání obrů**

Jan Dungal

Venezuela

Historiky z podsvětí

Libor Michalec

Česko

Soumrak lovců

Steve Lichtag

Indonésie

Byl jsem prokletý

Tomáš Kubeš

Benin

Hulmani v mlze

Alexandr Pospěch

Borneo

Osudová hora

Rudolf Švaříček

Tanzanie

Dobrý ročník

Martin Dlouhý

Slovinsko

Kde se rodí vítr

Petr Slavík

Chile

Kšefty s bídou

Jan Sochor

Haiti

Květen**Hovory H**

Richard Jaroněk

Namibie

Lépe nebylo

Rostislav

(rozhovor)

Sarvaš

Kolem a kolem

Štěpánka Strouhalová

Chorvatsko

Lamy v klobouku

Tomáš Nídr

Bolívie

Gorilí mystéria

Tomáš Jůnek

Kamerun

Život v nájmu

Robert Mikoláš

Čína

Psí muži

Roman Tadič

USA

Hašler kašle? Nevadí

Stanislava Jarolímková

Česko

Historické klenoty

Jana Bébarová

USA

Věže života a smrti

Jan Faltys

Írán

UJFA žije i v Keni

Tomáš Nídr (rozhovor)

Červenec-srpen**Mou rodinou je Afrika**

Petr Slavík

Afrika

Erotika na hrobech

Vladimír Lemberk

Madagaskar

Poslední divočina

Tomáš Kubeš

Švédsko

Královna moří

Jan Sochor

Salvador

Prales léčí

Pavel Borecký

Peru

Lovec kilometrů

Lenka Stránská

Česko

Čechy v kosmické záři

Martin Krsek

Česko

Hyena v posteli

Jiří Kalát

Palestina

Nočník Kuby

Zdeněk Průša

Kuba

Naostro

Martin Dlouhý

Česko

Hra s ohněm

Ivan Brezina

Thajsko

Sýrie se bouří

Petr Zouhar

Sýrie

O chlup méně

Lenka Stránská

Česko

Červen**Nevinné bestie**

Pavel Záhorec

Botswana

Chihuahua

Zdeněk Divíšek

Mexiko

Žhavé noci

Lenka Požárová

Panama

Krok stranou

Tomáš Petr

Kambodža

Ohrožená pokladnice

Petr Bambousek

Borneo

Oslepující svět

Jiří Kolbaba

Antarktida

Hvězdná mise

Martin Dlouhý (rozhovor)

Punské války

Jana Vlková

Tunis

Doktor Jamajka

Michal Pechánek

Jamajka

V harlejářském nebi

Petr Tůma

USA

Jezerní království

Lenka Požárová

Rakousko

Září**Tanec d'áblů**

Jan Sochor

Kolumbie

Sněžnou bouří

Leoš a Lenka Šimánkovi

Nový Zéland

Válka v patách

Tomáš Kubeš

Mali

Modrý křikloun

Ondřej Prosický

Brazílie

Masajský šerosvit

Ondřej Kolman

Keňa

Jezero medvědů

Petr Slavík

Rusko

Drsným Balúčistánem

Ivan Brezina

Pákistán

Zválcovaná koka

Tomáš Hájek

Peru

Vyšehradské tajemství

Stanislava Jarolímková

Česko

Hudba je zázrakRostislav
(rozhovor)

Sarvaš

Kruh bídy

Tereza Hronová

Kambodža

Ostrov hudebního boha

Veronika Pešková

Zanzibar

Pověsti z mořských vln

Daniel Pečeňa

Severní Irsko

Říjen**Africká gotika**

Tomáš Kubeš

Togo

**Dobrodruhem
v Afghánistánu**

Aleš Gill
Afghánistán

Lovci pokladů

Martin Dlouhý
Česko

Ukradené děti

Tomáš Nídr
Argentina

**Reality show po
mexicku**

Michal Kašparovský
Mexiko

Nejsem Kryl

Martin Dlouhý (rozhovor)

Rangún expres

Magdalena Sodomková
Barma

Apulie k nakousnutí

Lenka Požárová
Itálie

Oblečení do kostí

Petr Jahoda
Papua-Nová Guinea

Teritorium gigantů

Anna Sedláčková
USA

Tisícero vůní

Denisa Mikešová
Korsika

Šibuja nikdy nespí

Martin Ondráček
Japonsko

Listopad

Padouch nebo hrdina
Martin Krsek
Česko

Lví zlotřilec

Richard Jaroněk
Botswana

Pocta nedotknutelným

Ivan Brezina
Indie

Filologické perličky

Ivan Brezina
Pákistán

Smolař na trůně

Stanislava Jarolímková
Česko

Divoké Švýcarsko

Petr Slavík
Švýcarsko

Všichni svatí

Michal Kašparovský
Guatemala

Žraločí jatka

Jan Sochor
Ekvádor

Lechtání se žraloky

Jiří Škoda
Jihoafrická republika

Osamocený vulkán

Lenka Vaňková
Nový Zéland

Mrtví odcházejí

Mnislav Zelený

Brazílie

Zrádná milenka

Jana Kollerová

Madeira

Továrna na sny

Martin Loew

USA

Grizzly na dosah

Pavel Záhorec

Aljaška

Opičí hora

Martin Dlouhý

Rakousko

V zemi trollů

Martin Dlouhý

Norsko

Prosinec**Kdo s koho?**

Jan Sochor

Peru

Lyžování u klokanů

Alexandra Synac

Austrálie

Mugabeho samota

Tomáš Nidr

Zimbabwe

Tanzanií na motorce

Lenka Vaňková

Tanzanie

Za 5 minut dvanáct

Miloslav Stingl

Mexiko

**Tajemné postavy
adventu**

Tomáš Kubeš

Slovensko

Svět se řítí do...

Ivan Brezina (rozhovor)

Nejmladší na zemi

Martin Mykiska

Mexiko

7.3. Human development index 2012 – list of countries

Figure 6

Very High Human Development	High Human Development	Medium Human Development	Low Human Development
Norway	Bahrain	Tonga	Congo
Australia	Bahamas	Belize	Solomon Islands
United States	Belarus	Dominican Republic	São Tomé and Príncipe
Netherlands	Uruguay	Fiji	Kenya
Germany	Montenegro	Samoa	Bangladesh
New Zealand	Palau	Jordan	Pakistan
Ireland	Kuwait	China	Angola
Sweden	Russian Federation	Turkmenistan	Myanmar
Switzerland	Romania	Thailand	Cameroon
Japan	Bulgaria	Maldives	Madagascar
Canada	Saudi Arabia	Suriname	Tanzania (United Republic of)
Korea (Republic of)	Cuba	Gabon	Nigeria
Hong Kong, China (SAR)	Panama	El Salvador	Senegal
Iceland	Mexico	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Mauritania
Denmark	Costa Rica	Mongolia	Papua New Guinea
Israel	Grenada	Palestine (State of)	Nepal
Belgium	Libya	Paraguay	Lesotho
Austria	Malaysia	Egypt	Togo

Singapore	Serbia	Moldova (Republic of)	Yemen
France	Antigua and Barbuda	Philippines	Haiti
Finland	Trinidad and Tobago	Uzbekistan	Uganda
Slovenia	Kazakhstan	Syrian Arab Republic	Zambia
Spain	Albania	Micronesia (Federated States of)	Djibouti
Liechtenstein	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	Guyana	Gambia
Italy	Dominica	Botswana	Benin
Luxembourg	Georgia	Honduras	Rwanda
United Kingdom	Lebanon	Indonesia	Côte d'Ivoire
Czech Republic	Saint Kitts and Nevis	Kiribati	Comoros
Greece	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	South Africa	Malawi
Brunei Darussalam	Peru	Vanuatu	Sudan
Cyprus	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	Kyrgyzstan	Zimbabwe
Malta	Ukraine	Tajikistan	Ethiopia
Andorra	Mauritius	Viet Nam	Liberia
Estonia	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Namibia	Afghanistan
Slovakia	Azerbaijan	Nicaragua	Guinea-Bissau
Qatar	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Morocco	Sierra Leone
Hungary	Oman	Iraq	Burundi
Barbados	Brazil	Cape Verde	Guinea
Poland	Jamaica	Guatemala	Central African Republic
Chile	Armenia	Timor-Leste	Eritrea

Lithuania	Saint Lucia	Ghana	Mali
United Arab Emirates	Ecuador	Equatorial Guinea	Burkina Faso
Portugal	Turkey	India	Chad
Latvia	Colombia	Cambodia	Mozambique
Argentina	Sri Lanka	Lao People's Democratic Republic	Congo (Democratic Republic of the)
Seychelles	Algeria	Bhutan	Niger
Croatia	Tunisia	Swaziland	

(source: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/>)

7.4. Sample of methodological transcription

This appendix includes a sample of a transcript (all annotations were originally done by hand) of some of the tools used in preparation of the text for analysis. It includes four paragraphs (limited due to space constraints) from the article *Hyena v Posteli* from Koktejl. Blue colour highlights entities of potential significance and yellow colour highlights predications.

Hyena v posteli Kategorie: 2012 / 05 TEXT A FOTO: JIŘÍ KALÁT

(starting the journey)

Slunce ještě nevyšplhalo příliš vysoko, a tak se dá v klidu maširovat po ulicích bez jeho nepříjemného doprovodu. Máme dva dny volna, a když už jsme tady, proč nenavštívit **jeden z nejdéle osídlených klášterních komplexů na světě**.

(the setting)

Flo, můj německý kamarád Florian, se snaží procpat přes bránu do Betléma našeho štěněčího ochránce, vlčáka Budyho.

„On snad opravdu ví, že tam nesmí,“ směje se.

„Je to izraelský pes, tak se mu na západní břeh moc nechce,“ podotýkám.

„No tak to moc nekřič, ať ho ještě nedostaneme do problémů. Vždyť víš, že **Židé** do Betléma nesmějí,“ uculuje se Flo.

(the Jewish dog)

Po krátkém boji nad odrostlým štěnětem vítězíme a jsme na cestě s cílem dojít k řeckému ortodoxnímu klášteru Mar Saba. Ten je ukrytý asi 25 kilometrů na jihovýchod od Jeruzaléma na palestinském okupovaném území. Máme před výplatou, a tak nejlepší možností dopravy jsou naše nohy. **Většina lidí, které potkáváme, se nám pokouší domluvit taxíka. „Je to moc daleko, tam nedojdete,“ říkají** snad všichni **Palestinci**, které seznámíme s naším plánem. Diví se a nechápou, dva turisté bez peněz, to není zrovna obvyklý jev v Betlémě a vlastně ani nikde jinde v okolí. První kilometry ubíhají lehce, až na časté dětské pokřikování a provokování Budyho jde vše dobře. Někteří **Arabové a Židé** mají ze psů strach, někdy dost velký, jiní jimi **opovrhují a házejí** po nich **kameny**. Malé děti naše štěně dráždí a některé se ho dokonce pokoušejí bouchnout. „Pusť ho. Třeba utečou,“ zoufale navrhuji Florianovi. Ten jen zakroučí hlavou, a tak trávíme ve společnosti dětského davu ještě pár minut, než je **zažene starší muž**. „Šukran,“ děkujeme arabsky.

(travel through Bethlem)

(small hooligans)

Šekel, Dolar, Euro

Po několika dalších kilometrech se objeví skupina malých kluků.

Vyptáváme se na cestu, naše arabština není nijak slavná, ale výrazu Mar Saba rozumějí všichni.

Chvíli něco řeší a pak ukazují někam mezi domy.

Z posunků a náznaků to vypadá na nějakou zkratku.

Koukám na Floriana, ale jemu se to stejně jako mě moc nelíbí.

„Vy jste odtud, kluci?“ ptá se na první pohled hloupě Flo.

„My jsme z Německa, křesťané, jdeme se podívat do kláštera,“ chvatně dodává.

Chytře zahráno.

(encounter with kids)

Najednou by prý bylo lepší, když už se přeci stmívá, jít po silnici, tak jistě nezabloudíme.

„Šekel, dolar, euro...“ ozývá se silněji a hlasitěji.

Dav si žádá odměnu, ale my ji nemáme.

Nerad podporuji žebrání dětí, a ke všemu si ani nejsme jistí, jestli nás poslali dobře a nebo nějakou jinou „zkratkou“ bůhvíkam.

Snažíme se od nich odpojit, ale začínají být dost dotěrní a nepřijemní.

Stále chtějí peníze nebo něco z našich batohů.

Tohle není úplně dobré, je jen otázka času, kdy něco přiletí.

Poslední z malých chuligánů se odpojuje a téměř okamžitě mi kolem hlavy proletí kámen, následuje klacek a ti, co jsou nejbližší, plivají.

Jdeme co nejrychleji a křičíme nadávky na všechny strany, naštěstí to kluky moc nebaví, když poznají, že od nás nic nebude, tak nás nechávají jít.

„Tak tudy zítra zpět nejdu,“ houknu na Floa.

„Já rozhodně také ne,“ zadýchaně odpovídá.

Malá příhoda s palestinskými dětmi nám trochu pocuchala nervy a ke všemu začalo pršet.

Naštěstí je to jenom chvílinka.

(attacked)

(approach to monastery)

Po usazení prachu můžeme pozorovat okolí, **naskytne se** nám **neskutečný pohled**.

Přímo pod našima nohama je **hluboké údolí plné odpadků**.

V dálce vidíme nákladňák vyklápějící další várku.

Ve vzduchu cítíme kouř a na dně rokle je vidět několik ohňů.

„Tady se s **ekologií** opravdu moc **nepáříou**,“ křikne znechuceně Flo.

V povětrí poletují jako ohromní černí ptáci **igelitové pytle** a pomalu se snášejí daleko do okolí.

Palestina je velice špinavé místo a **Palestinci si s pořádkem opravdu starosti nedělají**.

(tidiness in general)

(ecology in Palestine)

Taxík naložený několika turisty jedoucí opačným směrem nám **říká, že pravděpodobně jdeme správně**.

Máme za sebou již něco přes dvacet kilometrů a nedočkavě vyhlížíme **klášter**.

Ještě chvíli si sice musíme počkat, ale ten pohled za to stojí.

(finding the way)

Monstrózní stavba uprostřed ničeho, obehnaná hradbami a vypadající stejně nedobytně jako mnohé **křížácké hrady** v okolí.

Komplex několika budov, který ukrývá až 110 mnišských cel, se rozkládá na úpatí údolí Kidron několik kilometrů východně od Betléma v Judské poušti.

Z jeho zdí vyšlo učení, jež se šířilo do Konstantinopole i dále.

Ve své době patřily centru řecké křesťanské ortodoxní komunity a byly schopny pojmout až 4000 poutníků.

Nyní zde přebývá asi dvacet mnichů z celého světa, kteří striktně dodržují **několik staletí staré tradice**.

Historie kláštera se táhne až do pátého století po Kristu, jeho založení v roce 483 je spjato se jménem svatého Sabasa z Kapadocie.

Ten zde i po vybudování svatostánku žil a zemřel.

Pohřben zde zůstal až do 12. století, pak jeho ostatky putovaly do Benátek, ale na příkaz papeže Pavla VI. byly v roce 1965 navráceny a nyní jsou uloženy ve skleněném sarkofágu v klášteře.

(history)

(the monastery)

„Co teď, dveře už jsou zavřené,“ ptám se Floa.

On už tu byl a dokonce se mu díky několika nepříjemným okolnostem, jako je rozbité kolo a šílená bouřka, podařilo přespat uvnitř.

Jeho vyprávění mě tak nadchlo, že jsem chtěl také zkusit štěstí.

Klepeme na bránu, ale nikdo neotevívá.

Ještě chvíli okouníme, ale nakonec se přeci jenom vzdáváme a jdeme hledat místo na spaní.
(at the gates)

The following table shows the transcript of participant reference (used in order to keep track of actions taken by participants and their relations) of the encounter with the Palestinian boys:

Figure 7

Ref	Con	Subject	Non-subject	Notes and translation
1		a group of small boys [2]		appear (3p.sg)
2a		we (unexpressed pronoun) [1]		ask (1p. pl)
2b		our arabic		be (3p.sg) not great
2c		all [2]	Mar Saba	understand (3p.pl)
3a		they (unexpressed pronoun) [2]	something	think (3p.pl) about
3b		they (unexpressed pronoun) [2]		point (3p.pl) to buildings
4		it (unexpressed pronoun)		seem (3p.sg) like a shortcut
5a		I (unexpressed pronoun)[3]	Florian [4]	look (1p.sg)
5b		it (unexpressed pronoun)	him [4]	not appeal (3p.sg)
6		Flo [4]		ask (3p. sg) "Are you from here, boys?"
7		he [4]		add hastily (3p.sg) "We are christians, from germany"
9a		it (unexpressed pronoun)		be (3p.sg) better to take the road
9b		we (unexpressed pronoun) [1]		will not get lost (1p.pl)
10		it (unexpressed pronoun)		echo loudly (3p.sg) "Shekel, Dollar, Euro.."

11a		the host [2]	reward	demand (3p.sg)
11b		we [1]		not have (1p.pl)
12a		I (unexpressed pronoun)[3]	child begging	not like to support (1p.sg)
12b		we (unexpressed pronoun) [1]		not sure be (1p.pl)
12c		they (unexpressed pronoun) [2]	us (pronoun) [1]	send (3p.pl) the right way
13a		we (unexpressed pronoun) [1]	them [2]	try (1p.pl) to shake
13b		they (unexpressed pronoun) [2]		start (3p.pl) to be annoying
14	still	they (unexpressed pronoun) [2]	something	want (3p.pl)
15a		it (unexpressed pronoun)		be (3p.sg) not good
15b	before	it (unexpressed pronoun)	time	be (3p.sg) a question of
16		last of the little hooligans		separate (3p.sg)
17a	almost immediately	rock	my head	fly (3p.sg) by
17b		stick		follow (3p.sg)
17c		those closer		spit (3p.pl)
20a		we (unexpressed pronoun) [1]		walk (1p.pl) as fast as we can
20b		we (unexpressed pronoun) [1]		shout (1p.pl) swearwords around
20c	luckily	it (unexpressed pronoun)	the boys	not amuse (3p.sg)
23	when	they(unexpressed pronoun) [2]		learn (3p.pl)
24	that	nothing	us (pronoun) [1]	come (3p.pl) from
25		they(unexpressed pronoun) [2]	us (pronoun) [1]	let (3p.pl) go