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THE LIMITS OF FREEDOM IN TOURISM[3]

Abstract

The present article provides reflection on the limits of freedom in tourism with special emphasis on the attitudes of tourists behaving on the verge of what is acceptable and unacceptable from the social and moral points of view. The attitude of tourists may take the form of egoistic hedonism manifested in kind and acceptable behavior, which is natural for tourist practice, or in border behavior, which violates both social and legal norms and is, therefore, morally unacceptable. The analysis of these borderline situations points to momentous character of the issue of the limits of freedom in tourism and their cultural conditioning.

Keywords: tourism, freedom, border behavior

GRANICE WOLNOŚCI W TURYSTYCE

Abstrakt

Przedmiotem artykułu jest refleksja poświęcona granicom wolności w turystyce, koncentrująca się na postawach turystów poruszających się na granicy zachowań akceptowalnych i nieakceptowanych ze społecznego i moralnego punktu widzenia. Nastawienie turystów ma postać egoistycznego hedonizmu mogącego przybierać formy zachowań naturalne dla praktyki turystyki, łagodne i akceptowalne albo postać zachowań granicznych, naruszających normy obyczajowe i prawne, nieakceptowanych z moralnego punktu widzenia. Analiza owych sytuacji granicznych pokazuje realność problematyki granic wolności w turystyce i ich kulturowego uwarunkowania.

Słowa kluczowe: turystyka, wolność, zachowania graniczne

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Introducion

The tourist experience satisfies two, basic in this respect human needs, namely, the need to explore the world and to experience the pleasures of traveling. These needs oscillate between what is possible to achieve in a person's locality, and in the outside world towards which humans orientate themselves in the process of shaping their identity. The goods of travelling comprise the qualities of the world experienced by people through their senses, even if they refer to their spiritual rather than physical constitution. The need to explore the world in its diversity goes beyond what is local and mundane. Multiculturalism, which characterizes the Western society allows many of these sensual aspects of the world to be experienced locally.

Traveling is a unique practice, it constitutes a value and a good in itself, but it is also a way to acquire goods unattainable in tourists' locality, which also include border experiences remaining on the verge of the ideal model of tourism. These border experiences do not have the character of content or images, which in today's world seem to be boundlessly disseminated. The essence of border experiences boils down to carnal practices. Therefore, their consumption requires real, physical presence in places where they are made available, and tourism, instrumentally used as a kind of "alibi" and being in fact a form of traveling, serves this purpose. This "tourist alibi" is a commonly used practice to justify traveling to other parts of the world, regardless of the motives and goals that underpin that journey.

This article is aimed at an attempt to outline the issue of freedom in tourism analyzed against the assumption of the asymmetricalness of modern moral structures. The article does not address the question of the ethical bases of tourism practice, common rules of conduct, or the nature of ethical codes in tourism. The reflection on the issue of freedom in tourism is based on an objective approach to tourism as a tool to satisfy those needs of tourists which cannot be satisfied locally, because they constitute unacceptable behaviors of a given community. The asymmetry of moral structures means that behaviors unacceptable in one social sphere can be accepted in another. Viewed in the universal perspective of the issue of freedom, unacceptable behaviors fall into the category of border behaviors. The present analysis focuses on the conceptual structure of reflection on the issues of morality confronted with the reality of postmodern tourist practice illustrated through reflection on the category of a tourist type and an analysis of empirical facts as well as on seeking a conceptual expression for a type of tourist grasping the search for an area of freedom to meet the needs comprised in the category of hedonistic, lifestyle and existential needs.

1. Typologies of the Tourism Subject

The present reflection concerns people manifesting their freedom in the acts of travelling. It does not refer to subjects running away from totalitarian enslavement, system constraints, and political or religious persecution, but people free in their

essence, though limited by social realities of their locality which are transgressed by them in the act of traveling. Tourism is treated as an object, a tool enabling acquirement of goods sought beyond a person's locality. It provides such a person with a space of travelling and a kind of "alibi" covering up true intentions behind traveling.

Among the ten types of tourists distinguished by Todorov, two may be pointed out as having some elements in common (Todorov 1996). Those include, the "exotic" and the "exile". "Exotics" are fascinated with otherness and foreignness rooted in cultural dissimilarity of behavior patterns, while "exiles" are determined by the need to abandon the limitations of their environment and they are defined as people not belonging to their own locality, tending to adopt patterns of behavior accepted in a new place.

Because the "act of exile" constitutes a subjective decision of an individual, this attitude may be argued to bear the features of escapism from a subjectively defined state of enslavement consisting in the impossibility of satisfying individual needs in accordance with a person's demands. Cohen's typology distinguishes four types of tourists (Cohen 1979). In this approach, three would coincide with the one pertinent to this study, namely, the "change seeker", "experience seeker", "experimenting tourist" (Podemski 2005, 52-53). "Change seekers" are escapees, running away from the boredom and prose of daily life, which can occasionally lead them to behaviours verging on what is allowed. Norm transgression provides a common remedy for boredom and it constitutes tangible rejection of everyday life regulated by those norms. "Experience seekers" are tourists alienated from their community, not accepting its "axiological center". They are characterized by the search for new meanings outside their locality, just like "experimenting tourists" who test various existential options.

In his former typology, Cohen makes an important distinction between institutionalized and non-institutionalized tourists (Cohen 1972). Getting involved in situations verging on borderline behaviours in tourism constitute an individualistic attitude and, since tourists return to their locality, they must have a guarantee of secrecy as regards their activities. Consequently, such travellers will appear in a non-institutionalized model providing greater privacy and lack of control on the part of co-tourists. Two of the roles identified by Cohen converge with each other. "Explorers" will choose the destination, route and character of their journey by themselves, avoiding mass routes, while "drifters" will "drift" on the outskirts of the world of tourism, rejecting the values of the world that they come from. With respect to the character of their travels they will rather be "nomads" than "settlers" (Prinke 2008), which will help them avoid censure and sanctions induced by their behavior. However, as regards this type of tourists' motivation, they can become "settlers" when discovering in some tourist spheres an "oasis of freedom" enabling them to find their own fulfillment.

As Podemski notes, "a new type of space is emerging and developing in the modern society, a space delimited specifically for tourists" (Podemski 2005, 64).

Viewing the category of space through the social prism would allow to indicate communities offering tourists a wide margin of behavioral tolerance in which border behaviors are accepted. Such places would induce tourists to return to them. They would rather present a heterogeneous space than an enclave (Edensor 2001), one in which tourists would find it easier to "blend into the woodwork", although enclaves will be characteristic of tourist products gathering tourists having homogeneous needs in "one place", as in the case of tourist trips dedicated to sexual minorities. The structure of an enclave, in this case, offers the status of being "among friends", guaranteeing acceptance and lack of sanctions in relation to a particular behavior. A parallel phenomenon is the so-called ghettoisation of space that leads to the creation of enclaves of wealth and happiness as well as poverty and human dramas (Jałowiecki and Łukowski 2007).

2. Tourism as an Act of Self-Fulfillment

The analyzed type of tourists pursuing border experiences does not directly match tourist typologies proposed in literature. Those tourists bear the features attributed to various tourist models in previously presented typologies. They could be referred to as the Dionysian type, due to their strong need for new, border experiences. Kosiewicz characterizes dionysianity as affirmation of life's turmoil as well as of temporal, bodily and sensual values (Kosiewicz 1998). Nietzsche in the *Birth of Tragedy* contrasts the Dionysian nature with Apollonianism, seeing in it an element that is the essence of life, wild indefiniteness, chaos and unbridledness, a state of intoxication and ecstasy (Nietzsche 1994).

Certain analogy with the Dionysian type could be found in the interpretation of "extreme tourists" made by Pawłucki. In his view, those tourists are escapists who, on the basis of the "market offer of extreme freedom" were granted a "concession to lawlessnes", pushing them to the trap of "postcolonial enslavement" (Pawłucki 2004, 323). Another conclusion made by Pawłucki referring to the above mentioned context of freedom and social enslavement of an individual is worth quoting here: "The extreme tourist's act can (...) be seen (...) as breaking away towards freedom (...). Viewed from such a perspective (...) extreme tourists, although reprehensible in themselves (since no one should expose themselves to the risk of losing themselves) - seem to pursue a fairly sensible project, in which their going sideways towards risk-taking is an indispensable condition for their return to the safe rationality. This, however, is apparent rationality" (Pawłucki 2004, 322). The question of such behavior's reasonableness remains suspended between the subjective approaches to the limits of human freedom that set the basis for the moral assessment of their behavior. Assessment of people's behavior who found themselves in borderline situations in result of their voluntary choice, points to the lack of a unified axiological basis for the assessment of acts of freedom

within one community[4]. The indicated asymmetry of moral structures is therefore of intercultural as well as intercultural dimension.

3. Tourist Goods Market

The goods offered to people by their local environment are at a certain stage of their lives recognized and experienced by them to be later incorporated into everyday practice. Consequently, they no longer have the advantage of novelty, otherness of impressions or uniqueness of experience. It is, moreover, not always possible for people to devote themselves to them or to concentrate on experiencing them. Mass culture provides people with knowledge about the diversity of world goods and ways of exploiting them. As a resident of modern times, man lives in media-mediated culture supermarket: "We consume (...) products from the global supermarket of culture in the belief (largely wrong) that we can buy, do and be anything we want" (Mathews 2005, 7).

Mathews makes a distinction between the supermarket of material goods and the supermarket of culture. The idea of the world of tourism as a supermarket of culture comprises a combination of both markets. Tourism offers cultural goods for which, however, we pay just like for any other material goods. It is understandable, since those tourist cultural goods usually have their material objectification and as such are offered on the market of tourist goods. The tourist market puts up for sale the most interesting, the most important and the most attractive goods, therefore, it is a collection of commonly desirable goods, although access to them is also subject to state regulation, determined by age, gender, class affiliation and the degree of affluence that limits the freedom of choice.

4. Liberalism and Availability of Tourist Goods in the Light of Research

Modern times are characterized by the fact that irrespective of the contents acculturated in the locality, people construct their own cultural identity, choosing the content, and thus creating an eclectic model of identity (Lyotard 2009). National affiliation is related to the degree of human acculturation with respect to liberal values and their basis, i.e. the principle of tolerance, shaping the attitude of openness to the world (Mathews 2005). Diversification of national affinity results in cultural diversity. Liberalism, regardless of accepted conceptualizations of ideas, has its own diversified face in the pragmatic aspect as regards socially practiced patterns of behavior[5]. As Hołówka emphasizes, "liberalism demands

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[4] A plausible example here are people's judgments and opinions expressed in the media with reference to the tragic events on Nanga Parbat in January 2018, which reflected moral standpoints on the issues of the limits of human freedom of behavior that were contradictory with regard to their axiological foundations and expressed views.

[5] It is worth quoting in this context the research findings included in the report of the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction *Travel and drug use in Europe: a short review*

compliance with the law, but it allows much more than it demands" (Hołówka 2001, 371). Liberal societies accept the existence of an open space that allows for unpracticed, unacceptable or even, as in the case of drugs, prohibited behavior. Social liberal structures tolerate wider margins of tolerance towards individuals, pushing the limits of acceptability of human behavior. These social structures are not symmetrical even within the Western civilization. Such an asymmetry enables practicing various patterns of behavior by moving from one community to another which is naturally made possible by a commonly accepted pattern of travel.

In the post-modern era, the emphasis on social position is made by means of consumption. The higher the social position, the less available for the whole society catalog of consumed goods. The need to differentiate oneself and mark one's distinctiveness or social uniqueness is also revealed in the attitude of contestation: "contestation-marked consumption and entertainment determine an individual's prestige. Those individuals establish their social position by demonstrating an adequate lifestyle which is inaccessible to others (Cywiński 2013). In the case of tourists, those will be elite and exclusive tourist products, highly exotic destinations or practicing border behaviors.

The message of the market is very strong: "you can buy and do what you want, and be who you want; you can pursue happiness following your own way, according to your preferences, using the world's cultural resources" (Mathews 2005, 27). It would be difficult to indicate a stronger motivation to travel. The laws of the modern market, imprinted in human consciousness, lead to an analogous treatment of the tourism space in which goods are purchased for one's own pleasure. The limits of freedom as regards consumption are pushed towards communities that define this freedom in a similar way, either for their own use or for the use of visiting tourists. In their own locality, people succumb to the pressure of their environment, however, they leave this pressure behind for the time of travel expecting tolerance for their behavior from visited destinations on the grounds that by merely being "strangers" they are guaranteed a greater margin of freedom. People head towards liberal societies in the belief that "liberalism respects civil disobedience as a rule and recognizes it as one of the sources of law" (Hołówka 2001, 372).

(Gyarmathy 2012). The authors point out, inter alia, that due to the specificity of drug tourism, it is difficult to present statistical data illustrating the global scale of the phenomenon. At the same time, however, there are reports describing the behavior of certain specific groups. One can even cite research carried out in a group of 6,500 German and British tourists aged 16-35 who travel by plane to the countries of the Mediterranean. One out of five research participants reported having used illegal drugs at least once in the preceding 12 months in their home country (12% cannabis and 8% other medicines). One in ten reported the use of illegal drugs during the holidays. 87% of the research participants used marijuana, 32% ecstasy, 18% cocaine, 6% ketamine, 6% amphetamine and 4% gamma-hydroxybutyric acid (GHB). The frequency of drug use varied depending on the place of travel. Alcohol was used by almost all campers (95%). 78% of British citizens and 61% of Germans were drunk at least once during their stay. In addition, 45% of British citizens and 24% of Germans reported having been drinking for at least half of their stay.

The *Drugs and risk-taking in tourism* research conducted among people practicing the so-called drug tourism provided interesting results in this area (Uriely and Belhassen 2006). Uriely and Belhassen point out that "the majority of travelling drug users hold a belief in an «invulnerable tourist». They are convinced that a country where «one lives on tourism», will not undermine their own economic foundations (Synowiec 2015). As a result, they are convinced of the silent consent of the local law enforcement agencies, remaining unaware of the consequences resulting from their breaking the existing law. For the most part, they are also unaware of the social harm done by such behaviours to the local environment of tourist resorts such as, for example, the emergence of pathologies, increase in crime, passing on patterns of foreign behavior to a given community. Research participants also held the belief that "the risks associated with their practices are lower when those practices are realized in the context of tourism than in their daily lives" (Uriely and Belhassen 2006, 340).

Tourists expect that their "disobedience" will be accepted on the grounds of their own carelessness, ignorance of the rules or recklessness resulting from their concentration on experiencing impressions. At the same time, they acquit themselves on the grounds of the shortness of their stay which prevents them from getting acquainted with and understanding the local patterns of behavior, and thus, intentional violation of the rules observed in a given social space. In other words, tourists deny the possibility of having a real impact on the local community and, at the same time, demand recognizing the principle that a person's lifestyle is the matter of their own choice.

5. The Sphere of Freedom in Tourism

No society seems to recognize absolute freedom, perceiving the threats posed to its existence by various patterns of behavior. The world of tourism presents, therefore, specific "destinations of freedom", directions of tourist traffic offering various types of goods. The more their character approaches border experience, the fewer places will offer them. It is worth noting that allowing one type of border freedom does not automatically mean acceptance of their full package.

Tourists' safety requires awareness of this state of affairs, just as the ability to recognize the border between the official and unofficial consent. Margins of freedom set by the local community for its members and for "strangers" do not have to be symmetrical. What is acceptable for tourists may be intolerable with regard to residents. Natives do not have to practice tourist behavior to accept or tolerate them. Tourists are a temporary presence that has no permanent impact on residents. However, one cannot predict the effects of contact with otherness. Even temporary and passing presence of tourists can expose the local inhabitants to attractive patterns of behavior, which will be accepted by them and adopted on a daily basis, changing the character of their locality.

Tourism allows access to goods that are inaccessible to people in the space of their locality, thus urging them to abandon it. It is a temporary act that assumes return to the place of living. Travelling, in general dimension, does not provide a pattern of everyday behavior, it takes place in free time and is conceived of as a break in daily human existence. Return to everyday life means reintegrating tourists in the social space of the locality and in the structure of the world of values which they "abandoned" when setting on the journey, although they may return "transformed" and filled with a new axiology. Therefore, they will either experience a moment of "succumbing", returning to the normative system from which they physically "released" themselves for the time of the journey, or face a conflict of axiology, which will mark them with the stigma of otherness in the reception of the local environment.

Sanctions conditioning the functioning of a given community also belong to this normative construction. The degree to which tourists internalize the norms and patterns of behavior to which they were socialized by their locality, determines whether they leave those value structures behind them in their everyday life environment, or "take them" with them on the journey. Each contact with the other constitutes an axiological discourse with an unpredictable conclusion.

6. Limits of Freedom from the Local Perspective

Human life in its basic dimension takes place in the space of a given local environment. Locality sets the boundaries of peoples' activities and offers forms of satisfying their needs. The local community provides a point of reference for the choices that people make during their lives, for the perception of individual freedom and for defining boundaries. It introduces them to the behavior patterns appropriate for a given culture, which they themselves represents, shows the values and hierarchies of these values that are important for people and their cultural area. It presents accepted, boundary, unaccepted and forbidden behaviors. It also plays an informal role of social control, formulating judgments commenting or evaluating the conduct of an individual. These judgments express a kind of relationship between human behavior and the interests of a given social group (Jankowski 1979, 12).

The limits of freedom are determined by moral, legal and social norms defining acceptable or forbidden behaviors, complemented by patterns of behavior expressing the group's reaction to transgressing these norms which takes the form of sanctions. Moral sanctions seem to come to the fore here as they antecede appealing to institutional sanctions set by legal norms. These include: negative evaluation of conduct, deprivation of rights for a certain period of time, being ignored by the group, exclusion from the group (Jankowski 1979, 140). Application of informal sanctions assumes a permanent presence of the individual, the object of these sanctions, in a given social space. The sanctions are aimed at preventing undesirable effects of certain behaviours and at formulating a clear message regarding their unacceptability. In the case of tourists, informal sanctions do not

find any application, since it is unrealistic that tourists' behavior could be censured by a given community. In general, tourists are isolated from such a community, since they are separated by a language barrier which hinders or even prevents mutual communication, and thus makes it impossible for that community to formulate assessment of a particular behavior and to impose informal sanctions on tourists. The degree of both subjects' language proficiency may have an impact on the scale of such cognitive dissonance, but this is not the question of its subject matter but of the clarity of the moral structures conveyed in the message. The community will not deprive tourists of their rights, due to the fact that sanctions constitute a reaction to unacceptable behavior expressed post factum, therefore, the moment of its manifestation comes when the subject to whom it is addressed is already absent and, in all likelihood, will never again appear in the space of this community. They will not be excluded from the group, because they do not belong to it, and their being ignored will not be understood by them as a message of censure addressed at their behavior, since, they will, just as ignored consumers, continue their journey in search of goods that they want to acquire. Assessment of behavior formulated by the local community will not have an existential meaning for tourists. Institutionalized sanctions may provide the sole clear message for tourists.

Travelling is a temporary state for tourists, a kind of "free time play". The association of free time with play goes back to Schiller's consideration of play as a form of manifesting humanity (Schiller 1972). Callois perceived play as a form of practicing human freedom with a strong autotelic emphasis and a ludic tendency to surpass the borders, typical of the cultural structure of the carnival (Callois 1973). The practice of tourism seems to be a form of play that Huisinga defined in *Homo Ludens*, when he stated that "Play is a voluntary activity or occupation executed within certain fixed limits of time and place according to rules freely accepted, but absolutely binding, having its aim in itself and accompanied by a feeling of tension, joy and the consciousness that it is «different» from «ordinary» life" (Huisinga 1985, 48).

The mood of play, the emotions associated with it, the attitude to pleasure, voluntary choice in free time, the relationship with time and space, and exclusion from daily life, indicate the structural similarities of these two forms of human activity. Contemporary civilization of consumerism considers fun, as Bauman (1993) and Ritzer (2001) emphasize, as human duty, which in the long-term, has atrophic properties with regard to the sphere of people's sensations.

7. The Limits of Freedom and the Issue of Sanctions in Tourism

An individualistic and non-enclavic form of border tourist practice will usually be located in the most anonymous space of a big city.

The urban community, due to the size of the population creating it and a high degree of anonymity and social diversity, will be characterized by the weakening of informal sanctions in favor of the strengthening formal sanctions. At the same time,

it will develop semi-legal and illegal institutions serving the needs of individuals, both locals and visitors. Strengthening formal sanctions is a threat to tourists who violate protected values, as is the case of drugs. Communities that set very wide margins of freedom, for example for the sexual needs of tourists, can at the same time demonstrate unwavering principles on the issue of drugs. Sexual openness can be the sign of a liberal attitude, which does not have to be accompanied by tolerance towards social disobedience presented by tourists who strengthen their sensations with forbidden stimulants.

The world of tourism invariably reveals a peculiar civilizational disparity. It is the rich, rather than the poor who travel the most and, among those, it is representatives of Western civilization who dominate over other cultures. This disproportion is emphasized by Podemski, who states that: "the need to seek new experience by wealthy people drives the development of the tourism industry" (Podemski 2005, 100). This situation reflects the sense of superiority that characterizes representatives of the "white man" culture reinforcing a new kind of tourist neo-colonialism. Civilizational affiliation is to guarantee more freedom and impunity in the "Third World" countries.

The post-modern culture shaping the contemporary Western civilization is also changing the perception of tourists who become a metaphor of human social condition. The social positioning of the tourist entity itself is also changing. As Bauman contends, it evolves from the model of a pilgrim seeking value in the world's space to a stroller, player, tramp, and a tourist seeking fulfillment in experiencing pleasures: "A tourist leaves home looking for experience (...) which he does (...) of his own will (...) The tourist pays, the tourist demands" (Bauman 1993, 25). High social position produces a conviction that tourists are entitled to the margins of freedom, according to the saying "Who can deny the rich?" As Hobbes points out, freedom cannot have an absolute meaning and must be comprised within the limits of the law (Hobbes 1956), but tourism practice allows a person to move between different legal systems and abide by it while satisfying their needs. If freedom, as Moore argues, is a manifestation of an individual's right to decide for themselves (Moore 1980), then it is obviously linked to the freedom of choice, even if it ultimately turns out to be wrong, harmful or unacceptable. People also bear responsibility for their choices and the consequent acts, including this tragic sense of responsibility that comes from the impossibility of predicting the effects of one's choices (Sartre 1998). Freedom realized in the acts of choice is a "subjectively-experienced project", because man is characterized by a subjective sense of freedom (Berlin 1991). In this approach, freedom is characterized by heroism resulting from the impossibility of predicting the effects of human acts with the simultaneous imperative of incurring their consequences.

The needs realized through the practice of tourism could be divided with respect to their social reception, universality and type of sanctions, into: behaviors not practiced in a given community, such as: extreme sports, gambling, naturism;

behaviors unacceptable in a given community, such as: drugs, homosexuality, group sex, gender reassignment, and behaviors prohibited in a given community, such as: euthanasia, abortion, sex with minors. The three categories are not fully disparate due to cultural differences that result in including or excluding certain types of behavior from a given category depending on the patterns of behavior and the type of sanctions accepted in a community. Unacceptable and forbidden behaviors differ with respect to the nature of sanctions. Legal sanctions are applied in the case of prohibited behaviors, while unacceptable behaviors will induce application of moral sanctions, except for situations when "unacceptable" is a euphemism referring to "forbidden". Social pressure exerted on the authorities, media messages aimed to create the image of acceptance by showing forms of practicing certain behaviors, can lead to changes in the system of behavioral norms and imposed sanctions, as in the case of trading marijuana in California in the USA. It may also refer to existential human needs regarding euthanasia, abortion, gender reassignment or popularization of transplantation practices.

This cultural asymmetry is the area of the discussed tourist type's activity. Considering the differences in motivation, needs realized through tourism could be defined by differentiating the categories of needs into hedonistic needs, lifestyle related needs and existential needs, and with reference to such categorization assign the status of behaviors: unpracticed, unaccepted and forbidden. The above presented type of the Dionysian tourist is a fairly good reflection of behavior aimed at fulfilling a person's hedonistic needs, such as the freedom of sexual practices, the need for intoxication and identity loss offered by alcohol and drugs, as well as lifestyle related needs, such as self-expression by manifesting one's carnality, experience of extreme sensations, possible through naturism, extreme sports, gambling. Illustration of behaviors inspired by human existential needs would require distinguishing the type of existential tourists satisfying their needs through the act of traveling, as in relation to abortion practices, gender reassignment and euthanasia, as well as the category of medical treatments not provided in a given community.

Conclusion

Travelling has always provided an opportunity to obtain goods unavailable in tourists' environment. In the times of market globalization, all kinds of goods that meet people's daily needs can be purchased through trade transactions without the necessity of embarking on a journey. Consequently, the motives behind traveling have lost their instrumental function in favour of the autotelic one. Travelling, as a way of human self-fulfillment, will still be treated as an medium of gaining access to practices inaccessible in the locality of the traveler. As long as there exists an intercultural asymmetry of ethical structures, travelling directions will lead from the world of prohibitions towards the areas of alleged freedom, i.e. to the world free of those prohibitions.

The analyzed type of Dionysian tourists seek both the forbidden and the allowed goods. They look for a space allowing them to practice prohibited behaviors in destinations where they are allowed, which is possible due to the differentiation of human moral practices and heterogeneity of forms of human civilization. The ubiquitous social stratification resulting in disharmony of poverty and wealth, creating divisions between the elites and the socially excluded, will enable the supply of all goods desirable and sought by modern man. The laws dominant on the contemporary market and the attitude of consumerism bring people to assigning market quality to all kinds of goods. Many of these goods are offered by communities that are weaker in terms of civilizational development, although just as many are available in communities with different structures of the legal sanctions systems, manifesting the differences in the world of values. Seeking tourist attractions available through the practice of traveling induces people to offering goods which are forbidden elsewhere. Such offers, emerging in result of pushing the limits of acceptable behavior, provoke man to take a step towards the "forbidden fruit". In the physical aspect, the spheres of morality can be separated by the real border of one step made by man moving momentarily from the world in which a given practice is forbidden, to the world in which it is allowed.

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