

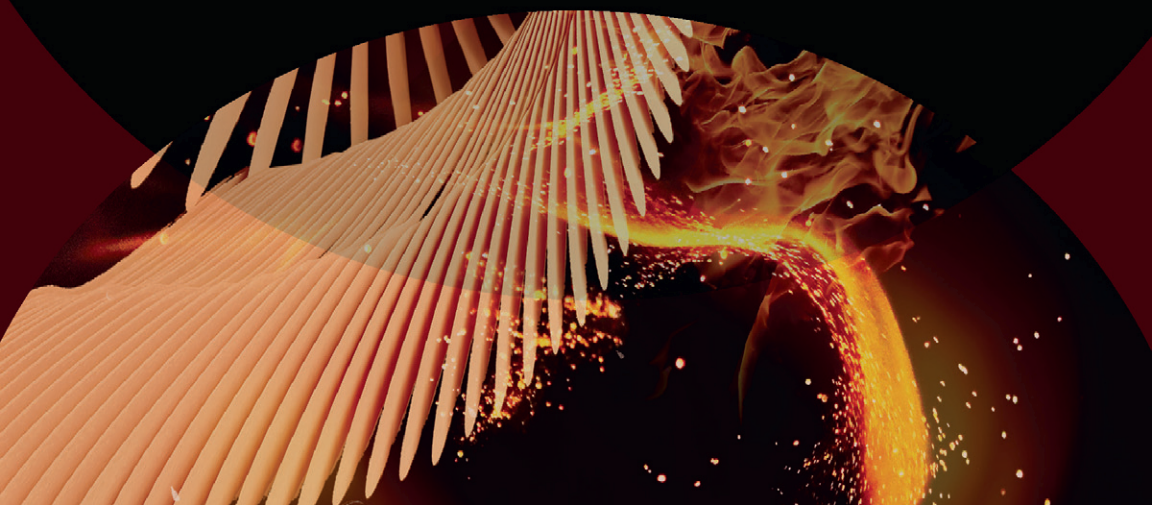


TOURISM SECURITY-SAFETY AND
POST CONFLICT DESTINATIONS

THE NEW SPIRIT OF HOSPITALITY

Designing Tourism Futures in Post-Truth Worlds

RODANTHI TZANELLI



The New Spirit of Hospitality

Tourism Security-Safety and Post Conflict Destinations

Series editors: Maximiliano E. Korstanje and Hugues Seraphin

Since the turn of the century, the international rules surrounding security and safety have significantly changed, specifically within the tourism industry. In the age of globalisation, terrorism and conflict have moved beyond individual high-profile targets; instead, tourists, travellers and journalists are at risk. In response to this shift, the series invites authors and scholars to contribute to the conversation surrounding tourism security and post conflict destinations.

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Tzanelli goes beyond the co-ordinates of contemporary cultural theory to contextualise a new “atmospheric” ethos in tourism markets. All of this grounded in a Marxist appreciation of the relation of space to labour and, perhaps the most innovative focus of the book, on the notion of worldmaking borrowed from Hollinshead and deployed here to organise the appearances (another mode of spirit, etymologically justified in Marx’s terminology) of tourism in case studies. As cases, however, these studies are saturated in an astute appreciation of theoretical confluence, from Derridean spectres and hospitality to Hardt and Negri’s Empire, to Boltanski and Chiapello, Žižek, Sewell, that guy Hutnyk and the classics – Hegel, Nietzsche, Arendt

The book narrates a necessary movement from crisis to justice, designing places for care and reviving a new hospitality in an always open-ended inquiry. It will allow you to travel to your own conclusions, taking or leaving the many stops on the way as possible swelling-places or refreshment. Theoretical tourism has rarely been done with such vigour. A fabulous, fun, and flagrantly phantasmagoric read.

–John Hutnyk, Ton Duc Thang University, Vietnam

The New Spirit of Hospitality is a much-needed breath of fresh air in the current and mainly normative fields of travel, tourism, and hospitality studies. Tzanelli disturbs the normative premises on which much tourism and hospitality research are predicated to make space for imaginations whereby the represented can manage their representations, and destination design is co-developed with more just digital technologies. Zooming in on ‘film-induced’ or ‘cinematic tourism’ Tzanelli problematises the production of truthfulness and justice to unveil discomfoting rifts between what is sustainably and justly possible and attainable, and for whom. Such discomfoting conclusions are bound to push the boundaries of knowledge creation in tourism and hospitality studies.

–Dorina-Maria Buda, University of Essex, UK

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INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

The future world may be a murky world, but it is one that we have to enter, interrogate and hopefully reshape. It should be a direction of travel for fateful analyses of social life within this new century.

John Urry, What is the future? 2016, Polity, p. 192.

For Majid

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List of Abbreviations

ABQ	Albuquerque
<i>BB</i> (TV series)	<i>Breaking Bad</i> (dirs. V. Gilligan, M. Slovis, C. Bucksey, T. McDonough M. MacLaren, A. Bernstein, R. Johnson, C. Bucksey, B. Cranston, J. Renck, P. Gould, S. Winant, C. Haid, J. Shibani, T. Shauz, B. Hughes, G. Mastras, S. Catlin, F. E. Alacalá, T. Brock, T. Hunter, J. Dahl, J. McKay, P. Medak, P. Abraham, P. Slade, 2008–2013)
<i>Borat 1</i> (film)	<i>Borat: Cultural Learnings of America for Make Benefit Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan</i> (dir. L. Charles, 2006)
<i>Borat 2</i> (film)	<i>Borat Subsequent Moviefilm: Delivery of Prodigious Bribe to American Regime for Make Benefit Once Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan</i> (dir. J. Woliner, 2020)
DMO	Destination Marketing Organisation
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
US	United States (of America)
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
<i>ZG</i> (film)	<i>Zorba the Greek</i> (dir. M. Cacoyannis, 1964)

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About the Author

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Tzanelli, R. (2021). Tourism worldmaking and market post-truth: Borat's new spirit of capitalism. *Tourist Studies*, 21(4), 596–614. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14687976211019909>

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Introduction

Travels to Post-truth Worlds

The principles of perspectival judgement – what we associate with the proposition: ‘truth is in the eye of the beholder’ – permeate the transdisciplinary imagination. Some philosophical constituencies adhering to the rules of irrealist analysis may push this envelop under the methodological door of neoliberal pluralism, whereas other may attempt to tame reality proliferations by reducing events to facts allegedly ‘hard to dispute’. Be as it may, scholars and scientists with respect for justice tend to undercut ultra-pluralist arguments by testing their rigour in practice. Enacting purposeful cognitive travels through various ‘world versions’, or scenarios of what is valid as real and/or just, they reach a conclusion that crowns one perspective as more accurate than the rest.

This book does not just interrogate what is real but proceeds to problematise what is just, where context cannot afford a singular perspective on justice. Specifically, it interrogates both in the hypermobile contexts of image-induced tourismification, which sets in motion mobility injustices (as per Sheller, 2018b). The ‘gist’ of this challenge is to evaluate the role of designing such locales at both aesthetic and ethical levels without reducing research to an exercise in moralist judgement. In this respect, the book cannot be categorised as a (critical) realist or traditional irrealist exercise, and its conclusions are bound to disturb those who operate on normative constants. I myself often found some of my conclusions hard to accept, as they provided no comfort concerning the rift between what is possible, what is transparently attainable and what is just and for whom. However, discomfort can facilitate a broader horizon of expectation for research on tourism and hospitality. To this end, I will not feign a scholarly or activist identity as the saviour of the disenfranchised. Discomfort arises from the complexities of what different groups can access and afford as identifiable capabilities so as to be socially recognised and therefore attuned to the demands of contemporary societies. Therefore, different affordances to social and cultural mobility must be treated as objective variables, rather than a preference embedded in the researcher’s social and scholarly stance (Elliott & Urry, 2010, p. 10; Sheller, 2020, pp. 2–3). Normative fixities may also paralyse scholarly excellence. Hence my decision to prioritise an appraisal of the limits to justice in

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designing as a process involving too many voices and forms of action to avoid cacophonies and misunderstandings.

I commence my investigations with the hypothesis that we have entered a new era of tourism and hospitality mobilities. The era is characterised by problems pertaining to the *representation* and *presence* of animate entities, including human groups, in the public spheres of tourism. In political theory, the right to ‘be present’ refers to the right to autonomy, freedom in self-determination and equal treatment in spheres of social and cultural interaction (Castoriadis, [1975] 1987). However, in this book, it also means the right to follow different flourishing pathways – to achieve a becoming (as a citizen, a community, an agent) outside predetermined planning (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 2009; Sheller, 2012). ‘Representation’ also means more than the right to political advocacy in a world saturated by media forms and artforms as well as different styles of mediation. Above all, it means to be in control of the ways one appears to others, in public and private contexts. Of course, this is only possible when both communication styles and the infrastructural management of the platforms on which representations occur are managed by the represented – a ludicrous imaginary of possibility in our neoliberal worlds (Lehman-Wilzig, 2004; Ohlsson et al., 2017; van Dijck, 2009). Viewed from the perspective of an emergent heritage for places, the institution and management of mediatised tourism introduces questions of ‘heritage valorisation, from the top down to the bottom up’ in selective ways by its ‘respective promoters and advocates’ (Muzaini & Minca, 2018, p. 3). This is an ethical minefield, as the design aspects are bound to transform power relationships and identities (Agarwal & Shaw, 2017; Brandellero & Janssen, 2014; Schiavone et al., 2022).

Clearly then, the book does not develop a media and communications thesis. Above all, it interrogates the styles in which tourism and hospitality analysis approaches public spheres in contemporary image-based popular cultures. Tourism and hospitality are fields in which debates on presence and representation run wild because tourism and hospitality industries often become implicated in both debates in global capitalist networks (Fletcher, 2011). As Jamal (2019) has recently evidenced, all classical political philosophies of recognition and advocacy do not just find comfortable application in tourism and hospitality analysis but also the very field’s complexities bear the potential to modify their core theoretical assumptions. My niche focus on ‘film-induced’ or ‘cinematic’ tourism also connects to a second proposition: ultimately triggered by the urge to renovate concept design, the double crisis of presence and representation is sustained by a proliferation of what is just, true and real, with various effects for the work of those interest groups involved in the production of truthfulness, justice and reality in hospitality and tourism. To explore this, I provide examples from three interest groups in film tourism design: common labour in hospitality industry; distinguished artists and tourism designers and the administrative agents of film heritage hotspots.

Not everything in this hypothesis is entirely new. For example, marketing the properties of hosting lands, cultures and their people as unique (‘immutable’) commodities has been a major theme in critical tourism analysis (Sheller, 2004). The original key studies range from those on ‘staged authenticity’ (MacCannell, 1973, 1989) to mainstream political economies of tourism development (Bianchi, 2018;

Britton, 1982), and systems theory applied to post-colonial contexts of tourismification (Cohen, 2001, 2002). Outside the field of tourism, I can point out Hutnyk's (2004) caustic satire of contemporary academic scholarship's travel ethos, from which he does not exclude himself; this finds its highpoint in the ways he approaches both Hardt and Negri's (2004) and Derrida's (1981) treatment of the Third World and class politics, to which I return below. In agreement with these early theses, I highlight a basic contradiction: on the one hand, the 'new spirit of hospitality' promoted by the digitisation and cinematic advertising of tourism destinations releases identities, populations and environments from their geographical and political isolation, but on the other, it robs their communities of their ability to communicate cultural diversity on their own terms.

This paradox of immobility and paralysis in terms of rights within multiple cultural mobilities of image and destination advertising is by now well documented in tourism and hospitality theory (Korstanje, 2018a; Peaslee, 2010; Tzanelli, 2007a). Few scholars proceed to explore how the changes affect the professionals who produce aesthetic renditions of other home territories as tourist destinations. Often, an assumption that *they are* the industries for which they work brings the analysis to hasty conclusions. The trick is to disambiguate professional travel biography and intentionality from the structural expectations of labour, which lead to unwanted applications of the work of such designers in absentia (Desforges, 2000; Tzanelli, 2013a). Let us not speak of *individuals* on this, as a Popperian methodologist would, but about the post-industrial conditions of creativity – the forces of market discourse that do things to people and their environments when operationalised by particular institutions. Lapointe (2021) suggested that instead of reiterating in tourism abstracted approaches to stakeholders, we may consider bringing to the fore the significance of *territoire* as the intersection of physical place and social relations; it is such intersections that reveal how place and cultural representations are controlled and by whom. Likewise, Ek (2011) noted that urban tourism operates on design principles, which out-define and replace traditional politics with 'governmental practices that leave little room for public influence and participation' (2011, p. 169). Promoting human worlds and environments as auratic properties for the tourist gaze, the new abstracted ethos of hospitality can turn the playful, hopeful and oft revolutionary values of wellbeing upheld by tourism designers and local or international labour into profit-making tools with various consequences for planetary futures.

I repeat that it may be naïve to attribute the 'problem' exclusively or partially to those who design, without acknowledging that their labour is entangled in networks of power over which they may not have enough influence to change the way things work (Freudental-Pedersen, 2020, pp. 24–25; Temenos & McCann, 2014, pp. 578–579). Therefore, I refute the idea that institutions (the state or local administration) or powerful individuals 'do' things outside discursive fields – instead, they become carriers of action pathways they may occasionally modify. My study's critical-analytical premises problematise a 'principles document' drafted between 2017 and 2018 by the coordinators of the Design Principles Network to deliberate on real issues affecting practitioners in the design sector at large. I use this manifesto only as a starting point to reflect upon and deconstruct processes of

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what I call ‘worldmaking’ in tourism after a number of arguments, including Keith Hollinshead’s (2008, 2009a, 2009b). As a mediated production of tourism destinations, cinematic-tourist worldmaking carries the seeds of further ad hoc social change, for better or worse. Nicely relaying critical theory’s warnings about the problems generated by media advertising, the ‘Principles Document’ states that:

...the people who are most adversely affected by design decisions—about visual culture, new technologies, the planning of our communities, or the structure of our political and economic systems—tend to have the least influence on those decisions and how they are made (The Design Justice Network Principles in Costanza-Chock, 2020, p. 6).

Even critical theorists, who for some public sociology groups do not do ‘public engagement’, develop a soft spot for advocacy, which could blind their judgement. At times advocacy can harbour crypto-fundamentalist arguments in a pedagogical vocation that should not always legitimise itself on the basis on action-as-agency. By this I refer to a tendency to silence unwanted scenarios: the ways good and self-serving goals may become implicated in the outcome of such advocacy in equal stead, modifying its nature; the way institutional power may remove actual agency from resurgent networks, recruiting from its disaffected members for different development projects; the fact that localities may never engage with the ‘activist cause’, because they are more interested in short-term gains from tourism development, which harm some. In favour of a neat case study, such deviations, which may reveal that victims are also victimisers, or central decision-making harms less the disenfranchised than activist intransigence, are airbrushed. In short, research in tourism and hospitality may benefit by closer inspecting the processes implicated in the *events* leading to the finished product and situations: *designing*, instead of *design* (Jensen, 2013; Jensen & Morelli, 2011).

There is an isomorphism between the complexities involved in human harm, and the ecological/environmental neglect many overdeveloped tourist destinations suffer in late capitalist networks. Unlike my previous major publications on cinematic tourism design and natural environments (Tzanelli, 2018a), here I focus on the monetisation of human nature by tourist businesses that draw upon cultural industrial productions, mainly films. As much as the natural environment will take a back seat in my analysis, technology, especially digital technologies, will dominate my analysis of hospitality’s ‘new spiritedness’. The choice is based on the fact that epistemic approaches to cinematic tourism cannot avoid acknowledging the role of steering media in the development of destination design (Munar, 2016). There is one extra issue for which to account in scholarly movements for principled design, which further muddies the waters: it has been noted that the ways the ethno-religious systems of ‘post-colonial *cosmoi*’ feed into generic discourses of cultural difference, do little to acknowledge their radical untranslatability in Western thought (Chakrabarty, 2000, p. 75). The same observation can

extend to the social practices that inform their everyday life. In some of the book's case studies, we will observe how this error is lifted out of hostile political approaches to 'pluriversity' or many-worldness (Escobar, 2018; Reiter, 2018). Where the co-existence of many worlds of wisdom and action in planetary politics is treated as a governmental nuisance, certain scholarly approaches to managing cultural diversity in cinematic tourism development may refuse to enact different reality scenarios in design (Clark & Szerszynski, 2021, pp. 150–154; Law, 2015, p. 130).

Admittedly, running multiple world-versions in speculative design is a major undertaking. A heuristic methodological tool/constant is necessary to facilitate the illumination of what is specific to place and its cosmos/oi, and what is feigned as such by post-industrial governance. Even this proposition can be problematised, if we consider that such installations often become integrated into organic narratives of place and culture, thus ultimately becoming versions of the native and the indigenous. The trick is to not assume seamless transitions from pluralism in cultural production to a symbolic-interactionist utopia of hosts, who enjoy the post-industrial change in which they are thrown. This is a rookie methodological error, based on the reduction of context into text: in real life, change that transforms infrastructural and political forms without consent and fast, can cause real harm. Therefore, this constant/tool has to be emplaced early on in the process of designing (that is, when this integration is yet to happen). At the same time, for a book claiming a planetary perspective, the partial cannot promise objective vision (Haraway cited in Clark & Szerszynski, 2021, p. 51). However, as much as contextualising may breed partiality in some studies, it can prevent an unwanted explosion of scales (Morton, 2018, p. 110) that leads to unworkable phenomena in the social and human sciences. There in no way we can comprehend the 'Hyperobjective' or temporally and spatially inoperable whole, beyond its topicalised manifestations (Morton, 2013, p. 15; Tzanelli, 2021a, pp. 9–10). The spatio-temporal specificity of my own research design justifies both my contention that we deal with phases of tourism worldmaking, and the need to deal with *événements*, short-span events or phases of design as 'field blocks'. This is methodologically significant for two reasons: first, each of these 'phases' has its own politics and cultural logic; second, what is designed within each of them is predominantly *atmospheric* – a term I unpack below.

Through post-phenomenology, which in this book becomes a medium of networked atmospheres, I endeavour to expose the nature of contingency in tourism design: (a) through the *effects* of different actors and actants in designing (i.e., communities of 'technopoiesis' or informed/expert making – Hand & Sandywell, 2002), but also (b) the affective consequences such assemblances have in hospitality contexts. Materialist phenomenology and post-phenomenology generate stories about those (f)actors who act on the social and natural worlds in blocks/phases. On the one hand, 'nature' features in my work as a key metaphor in the design of film-tourism destinations by localities, tourism organisations, the tourist state and tourism experts (i.e., 'the nature' of things and humans). On the other, its material dimensions are demoted to symbols that obscure its vital properties as a network of environments, ecosystems and natural

habitats. To return to Ek's (2011) thesis on the formation of advertising 'post-poles', cities in which techniques of governance have replaced political life, at stake in cinematic-tourism design is not regional economic development, but the nourishing of planetary solidarity (see also Clark & Szerszynski, 2021, p. 81). By the same token, planetary solidarity can be maintained in critical scholarship only if scholars manage to shift analysis from systems of production to what Latour (2018, pp. 82–90) has termed 'systems of engendering' – nourishing not just humanity, but all terrestrial living forms/beings. Still, in some respects, this book is a diary of the Anthropocene, narrated (as usual) by those who 'innovate' (like *nova -us*, *coené* means novel): human actors (*ánthropoi*). To explain the significance of such decisions, I provide some key referents to the book's conceptual map.

The Techno-Anthropocene and Structural Technomorphism

In previous work (Tzanelli, 2015, 2017, 2018, 2021), I approached the Anthropocene through the lens of climate change and the progressive release of fundamentalist assumptions about the alleged bio-social makeup of different human groups. The post-colonial condition featured prominently in such analyses, whereas the effects of technological innovation were mostly presented as auxiliary tools to capitalist organisation. In this book, I revise this thesis, in a call to decolonise the social-scientific imagination from assumptions regarding causality in the generation of new tourism markets. The new argument replaces the post-colonial with the technocratic, rather than technological sphere, while stressing the latter's centrality in the playfulness of cinematic tourism leisure. Hence, 'technocracy' as the prevalence of organisational forms features in the book's studies as both a mode of business in hospitality and tourism services and a style of consuming filmed landscapes in a sequential manner organised via new technologies (Dann, 1996).

This oxymoron, which is also implicated in the acceleration of technological installations in tourism sites, suggests that climate change scholarship featuring the Anthropocenic paradigm lacks an essential component in its analyses, which may help science to mitigate the uncertainty of disasters: a focus on the modes of cognitive re-organisation that facilitate such installations in the form of theme parks (Sorkin, 1992). Consequently, I will discuss how the 'techno-Anthropocene' (Jensen, 2022) has been with us as a cinematic tourist vision for a while in more embryonic stages than those proffered by post-phenomenologists (e.g., Ihde, 1990, 2022; Verbeek, 2005). In the same vein, I will explore the 'structural technomorphism' such visions impose: the morphing of populations, landscapes and environments via new and old technologies at both material-semiotic (i.e., the cultural image of tourist destinations) and bio-cultural ends (i.e., the classification of different identities). Taking place in the minds, bodies and hearts of hosts and guests, this technomorphism remains entangled with technological processes of image-making, spatial-cultural modification and eventually also biopolitical refashioning or a novel management of the ethnocultural blueprint of

localities and their labour mobilities by the nation-state and international markets (see also de Sousa Santos, 1995, 2007; Scribano, 2021).

The literature on connections between tourism and films or TV series is vast and not at the centre of this book's investigation. Also, where so-called 'film-induced tourism' may be a process of marketing, destination imaging and motivation to visit filmed locations (Beeton, 2015, pp. 21–22), what I have termed 'cinematic tourism' (Tzanelli, 2007a, 2013a) focusses on a critique of the entrepreneurial governance of new urbanism, which hosts laboratories of tourist fascination (Bauriedl & Strüver, 2011, p. 170). Indeed, over the last two decades, film tourism or film-induced tourism has developed into a subject area, in which a variety of issues are explored, including fandom and pilgrimage (Geraghty, 2019, pp. 208–211; Reijnders, 2011, pp. 113–114), destination management planning (Lindström, 2019), labour conflict (Tzanelli, 2013a, pp. 53–62) and strategic destination development (Wray & Croy, 2015). The question of sustainability seems to cut across all these themes, as there have been scholarly voices questioning the longevity of interest in such niche tourism (Beeton, 2016; Kim et al., 2017; Macionis, 2004), but also the factors determining it (Thelen et al., 2020). There has been less interest in the sociocultural *modus vivendi* rather than economic consequences and impacts of such development for the filmed destinations that must host diverse tourism mobilities (see critiques in Buda, 2015; Mostafanezhad & Promburom, 2018; Tzanelli, 2018a).

The scarcity of rigorous research into such issues seems to reflect the disciplinary orientation of film-with-tourism analysis, which prioritises the development of business – regardless of whether this focusses on community growth or fandom – over social-scientific critical analysis, which may even question the promotion of such tourism mobilities *per se*. A limited number of scholars with significant contributions in the field talk about the need for 'social exchange theory' (Thelen et al., 2020, p. 292) – a term, which can involve disparate and potentially conflicting sociological and anthropological methods and perspectives, all of which were never used in relevant studies. And, whereas such research is not uncritical or lacking in analytical depth, it deploys critique as a means to a particular end: to develop a sustainable business agenda with limited (but arguably, suitable for the agenda) epistemological tools.

The difference rests in my shift from either marketing strategies or community development as such to the varied effects the cinematic tourist project's utopian core may have on populations and the environment. Significantly, the programmatic statement of the 1990s 'New Urbanism' was materialised in 'Celebration', a green community prototype built in Florida at the edges of the Disney estates. The vision of this design dated back to the beginning of the 1950s, when Walt Disney himself spoke of a collectivist blueprint, involving housing his corporation's workers, and thus endorsing a new orderly and clean community lifestyle framed by organisational structures (AlSayyad, 2006, p. 212).

Not only is Disney's vision the opposite of heritage as a natural process of producing communal rules, rites and futures but also a strategy of sabotaging collective action as both the outcome of *Gesellschaft* (for lovers of classical sociology see Tönnies, 2001) and multitudinal agency/actancy (for lovers of

contemporary theory see Deleuze, 2002; Hardt & Negri, 2004). Action and agency/actancy are replaced with the organisation of a systemic blueprint, which in the wrong mouths and minds can mutate into an ultra conservative discourse on fundamentalist communitarianism (Scribano et al., 2019). Evidently, then, I view the Techno-Anthropocene as an era in which processes of making community are filtered through organisational design – or rather, *designing*. However, organisation itself can also include quotidian action – different layers of practical assemblages of discourses and cultural sensibilities, that produce tourism worlds (Muzaini & Minca, 2018, pp. 1–2; see also Sandywell, 1996, pp. 410–412).

Worldmaking and Atmospheres

Designing is a key factor in the production of this book’s epistemo-ontological hypothesis as a mitigator of unpredictable actions. In fact, the notion of worldmaking facilitates an important methodological link. Because I inflect manifestations of reality through different tourism and hospitality actors, I compose worldmaking’s intrinsic scholarly meaning from different but compatible arguments in different disciplines and subject areas. This compatibility is not only scalar (from micro to macro agents, structures and situations in global contexts of cultural and economic mobility) but also epistemologically complementary (from variations of realism to situated constructivism – Barkin, 2020; Bartucci et al., 2018).

Epistemologically it is possible to argue that one can arrive at a conclusion as to how things are in contexts of tourism design (realism) through an analysis of different and even conflicting constructions of it (Tzanelli, 2020a). Thus, Nelson Goodman’s (1978) approach to worldmaking as the nomothetic activity of a community of artists, who produce their own version of what is aesthetically real and plausible is compatible with Hollinshead’s (2008, 2010) and Hollinshead and Suleman’s (2018) gradualist/pluralist approaches to worldmaking. Where Hollinshead (2009a) spoke of a group of ‘false’ imaginative activities ‘to purposely (or otherwise unconsciously) privilege particular dominant/favoured representations of peoples/places/pasts within a given region, area, or “world”, over and above other actual or potential representations of those subjects’ (2008, p. 643), Goodman (1978) had suggested that each ‘world’ is valid in its own right as a concerted-collective human activity. These cultural manifestations of worldmaking also have political extensions, which are distributed across different populations and social groups: for example, Swain’s (2009) argument on worldmaking intelligence suggests the act of making new realities as a variation of critical cosmopolitanism (Delanty, 2009). This proposition is compatible with Hollinshead and Suleman’s (2018) argument that the enunciative potential of worldmaking can benefit living worlds.

Scholarly uses of the concept also embrace urban studies as a variation of globalisation studies in an ‘ongoing art of being global’ (Ong, 2011) outside policy domains (Baker & Ruming, 2014). The concept’s uses in political theory as an informal variation of what others call ‘worlding’ (Roy & Ong, 2011), or the