

Understanding the role of the tourists' identity in travel

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Abstract

It has been suggested that identity issues lie at the heart of our desire for travel. It is widely acknowledged that travel plays an important part in shaping the perception of self through experiences of other people and places. Using repeated travel as an indicator of status via initiatives such as frequent flyer programmes is also well established in existing literature. However, relatively little has been documented about how identity can influence an individual's travel choices. An increase in tourism mobility has been related to environmental problems, with air travel being a contributor to climate change. Behavioural change is considered to be one method that could bring about a reduction in tourism related CO₂ emissions. However, evidence suggests that instigating behavioural change within tourism is problematic and there is a need to better understand the role played by personal identity in tourism decisions. The aim of this study is therefore to enhance the understanding of the role played by personal identity in tourism mobility.

Studies have shown that in order to gain insight in to identity there must be an understanding of the narratives used to create and affirm identities. Therefore, a narrative approach was used to explore the travel life histories of 24 participants. A second interview examined how interviewees viewed their identities and tourism activity in the light of environmental debates and concerns. Data were analysed using a thematic and dialogic/performance approach.

Results indicate that identities play a major part in travel behaviour and decisions. Identities are contextual and can override one another at certain times. Thus, an individual with a strong environmental identity at home may choose to perform a conflicting identity when away. This thesis presents the various ways identity and tourism mobility are linked. Identity issues highlighted in this study include: using narratives of tourism to present identities; travel being motivated by the emergence or avoidance of possible selves; and identities linked to significant others driving tourism

travel through the desire for connectedness, status and perceived expectations of the significant other. This research contributes to knowledge by introducing new perspectives to identity and tourism research. It goes some way to explaining why policies promoting behaviour change have not succeeded. In addition, this research proposes that policy makers or marketers should place more emphasis on the importance of the tourists' identity.

List of contents

Abstract	3
List of contents	5
List of tables	11
List of figures	12
Acknowledgements	13
Author’s declaration	14
Chapter 1: Introduction	15
Research rationale	15
Aim and objectives.....	17
Organisation of thesis.....	18
Research paradigm and approach.....	19
Presentation of thesis.....	20
Positionality	21
Chapter 2: Literature review	23
Introduction	23
Understanding identity and the self	23
Self-concept.....	23
Self-categorisation theory and presentations of self	28
Personal identity.....	29
Social identity	31

Giddens and self-identity	32
Identity formation.....	33
Identity and tourism research	34
Identity and this research	37
Mobility.....	38
The new mobilities paradigm.....	38
Tourism mobility, travel patterns and social networks	42
Tourism mobility, environmental concern and identity	44
Identity perspectives.....	48
Summary	51
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	53
Introduction	53
Research approach	53
Narrative inquiry	54
The approach to narrative inquiry	55
The use of narrative inquiry	55
Research design.....	57
Interview guide.....	58
Interview one.....	58
Interview two	59
Sampling	60
Pilot interviews	64

Data collection	65
The role of the researcher.....	67
Data analysis	68
Narrative analysis.....	68
Steps in analysis undertaken in this research	72
Data familiarisation.....	72
Thematic analysis.....	73
Dialogic/performance analysis.....	73
Ethical considerations	74
Health and safety issues	75
Validity.....	76
Limitations	77
Sample.....	77
Memory of participants	77
Researcher bias.....	78
Summary	79
Chapter 4: The narrated self.....	80
Introduction	80
This is me ... or is it?	81
I am not a tourist	84
Possible selves.....	89
Fateful moments.....	94

Linking fateful moments and possible selves	102
Summary	104
Chapter 5: Relationships: the effect of significant others	105
Introduction	105
Visiting friends and relatives	105
VFR travel and finding a ‘home from home’	110
Family holidays: creating, sharing and recreating memories.....	112
Holidays cementing relationships: finding togetherness.....	115
Maintaining and creating social bonds.....	117
‘We could have quite cheerfully killed each other’: Holidays, a time for togetherness or a catalyst for conflict?	121
The reluctant traveller	123
Summary	126
Chapter 6: The plane will fly anyway	128
Introduction	128
Climate change: there is a debate.....	128
Environmental commitment home and away.....	130
What difference will I make?	135
A world without travel would be poorer	142
Whose responsibility is it anyway?	149
Information, governments and taxes	152
Technology will save the day.....	154

Summary	155
Chapter 7: Conclusion	157
Introduction	157
Review of objectives	157
Contribution to knowledge.....	159
The narrated self.....	160
Relationships: the effect of significant others	162
The plane will fly anyway.....	164
Methodological contribution.....	167
Conceptual framework	167
Implications of the research	169
Recommendations for further research	170
Unresolved issues and limitations.....	171
Reflections on the research	172
References	174
Appendix 1: Interview 1 protocol	i
Appendix 2: Interview 2 protocol	iv
Appendix 3: Email to environmental groups.....	vii
Appendix 4: Interview one sample transcript – Tom	ix
Appendix 5: Interview two sample transcript – Tom.....	xxxii
Appendix 6: Ethics checklist	lviii
Appendix 7: Risk assessment	lxiv

Appendix 8: List of conference presentations	lxvii
Appendix 9: Anatolia paper	lxix
Appendix 10: JOST manuscript	lxxxvi
Appendix 11: Publication strategy	cxii

List of tables

Table 3.1: Profile of participants.....62

Table 3.2: Environmental groups contacted.....63

List of figures

Figure 2.1: The structure of self.....	25
Figure 2.2: Theory of planned behaviour.....	49
Figure 4.1: The relationship between possible selves and fateful moments.....	103
Figure 5.1: A triangular model of self-regulatory relationships.....	124
Figure 7.1: Conceptual framework: Travel and identity.....	168

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Author's declaration

In the course of collecting data for this thesis, one journal article has been accepted for publication and one is currently under review; these can be found in the appendices (see appendices 9, p. lxix and 10, p. lxxxvi).

In addition, this research was presented at seven conferences, which are listed in Appendix 8 (p. lxvii).

Chapter 1: Introduction

The aim of this study is to enhance the understanding of the role played by personal identity in tourism mobility. A narrative approach was used involving two interviews with 26 participants. The first interview was a travel life history, in which participants recalled all of their holidays throughout the course of their lives. The second interview explored interviewees' views on the environment and travel. This chapter explains the rationale behind the study, as well as presenting the aim and objectives of the research and setting out the organisation of the thesis.

Research rationale

Tourism is continuing to grow with tourists travelling greater distances and making more frequent trips (UNWTO 2012). Competition resulting from the emergence of budget airlines has contributed to tourists' ability to travel further for less money (Schafer 2000). An increase in disposable income has made more money available for travel, which has also contributed to the growth of tourism. The increase in tourism mobility has been related to environmental problems, especially climate change, due to physical travel relying heavily on the use of fossil fuels (UNWTO-UNEP-WMO 2008).

Global CO₂ emissions need to be reduced by 80% from 1990 levels by 2050 in order to prevent a global temperature increase of more than 2°C (DECC 2008). For this to happen, reductions need to be made across the board in all industries. Tourism contributes to roughly 5% of global emissions and air travel accounts for the largest share of the sector's emissions (UNWTO 2007). Tourism is continuing to grow while, at the same time, CO₂ emissions need to be reduced. This is causing major problems with climate change mitigation since, although there are several possible methods of reducing travel-related CO₂, the continued growth means the results of these methods are being cancelled out (Becken 2007). There are several options to reduce emissions and, while they remain promising, they are unlikely to be sufficient to achieve absolute reductions in line with international efforts (Scott et al. 2010). As a result of this, the 'solution' considered to offer the greatest success is that of travel behaviour change; however, this is not without its limitations (McKercher et al. 2010).

It is well documented that despite being aware of the consequences, people continue to participate in activities which will have a negative impact on the environment (Giddens 2009). Even those people for whom acting environmentally sustainably is important, continue to undertake damaging activities (e.g. Anable et al. 2006; Dickinson et al. 2009; Hares et al. 2010; McKercher et al. 2010). This is particularly true of those who endeavour to be ‘environmentally friendly’ at home but who continue to fly. In order to instigate or encourage a behavioural change it is necessary to gain a further understanding of the motivations behind travel.

One element thought to play a role in travel behaviour is identity. Desforges (2000) suggests that identity issues lie at the heart of our desire for travel. Highly mobile lifestyles are currently viewed as a positive identity marker. As outlined by Urry (2012), high mobility is associated with a high degree of ‘meetingness’, i.e., an individual’s standing in society is reflected in mobility patterns, which ultimately necessitates air travel. This is also demonstrated through airlines’ use of frequent flyer programmes which “reward and thus increase interest in mobility” (Gössling and Nilsson 2010, p. 242). It could be argued that such marketing strategies hold some responsibility for the status implied in highly mobile lifestyles through their inclusion of VIP lounges for members and add to the status attached to exotic international tourism. Current literature relating to identities and tourism tends to focus on either ‘finding yourself’ through travel (e.g. Fullagar 2002; Noy 2004a) or using travel as a symbol of status (e.g. Thurlow and Jaworski 2006; Urry 2012).

Despite some indications in the literature that studies of identity could provide insights into tourism travel behaviour (e.g. Stets and Biga 2003; Becken 2007), there is little research to demonstrate how existing identities influence tourism-related decisions and initiate our desire for travel. Through tourism choices, people seek to reinforce or develop particular identity markers; therefore, a desired identity appears to affect decisions and behaviour (Markus and Nurius 1986).

There is an assumption that individuals can be persuaded to choose low carbon tourism products. Given that identity plays a role in decisions and behaviour, it is vital to examine the underlying identity processes at work. Following on from this is the proposition that individuals predisposed to environmental concern will modify their

behaviour accordingly; however, this has not proved to be a potent force in other areas of life, such as car use (Dickinson and Dickinson 2006; Steg and Vlek 2009; Schwanen and Lucas 2011).

Desforges (2000) suggests that understanding identity can give insight into tourism consumption because, by understanding the person and their needs and desires, it could be possible to predict their future travel behaviour. If the tourism identity processes an individual goes through could be understood, it might be possible to influence desired identities and, consequently, travel behaviour. Stets and Biga (2003) suggest that limited success in bridging the gap between environmental attitude and behaviour could be due to a missing link which takes into account the role of identity. Given that the self is considered to be a significant factor in behaviour, there is a need to close this research gap.

This study therefore questions the assumption that behaviour change can be effectively managed given individuals' needs to negotiate a variety of identity interests. The study will go some way to bridging the gap in knowledge and stimulating debate for further research. In addition, but beyond the scope of this PhD research, if the tourism identity process that an individual goes through could be better understood, it might be possible to tackle the environmental impact of tourism travel. This could be achieved by influencing the desired identity of the tourist, thus promoting a more environmentally sustainable tourism identity.

Aim and objectives

The aim of this research is to enhance the understanding of the role played by personal identity in tourism mobility. This will be achieved through the following objectives:

- (1) To examine travel 'life histories' as mechanisms to explore identity formation and resultant identity markers in a tourism context.
- (2) To explore the ways in which identity may influence a person's evolving tourist travel behaviour.
- (3) To analyse the manner in which home identities are presented in relation to away identities.

- (4) To analyse how the identities of people embedded in highly mobile lifestyles are constructed or negotiated in the light of current debates on climate change.

Organisation of thesis

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the literature. Given the qualitative nature of the research, the literature review is brief, with the bulk of the literature being discussed later in conjunction with the findings (Jones et al. 2013). The rationale for undertaking and presenting a literature review before carrying out data collection and before presenting the findings is to gain an understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of ‘identities’. An understanding of the basic concepts involved in identities, i.e. what they are, how they are formed or how they are presented is important in order to understand the appropriateness of the method employed and grasp the significance of the findings. In addition, undertaking a literature review before commencing research is important in order to identify a gap in the literature so as to avoid duplicating previous research.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology. This chapter explains the rationale behind the use of narrative interviews and describes each step of the research process, from designing the methodology through to analysis. It also clarifies any limitations that the methodology may have.

Chapter 4 is the first of three findings chapters. This chapter presents data relating to ‘the self’ and includes sub themes such as possible selves, fateful moments and presentation of self. This chapter is primarily concerned with the identity of the participant and, through their narratives, explores the ways in which identity has impacted on travel.

Chapter 5 is entitled ‘relationships’ and discusses various examples of relationships that may affect an individual’s identity. It presents data which provides alternative explanations for motives behind visiting friends and relatives. It offers an analysis of identities linked to significant others and the ways in which travel can reinforce these. Ultimately it will showcase the ways in which identities built upon relationships with significant others can affect travel-related decisions.

Chapter 6 is the final findings chapter and presents data that demonstrates how potential green identities, which play a significant role in the 'home' context of everyday life, may be overridden by other stronger identities that come to the fore in the holiday context.

Chapter 7 brings all three themes from the findings together and discusses them in relation to the wider context of the study. This chapter presents a conceptual framework to aid understanding of the key themes of the research. It also discusses the implications of the research for policy and industry, provides recommendations for further research and contemplates the limitations of the research.

A full list of references can be found at the end of the thesis, followed by all relevant additional information in the appendices.

Research paradigm and approach

When designing an approach to the research, the researcher is faced with important decisions relating to their set of beliefs about how the world functions (Jennings 2005). Considerations include the ontological perspective - the nature of reality, and the epistemological perspective - ideas on how knowledge is constructed or demonstrated (Mason 2002). Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggest that before the approach can be decided upon, paradigmatic questions must first be answered based on the system of beliefs and worldview which will guide the research. Locating the paradigmatic approach has been challenging, as aspects of many of the paradigms can be found in this research. However, positivism was easily ruled out due to its perspective that there is only one reality (Goodson and Phillimore 2004). On the other end of the continuum lies interpretivism. Given the fact that identities are presented to and then interpreted by an audience, this could have been a suitable approach. However, after much consideration and given the discussion presented in the following chapter, it is felt that this research lies under the paradigm of social constructionism because, as is argued in the next chapter, when a person presents their identities they are doing so to an audience. The person is choosing how to present their identities and what aspects to highlight (Goffman 1959). Giddens' (1991) argument that identities are formed and negotiated through the maintenance of narratives to self and others would indicate that

this research fits well in the paradigm of social constructionism. In addition Hammersley (2002, p.67) states that “people construct the social world, both through their interpretations of it and the actions based on those interpretations”, which is also true of how identities are constructed and acted upon.

Given the topic of study and taking into account how identities are formed and affirmed, the research comes from the viewpoint that there is only the reality of the ‘there and then’; i.e., the reality is real in that place and at that exact moment in time. In terms of this research, reality (and identity) is constructed through what is told, when and to whom. Within the paradigm of social constructionism, the ontological perspective of this research is that reality is only one point in time and one context; i.e., there are multiple realities, meaning that a different social setting will have different realities (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). The epistemological perspective is that knowledge (of identities) is constructed through the interaction of individuals or groups. Furthermore, the social constructionist approach of looking for understanding lends itself towards a qualitative research method.

Presentation of thesis

This is a qualitative study; therefore, it is important that the presentation of the thesis is in line with a qualitative approach. I have written in the first person because it demonstrates a more active involvement in the research (Jones et al. 2013). As this is a narrative study, my role as the audience means that I play a part in the creation of the narratives (Frank 2000). Writing in the first person allows me to take ownership of the research and is more engaging for the reader (Jones et al. 2013). I have also presented the thesis in a way to give it a narrative feel; I have used headings that are narrative in style so as to create readability in order for the reader to be engaged (Holloway and Brown 2012). In addition, the findings are presented alongside the literature to create a dialogue (Jones et al. 2013); although the data has primacy and therefore leads the literature, as is customary for an inductive study. The dialogue between the data and the literature is another way of engaging the reader (Wolcott 2001).

Positionality

The nature of narrative means that the interviewer becomes “a willing participant in a dialogical process.” (Jones 2003, p. 60). This is supported by Holstein and Gubrium (2004) who consider the interview to be a collaborative process. Given that there is a reciprocal nature of a narrative interview in co-constructing meaning and that the same can be said of constructing, presenting and interpreting identities, it is important to acknowledge my role in the research by discussing positionality. Polkinghorne (1996, p. 366) acknowledges that “told stories are affected by the audience to whom they are communicated”. Morgan and Pritchard (2005, p. 30) accept their active involvement in their research and therefore “write ourselves into the text, acknowledging the ‘I’ and ‘we’”. The person who I am and my place in the world will not only affect the stories that my interviewees tell me but it will also affect my outlook on the research.

The different positions that will impact upon my research include:

- I have been a tourist, and intend to be a tourist again in the future. When recounting the stories of their travel, interviewees would ask me “*have you been there*” (Jill), more often than not, I had not been ‘there’ which prompted the interviewee to carry on telling me about why I should go. In addition to being a tourist, I usually travel by aeroplane when I go on holiday. Interviewees would not usually ask me about my environmental credential until after the interview had ended, usually after I had turned off the voice recorder, therefore this aspect may not have played a part in influencing their stories but may have been taken into consideration in my interpretation and analysis of identities.
- I am a relatively young researcher. This may have played a part in the stories that the interviewees told me, and also on how I view their stories. My age and subsequent attitude to life may impact on the research.
- I am British and come from Dorset; therefore my outlook of the world comes from a relatively financially comfortable Westernised position. One of my participants made the comment that people who come from developing countries do not have the luxury of worrying about climate change.
- My position as a female researcher will have influenced the stories that participants told me. I am certain that had I have been a male researcher the stories may have included different details.

There are other aspects that could have played a part in the research, such as my sexuality, any obvious disability and social class. Pritchard and Morgan (2003) in their research on contemporary postcards of Wales and how these might impact on cultural production and identities, take into account their own personal identities and the fact that these are multiple. They openly acknowledge that interpreting a photograph on a postcard is as much to do with the intentions of the photographer as it to do with the person interpreting the meaning of the postcard. This could be said to be true of investigating identities; the interviewee will present an identity to the researcher, but if the researcher has a different cultural reference point the interpretation may differ to the intended performance.

Chapter 2: Literature review

Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of existing knowledge based on the key topics identified in the aim and objectives: identity, mobility and tourism and climate change. The review of the literature first focuses on the theme of identity. This is a complex area with key concepts often being mistaken for each other and with some terminology used interchangeably (e.g. Ashmore and Jussim 1997; Seigel 2005). An understanding of the terminology used is imperative, along with knowledge of various elements of identity, such as identity formation and presentation. Understanding the foundation of identity theories is essential in the formation of an appropriate methodology.

This chapter also presents literature relating to mobility; it further demonstrates why an understanding of this area is important. Finally, the chapter introduces the concepts relating to climate change and travel, making clear the significance of looking at this from an identity perspective. As stated previously, as this is an exploratory inductive study, further literature will be presented in the findings chapters, as topics that emerge from the data analysis guide the review of literature relevant to emergent themes (see Holloway and Brown 2012).

Understanding identity and the self

Without prior knowledge of the existing literature, it would be easy to suggest that many of the terms, such as ‘self-concept’, ‘self-image’, ‘self-identity’ and others listed below, are the same concept but phrased differently (e.g. Ashmore and Jussim 1997). It is only after consulting various sources that the distinctions, some of which are negligible, become apparent. On the other hand, many concepts and theories are intertwined and overlap in some way (Seigel 2005).

Self-concept

‘Self-concept’ is an important term in identity literature; in layman’s terms, it is how individuals see and describe themselves. Onkvisit and Shaw (1987, p.14) state that an individual’s self-concept refers to: “the ideas and feelings that he has about himself in relation to others in a socially determined frame of reference.” They argue that

individuals are constantly assessing their environment and objects within this environment. In their discussion, they assert that individuals may consider themselves as an object for assessment within the environment. Self-concept is based on an assessment of how individuals see themselves and, additionally, their perception of how other people view them “through the eyes of other people ... [taking] into account their behaviour, attitudes and approval among other things” (Onkvisit and Shaw 1987, p.14). Hogg and Terry (2000) also affirm that self-concept is defined through group membership and the acknowledgement of the necessary characteristics for membership of the group in question.

Gecas (1982) asserts that self-concept can be approached from two perspectives within social psychology; one has roots in sociology and the other is rooted in psychology. The sociological perspective looks at predecessors of self-concept and searches for instances of these within social interactions. Psychology, on the other hand, looks at behavioural-related consequences of self-conceptions. Both perspectives are important for this research. An explanation of self-concept is provided by Gecas (1982), who makes clear the distinction between ‘self’ and ‘self-concept’. He explains that a self-concept is the result of an individual reflexively assessing themselves in terms of ‘I’ and ‘me’. The resultant self-concept is thus “the concept the individual has of himself as a physical, social and spiritual or moral being” (Gecas 1982, p.3). The ‘I’ and ‘me’ that Gecas (1982) refers to are based on William James’ explanation of the self in 1892. James was one of the forefathers of American psychology and his work on the self is deemed relevant many years later (e.g. Goffman 1959; Gecas 1982; Belk 1988; Markus and Kitayama 1991; McAdams 1993). Holstein and Gubrium (2000) explain that ‘I’ is the awareness of self’s point of origin and ‘me’ is the object of that sense of awareness.

‘Self-image’ is a term which is hard to distinguish from ‘self-concept’; in fact, Graeff (1996) uses the terms interchangeably. However, Fein and Spencer (1997) make a suggestion that ‘self-concept’ was a common term up to 20 years prior to their research but, at the time they went to press, authors were referring to ‘self-image’. Davies (1996) suggests that the levels of our self-esteem can be indicated through the image of ourselves that we present to others. She also proposes that our self-image is influenced not only by self-esteem but by the psychological impacts of our relationships with our parents, as well as past experiences we may have had. Self-esteem is an important term

to consider when looking at self and identities. Self-esteem is essentially the result of an individual's evaluation of their self-concept and is thought to have a motivational significance (Gecas 1982).

Bannister and Hogg (2004) even go as far as suggesting that self-esteem is thought to be one of the most significant factors motivating consumer decisions. They also highlight that self-esteem can be enhanced by particular consumption choices and that products will be rejected or considered because of their perceived contribution to increasing self-esteem.

Hogg and Abrams (1988) propose that self-concept could be placed on a continuum, ranging from exclusively social to exclusively personal identity, and that the social setting in which the individual is placed at a certain moment in time will dictate which self-concept is the most prominent. Figure 2.1 demonstrates how a self-concept is formed through both personal and social identity.

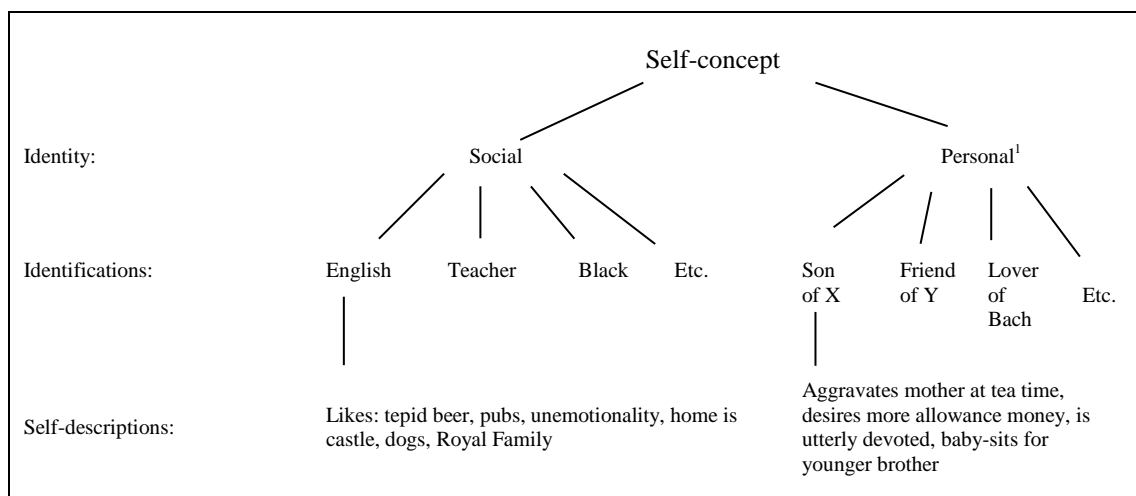


Figure 2.1: The structure of self. *Source:* Hogg and Abrams (1988, p.24)

¹Personal identifications are almost always grounded in relationships with specific individuals (or objects).

The possibilities for various self-concepts depend on the available groups that a person can associate or even disassociate with, in order to distinguish similarities and differences. Gergen (1971) poses the question as to whether the self is a single or global entity and whether it is multi-faceted. He argues that an individual can have many self-concepts but, in some moments, some self-concepts are stronger than others;

an example of this could be a working parent. In their place of work, they might describe themselves; first and foremost, as a professional but, when asked to describe themselves outside of work, they may prefer to refer to themselves as a parent.

Hogg and Abrams (1988) also assert that self-concept comprises various self-identifications, some of which may be contradictory. The example they use to illustrate this is that of a soldier who is also a Christian. The Christian side of him believes that to kill is wrong; however, the soldier is trained to kill as part of his occupation. Conflicting representations of self tie in with dissonance theory, which is also known as identity crisis and occurs when an individual is uncomfortable with contrasting self-concepts. Gergen (1971) provides the example of a man who might feel submissive towards his father yet dominant over his younger brother. In cases of dissonance, an individual's behaviour does not match their identity and this causes them some discomfort. Giddens (1991) suggests that in order to avoid upsetting our ontological security, we try to avoid occurrences of cognitive dissonance and, in doing this, we may shun certain attitudes or reinterpret displeasing information.

Stoll-Kleemann et al. (2001, p.111) explain that individuals in their avoidance of dissonance “seek to resolve it, deny it, or displace it”, with the most powerful methods being denial or displacement, which are used when there are discrepancies between environmental attitudes and behaviours. With reference to this study, dissonance could be experienced if an individual, who views themselves as environmentally friendly, partakes in ‘non-green’ behaviour, e.g. air travel. In order to counteract a feeling of dissonance, the individual would need to justify their behaviour to themselves. Barr et al. (2010, p.479) found that this justification was indeed a response to dissonance: “they [the interviewee] were able to create a sustainable lifestyle in and around the home, as a way to ‘trade-off’ their less sustainable practices when on holiday.” Their research also found that others who experienced dissonance between being ‘environmentally friendly’ and travelling by aeroplane were unwilling to change their travel behaviour but were willing to pay higher taxes as a ‘penance’.

Randles and Mander (2009, p.102) support Barr et al. (2010) in their findings “... it was considered legitimate to talk in terms of their everyday pro-environmental behaviours, cycling to work, for example, providing an emissions’ quid-pro-quo ‘fair’ exchange for

flying.” However, they also found indications that some were willing to change their behaviour to combat dissonance and reduce (but not halt) the amount of air travel they took in order to take environmental responsibility.

Graeff (1996) argues that one method for maintaining or enhancing self-concept is through the choice of one product over another; in regard to my research, it could be a person’s choice to travel by aeroplane rather than train, or vice versa. Onkvist and Shaw (1987) state an understanding of self-concept is relevant to the study of consumer behaviour because consumption patterns may be influenced by an individual’s self-concept. Consumption choices, which include travel (Gram 2009), are used to assist in the performance of identity (Curtin 2010).

According to Horton (2003), in order for identities to be performed, there needs to be a stage and props. The stage refers to various social settings and props to the aforementioned consumption choices, such as clothes and other products. He states that material objects are important in the performance of identities. However, the absence of certain material objects could be equally significant for the performance of certain identities. For example, in the case of environmental activists, car ownership may not be conducive to a successful identity performance (Horton 2003). Consumption choices are symbols of identity and, even within ‘in-groups’, can be signifiers of identity distinctions.

Horton (2003) talks of environmental activists demonstrating levels of ‘commitment’ through their choice of clothing and how this is easily recognisable within the communities. Curtin (2010) also found that the self could be presented visually through the clothes worn and accessories carried on holiday, such as binoculars, which were specific to the wildlife tourists of her study. Through the consumption of these signs and symbols, it is possible to demonstrate to others shared norms and values and, ultimately, identities. For the activists of Horton’s (2003) study, even the consumption of milk has implications for identity. He states that it is not just a choice of which milk to buy but also a case of choosing which identity to subscribe to; there are multiple decisions to be made:

“There is no one ‘right milk’, and ‘milk’ correspondingly becomes a site around which identities are distinguished and performed. How should one buy one’s milk? Should it be

delivered to the door, lugged home from the supermarket, or fetched from the corner-shop? From where can organic milk be bought? Is the best milk container made of glass, plastic or reinforced cardboard? How can one best ensure one's milk is produced locally? Ought one to abstain from the consumption of animal milk entirely, and choose soya 'milk' instead? What if the only soya 'milk' available is nonorganic, and potentially genetically modified?" (Horton 2003, p.69)

Given the multitude of choices involved in the negotiation of identity in terms of a small decision like the consumption of milk, the potential difficulties concerned with greater decisions, such as choosing a holiday, only increase.

Belk (1988) is another author who reports the role of consumption in creating or supporting identities. His research comes from the point of view that possessions are an extension of self, 'we are what we own'. He makes a bold statement by proposing that "we cannot hope to understand consumer behaviour without first gaining some understanding of the meanings consumers attach to possession" (Belk 1988, p.139). His research is relevant to this study because he does not view possessions as merely physical products, but he includes people, places and group possessions as means to extend the self. Therefore, certain destinations or even landmarks can be seen to be an extension of self. This could be linked to more tourism-specific literature, such as Haldrup and Larsen (2003), who suggest that touristic places allow for the enactment of family identities. Belk (1988) even suggests that consequences of holidays, such as sun tans, can be part of the extended self. He explains that to 'have' is possessive and is an extended use. Therefore, a suntan, which is often associated with tourism, can be seen as a possession which can be an extension of self.

Self-categorisation theory and presentations of self

Self-categorisation, as a process, involves making comparisons between self and others. It involves identifying similarities and differences and then placing or categorising oneself with a certain group of people; therefore, according to Hogg and Abrams (1988), it is the action of self-categorisation that turns individuals into group members. This is linked to social identity (discussed below) which is constructed through self-categorisation. In fact, Hogg and Terry (2000, p.123) go as far as stating that "we see no incompatibility between the self-categorisation theory and the original form of social identity theory but view the self-categorisation theory rather as an important and

powerful new conceptual component of an extended social identity theory.” According to Hogg and Terry (2000), self-categorisation theory is formed through the process of social categorisation, i.e. identifying ‘in-groups’ and ‘out-groups’ and the normative behaviour necessary for membership of said groups.

With an understanding of in-group and out-group norms, it is possible to replicate the norms or to avoid them, in order to associate or disassociate with a particular group. Membership of a certain group leads to what Hogg and Terry (2000) call de-personalisation because self-categorisation comes about through social categorisation of self. However, they are quick to point out that such de-personalisation does not carry negative implications; it is not a loss of self but a change to self-categorisation due to an evolving perception of others. This process of de-personalisation takes place during social-categorisation when a person “cognitively assimilates self to the in-group prototype and, thus, depersonalizes self-conception” (Hogg and Terry 2000, p.123).

Self-presentation is related to how others may influence an individual’s behaviour (Ellemers et al. 1999). The fact that a person is aware of an ‘audience’ means that they can choose to accentuate or subdue certain elements of their identity in order to present the identity they feel is most appropriate for their audience. This is the focus of Erving Goffman’s (1959) book ‘The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life’, in which he uses the analogy of a theatre setting to show that individuals will endeavour to influence others’ perception of them through a performance of self, carefully tailoring the performance to align with the audience. In addition, he explains that people use ‘props’ to aid their performance, which could be physical objects, such as clothes or houses, or non-tangible items, such as occupation. Goffman’s (1959) props tie in with the earlier discussion of Belk’s possessions of the extended self with both of which are used to express self and identity.

Personal identity

Hogg and Abrams (1988) cite Gergen (1971) to describe the elements that can construct an individual’s identity. They state that personal identity consists of descriptions of self that are specific and personal to the individual in question and usually contain descriptions of attributes. They state that personal identity refers to “idiosyncratic descriptions of self which are essentially tied to and emerge from close and enduring

interpersonal relationships” (Hogg and Abrams 1988, p.25). Personal identity is thus not only an individual matter but is also closely tied to others. Layder (2004) also discusses personal identity in terms of relationships with others. He states that personal identity is made up of the distinctive elements that make a person unique and that it is more than physical characteristics; it is “a centre of awareness, emotional needs and desires, in terms of which an individual reflects and acts upon his or her social circumstances” (Layder 2004, p.7).

Turner (1982) asserts that an individual’s personal identity will alter, depending on the context of the groups they find themselves in. This is in line with Goffman’s (1959) idea of performing an identity for a certain audience. This is because an individual’s personal identity is very closely related to their social identity; one influences the other (i.e. one’s personal identity helps form one’s social identity and vice versa) and both are likely to change with each new circumstance. Turner (1982, p.20) goes on to further state that “social behaviour, therefore, should presumably tend to display some characteristic variation as the locus of cognitive control is switched from personal to social identity”, which reflect his belief that an identity can adapt or morph depending on the situation. For example, an individual’s behaviour may change depending on whether they are surrounded by work colleagues or lifelong friends, with whom they can be their ‘real’ self. This is confirmed by Turner et al. (2006, p.16) who re-assert the fact that identity can and will vary. They identify three main factors that will impact on an evolving identity, which are:

“(a) the social and group contexts within which the individual is defined, (b) theories and knowledge used to make sense of observed intrapersonal and interpersonal differences, and (c) the motives, expectations and goals which shape the readiness to interpret such differences in specific self-categorical terms.”

From this discussion, it is evident that while we are discussing *personal* identity (which implies a focus purely on the individual); it is much more than that. Personal identity is connected to how we view ourselves in reference to others. It would not be possible to have a personal identity without having similarities to and differences from others. Personal identity is not something that is fixed (McAdams 1993); it is constantly evolving and adapting depending on, amongst other things, whose company we are in, i.e., who we reference ourselves against. Thus, it is possible to have multiple (Burke 2003) and overlapping personal identities which are particularly common in post-

modern globalised society (Baumann 2000).

Social identity

Social identity relates to the various groups to which an individual belongs. It is not simply about the relationships with other members of that group but it also involves the relationships with those not in the group. Social identity is established and affirmed through comparisons with those in the group, as well as by making distinctions from those not in the group (Hogg and Terry 2000). These distinctions could be made with opposing groups, e.g. rugby player versus football player, or through distinguishing in-groups and out-groups, e.g. rugby player versus non-rugby player. Hogg and Abrams (1988, p.3) describe a person's social identity as being "...quite distinct from that of being a unique and separate individual and that it confers social identity, or a shared/collective representation of who one is and how one should behave." This touches upon Baumeister (1986), who argues that it is society that 'appoints' the sets of meanings through which we regulate identity and behaviours.

Self-esteem is directly linked to social identity because it is related to the social self and conforming to accepted norms of reference groups (Bannister and Hogg 2004). Hogg and Abrams (1988) also suggest that social identity is constructed through various self-descriptions that relate to the individual's membership in various social categories. These categories are wide ranging and include enforced categories, such as nationality, gender and race, and chosen ones, such as occupation and membership of sports teams. However, Woodward (1997) acknowledges that changes in societies, economies and political systems can mean that 'enforced' identities are changing. This is supported by Valentine et al. (2003), who suggest that without enforced identities, there is more freedom to choose our own identities. For example, in mining communities, where future (male) generations were expected to become miners, in cases where pits had closed, they were then presented with an identity crisis or an opportunity. They no longer had the enforced identity of becoming a miner but had a choice to make about their own job and identity. However, it must be noted that many did not see this as positive, as the alternative was often an unskilled job or unemployment. Giddens (1991, p.33) also makes this point by recognising that, in traditional cultures:

“things stayed more or less the same from generation to generation on the level of the collectivity, the changed identity was clearly staked out – as when an individual moved from adolescence to adulthood. In the settings of modernity, by contrast, the altered self has to be explored and constructed as part of the reflexive process of connecting personal and social change.”

Personal identity exists through reference to others. In the case of social identity, the opposite is true in that social identity cannot exist without an individual’s self-descriptions (Turner 1999). This is also affirmed by Hogg and Abrams (1988, p.21), who state that “the categorisation of people – social categorisation – is overwhelmingly with reference to self”.

Giddens and self-identity

Giddens (1991) refers to ‘self-identity’ rather than personal identity; he does not provide an explanation for his choice of the word ‘self’ as opposed to ‘personal’. However, his explanation of self-identity seems to be in line in with other authors’ explanations of personal identity. Giddens’ discussion of identity relates to modernity, as highlighted in the identity formation section below.

Giddens proposes that modern-day identity creation and formation have changed due to changes and developments in society; for example, the increase in divorce rates. He refers to ‘reflexivity’ to underline that identity is not static; it changes depending on the circumstances that an individual finds themselves in and it also evolves through constant comparison with others; consequently, self-identity is created and maintained through reflexively appraising oneself and those around. This ties in with Burke’s (2001) comments that to be a ‘self’ one needs to be aware of others, and what one is not. Kitzinger and Wilkinson (1996) discuss self and others in relation to what is termed ‘othering’. They state that “‘we’ use the ‘Other’ to define ourselves: ‘we’ understand ourselves in relation to what ‘we’ are *not*” (Kitzinger and Wilkinson 1996, p.8).

‘Fateful moments’ is a phrase that Giddens uses to describe the moments in a person’s life when they have to make a decision that could potentially ‘change’ them or when they learn information of great magnitude/of seismic proportions. This could be something like the onset of an illness, giving birth, getting married or getting divorced (Giddens 1991). “Fateful moments are threatening for the protective cocoon which

defends the individual's ontological security because the 'business as usual' attitude that is so important to that cocoon, is inevitably broken through" (Giddens 1991, p.114). This could impact on an individual's self-identity because their world as they knew it would change through the fateful moment. Any changes would then require the individual to look at themselves reflexively before moving forward. Giddens (1991, p.143) states that:

“[f]ateful moments are transition points which have major implications not just for the circumstances of an individual's future conduct, but also for self-identity. Consequential decisions, once taken, will reshape the reflexive project of identity through the lifestyle consequences which ensue.”

This has hints of Heidegger's existential authenticity. In *Being and Time* (1962) Heidegger proposes that there are 'moments of vision' where an individual has the opportunity to reflect upon themselves and consider their life and the future. These would appear to be similar to Giddens' (1991) 'fateful moments'.

Giddens proposes that a person's identity is located not only through their behaviour or through the approval (or disapproval) of others but it is also found through the maintenance of a certain narrative; that is to say, a consistent story told either to others or to oneself. This has significance for the choice of research approach used in this study, as the next chapter reveals. At this stage, it is important to note that Giddens is suggesting that we are responsible for creating and maintaining our own identities through the narratives (or stories) we tell. This is also supported by Barney (2004, p.18), who states that “[i]dentities, like truth and reality, are constructed through discourse.”

Identity formation

Identity formation processes will vary depending on whether it is social or personal identity that is being developed; as previously stated, the two are interlinked. Therefore, identity formation is dependent on a number of factors: how the individual views themselves – what self-categorisation methods or classifications they are using; what circumstances they find themselves in (social identity); and who they are using as identity references.

Giddens (1991) argues that identity formation, in previous times and other cultures, was a process that was pre-mapped out for an individual, i.e., society was static and the major changes were those such as from adolescence to adulthood; therefore, society used to dictate changes in identity. However, in a modern society “the altered self has to be explored and constructed as part of a reflexive process of connecting personal and social change” (Giddens 1991, p.33). The example that Giddens uses is that of identity reconstruction after a divorce, which is a ‘modern phenomenon’ and does not occur in some cultures. Additionally, in a modern society, an individual has identity choices; Giddens (1991, p.81) argues that everyday choices are “not only about how to act but who to be.” The freedom to make these choices comes from a modern society and did not exist in earlier times and still does not exist in other cultures.

Giddens (1991) also talks about identity formation in the early years of life. He observes that there will come a time when a young child realises there is a ‘not me’ type of figure. This comes at the stage when the ‘caretaker’ (as Giddens calls it) starts to reduce the level of constant care. The child can then establish another person, a ‘not me’. This concept allies with the ideas in social identity theory (Giddens 1991; Hogg and Abrams 1988) and distinguishing between in-groups and out-groups. This also ties in with the discussion earlier about personal identity deriving from a comparison of similarities and differences with others.

Onkvisit and Shaw (1987) state that self-concept has to be learned and that this learning takes place over a period of time. They argue that self-concept can remain stable for a long period, which helps to explain brand loyalty among consumers.

Identity and tourism research

At present, the literature relating to identity and tourism tends to focus on identity issues, such as ‘finding yourself’ through travel. For example, Noy’s (2004a) study of Israeli backpackers’ narratives demonstrates how they used tourism to construct their identity; they had returned from their trips ‘changed’ people. These holidays are considered to be ‘fateful moments’ in the lives of the backpackers. Several authors have discussed tourism as moments of change, in terms of Heidegger’s existential authenticity (see: Wang 1999; Steiner and Reisinger 2006; Brown 2013). Bruner (1991, p.239) even acknowledges that tourist brochures use this element of finding oneself as a

selling point "... a trip to remember for a lifetime and [the tourist] will return refreshed and renewed, as a new and different person." However, his research questions whether the tourist self is changed and argues that the native self is the one who experiences the greater change through contact with culturally different and more developed tourists. This is revealed in research conducted by Abbott Cone (1995). She demonstrates how two Mayan women have created new identities for themselves through the catalyst of contact with Western tourists. Their exposure to Western values has given them a new group to use as a reference point and has led them to break away from the traditional values of their culture. As discussed earlier in the chapter, an understanding of self and one's own identity comes from a discovery of 'other' (Burke 2001). In this way tourism can be seen to be linked to identity as it is by nature a discovery of the 'other' and provides opportunity for self-reflection (Galani-Moutafi 2000). Cohen (2010), in opposition to Bruner, proposes that it might be unrealistic to use travel to 'find yourself' because the self is constantly evolving and changing anyway. In this way, the lifestyle travellers of Cohen's research are simply acting out the expected discourse of finding themselves.

The other identity and tourism perspective is that discussed by Thurlow and Jaworski (2006) and relates to using travel to affirm identities. These authors discuss the use of frequent flyer programmes to create or reinforce status; "regular customers are declared 'elite' and ... this status is then fabricated and regulated" (Thurlow and Jaworski 2006, p.100). The authors, although aware of the marketing techniques used by airlines in the creation of the status associated with frequent flyer programmes, admit to falling victim to their ploys themselves:

"we both therefore feel a certain need to acknowledge the guilty pleasure, or childlike triumph, we feel in marching to the front of check-in queues, being sequestered from the bustle of the terminal concourse, and side-stepping the throngs when boarding an aeroplane" (Thurlow and Jaworski 2006, p.101).

The identity perspective here is that of frequent flyer programmes allowing for a presentation of a higher social status, therefore, members are treated as 'elite'. This thesis approaches identity and travel from a slightly different angle; it considers the impact of existing identities on the desire to travel rather than identities purely being created through travel.

An additional identity perspective within the tourism literature involves the idea of liminality. Tourist spaces are often viewed as liminal places because the tourist is free to escape the norms of their everyday life and adopt temporary identities while on holiday (Boissevain 1996). It is thought that when they return from the holiday they will revert back to their 'old' identity and behaviour (Turner 1982). Kim and Jamal (2007) also assert that tourism can be used as a means to escape the rules of everyday norms. This would potentially allow tourists to perform 'green' identities at home yet continue to undertake activities such as flying.

Identity is important to tourism research because, as seen from these examples, travel is thought to have the ability to change people. For many, holidays play an important part in who they are; memories are not always just stored away (Trauer and Ryan 2005; Heimtun 2007; Heimtun and Jordan 2011), they can be used to shape the future self of the traveller. This finding has been widely discussed in the literature (Bruner 1991; Desforges 2000; Fullegar 2002; Noy 2004a; Thurlow and Jaworski 2006). Wearing and Wearing (2001) add depth to this argument by acknowledging that existing selves are 'taken on holiday' and home again and that the identity of the tourist is embedded in their tourism experience in an iterative process. They view the relationship between tourism and identity as a construction and reconstruction of the self through tourist experiences.

This research investigates identity from a different angle; whether who we are affects our touristic behaviour and mobility. This is connected to the existing research on tourism and identity, as it forms part of the continuous spiral of identity formation; i.e., previous research suggests that travel is transformative (Brown 2009); this research suggests that 'self' influences travel in the first place (whilst also acknowledging the previous point). Thus, identity formation in regard to tourism experiences is an iterative process, i.e., an identity is formed, which may influence holiday choices; holiday experiences may then shape identity, and the process therefore repeats itself. This process is on-going and identities are never static (Gillespie 2007).

Research undertaken by Becken (2007) indicates that tourists see travel as part of their identity. Their holidays have a great meaning to them and help them to understand their position in society. In addition, using incentives, such as frequent flyer programmes

that play on people's identities or desired identities, can shape travel patterns, as is also the case with travel brochures, which create an iterative and self-referencing process.

Harrison (2003) explores the meaning that tourists place on their travel. Similarly to this study she also uses a narrative approach to understand tourists travel biographies. She provides four major conclusions on the meaning of tourists' travel: tourists use travel as a means for intimacy and connection to one another; as a method of expressing their personal values; some saw travel as a way to understand 'home'; and also travelled in order to make sense of a globalised world. Harrison's study demonstrates that using a tourist's narrative it is possible to understand the motivations of their travel and the meaning they place on it. However, I feel that there is also scope for more work in this area in order to further understand the person behind the travel.

Identity and this research

Desforges (2000) suggests that understanding identity can lead to an insight into tourism consumption because, by understanding the person and their needs and desires, it could be possible to predict their future travel patterns. In the light of global environmental problems and the acknowledgement of tourism's contribution to CO₂ emissions, knowledge of the reasons behind tourism consumption could only benefit the industry and the environment. In the bigger picture beyond the scope of this PhD research, if the tourism identity process an individual goes through could be understood, it might be possible to influence the desired identity of the tourist. To elaborate, highly mobile lifestyles are highly sought after and desired at present due to the inference of status being derived from the ability to afford (both in time and money) frequent travel. However, if society's approbation of this behaviour were to shift and take into account the negative implications of frequent travel, this type of lifestyle would not be sought, resulting in a reduced desire for frequent travel. This is supported by an argument made by Matless (1995), who recounts a campaign made by countryside campaigners between the wars that promoted use of the English countryside in order to have "a 'good' and 'moral' self." That is to say, they were inferring that, by spending time in the countryside, one would become a better person. This created a desired identity and prompted people to want to become 'that person' who spent time in the countryside.

While promoting greener tourism consumption patterns to create a ‘good’ and ‘moral’ self is beyond the objectives of this PhD, this research aims to enhance the understanding of the role played by personal identity in tourism mobility. Having looked at the literature to gain an understanding of how identities are formed, maintained and then adapted as part of an iterative process, it is now imperative to examine the extent to which mobility, and particularly tourism mobility, is embedded in modern-day life.

Mobility

The new mobilities paradigm

It could be argued that there is nothing new about mobilities; people have been ‘on the move’ for centuries. However, there are a number of authors (e.g. Sheller and Urry 2006; Shaw and Hesse 2010) who discuss the ‘new mobilities paradigm.’ This concept is concerned with how mobilities have evolved over the years and how they will continue to develop in the future. The new mobilities paradigm comes from combining traditional transport literature with some areas of the social sciences, such as tourism, sociology and anthropology (Sheller and Urry 2006). Essentially, the movement of people, things and ideas structures society in much the same way as social class and income.

The new mobilities paradigm is in opposition to the ‘old’ paradigm, which is simply the movement of people from A to B and has a static ‘here and there’ outlook on places. The old mobilities paradigm did not take into account virtual travel, imaginative travel and the possibility of ‘placelessness’. It also failed to account for the way that movement socially structures society.

Current literature on mobilities suggests that mobility is much more than the simple movement from A to B but is a “constitutive framework for modern society, providing opportunities and constraints – freedom and limitation, justice and inequality and so on – over time and across space” (Shaw and Hesse 2010, p.306). The developments in mobility involve changes in societies and advancements in technologies. Mobilities also relates to the immobility and inequality created through restricted access to new technology (Sheller and Urry 2006). This is particularly relevant for this research in

which travel can be an identity marker or signifier of status.

Shaw and Hesse (2010) acknowledge that some question the use of 'new' in 'the new mobilities paradigm' and this stems from the fact that the significance of movement within societies has been widely acknowledged. Whilst this argument holds merit, the use of 'new' could be justified through the changes that have occurred following new technological advancements, such as mobile phones and the internet. Another justification could be the dramatic increase in mobility over recent years, which includes all aspects of mobility, i.e., people, goods and ideas. It is also possible that 'new' refers to 'the idea', i.e., the movement of people, things and ideas might be analysed in much the same way that social class or gender were analysed as a structuralising force in society.

Additional elements in the new mobilities paradigm include the consideration of virtual mobility (i.e., new communication technologies) and mobility as a 'right'. Higgins-Desbiolles (2006) provides an overview of the way that travel and tourism is seen as a human right, which is supported by the World Tourism Organisation (2001) and considered by Gössling (2002), who suggests that the desire to travel is deeply embedded in society and leads to cosmopolitan social identities. This, in turn, drives the desire for travel.

John Urry must be seen as one of the leaders in the field of mobilities studies. He has created several definitions of types of mobilities; the following are taken from Larsen et al. (2006, p.56) but are derived from Urry's earlier work (see also Urry 2002; 2003):

- (1) **Physical travel** – the movement of people for reasons that include work, leisure, family life, pleasure, migration and escape. This form of mobility stems from the need to be in the same place as specific other people, or to physically experience specific locations or events. Physical proximity is necessary.
- (2) **Physical movement** – of objects to/from producers, consumers and retailers. This mobility is linked to consumption.
- (3) **Imaginative travel** - to 'elsewhere' through various forms of media (memories, text messages, images, television and films). Urry claims that this "will often substitute for physical transport." The example used is football fans who watch

away matches whilst at home or at the pub, instead of attending live matches. This has been made possible through the growth of television ownership and the broadcasting of live matches. However, it is arguable whether it could ever be a complete substitute. Imaginative travel has, in some cases, increased physical travel through producing or enhancing the desire to visit destinations that have been used in films or television series. This is known in the literature as ‘media pilgrimage’ and narrows the distance between reality and fantasy (Couldry 2005). The anticipation phase of tourism is also allied to imaginative travel, as people explore and plan potential holiday options.

- (4) **Virtual travel** – on the internet, takes place in real time. It reduces the need for physical movement in order to partake in activities, such as banking or shopping. Urry presents the argument of some authors who suggest that this could reduce traditional tourism; however, it is very difficult to see how the internet could be an adequate substitute for the sensations experienced by all of the senses whilst on holiday. Examples given were Las Vegas and race tracks, which are very specific activities. I believe that, perhaps, only hardened gamblers would see this as a good substitute, unlike those who travel for the ‘complete experience’. Having said that, the complete tourism experience is phased. A considerable amount of time can be spent anticipating and imagining and the web is often used to explore a destination before we get there.
- (5) **Communicative travel** – is through messages sent person-to-person through various methods, such as greetings cards, telephones, emails, and instant messages etc. This form of mobility also allows the transportation of documents and images. The introduction of new technologies allows for communication whilst the person is undertaking physical travel – particularly evidenced by the ‘new’ travel blogging trend.

My research is primarily concerned with Urry’s physical travel. However, when using the term ‘physical mobility’ rather than ‘travel’, there is a danger of alluding to other forms of mobility. In this thesis, I will refer to travel when talking about physical movement, but I refer to mobility (tourism mobility) when there are additional elements, such as emotional involvement that maintains bonds across distant places. It is important to consider the new mobilities paradigm in this thesis because mobility is intertwined in modern Western lifestyles. Tourists undertake many forms of mobility, particularly physical and imaginative travel. It is also possible that a person might

perform their identity through communicative travel and this needs to be periodically reinforced by physical travel to achieve co-presence.

Several specific types of physical travel have been identified which are of interest to this study: aeromobility; automobility and hypermobility. For the purpose of this research, aeromobility will be classified as ‘travel through the skies, a mobility (physical travel and physical movement – using the Larsen et al. (2006) definition) undertaken through the use of aeroplanes.’ Cwerner (2009, p.4.) states that the distinguishing features of aeromobility are altitude and speed and that these features, particularly speed, have resulted in “the shrinking of the world”.

Automobility refers to mobility (physical travel and physical movement) undertaken through the use of cars. Lassen (2004) specifically refers to the use of cars, which would indicate that automobility is primarily physical travel because physical movement (i.e. goods) would involve transportation less personalised than a car; meanwhile, Ker and Tranter (1997) state that the common meaning of automobility refers to the use of a private car.

Finally, Khisty and Zeitler (2001, p.598) describe hypermobility as “excessive and imbalanced mobility”. Gössling, Ceron, Dubois and Hall (2009) affirm this idea by stating that there are ‘hypermobile’ travellers, who comprise a small group of individuals responsible for the majority of the trips undertaken and distance travelled. Therefore, hypermobility can be summed up as high consumption of travel, both in frequency and distance. It has been suggested that the experience of travel will lead to the desire for further travel (Gössling 2002). In addition, a status is implied in hypermobility because society views this type of lifestyle in a positive light. Urry (2012) outlines that an individual’s standing in society is reflected in mobility patterns, which ultimately involve air travel. The promotion of highly mobile lifestyles can also be seen in airlines’ use of frequent flyer programmes which “reward and thus increase interest in mobility” (Gössling and Nilsson 2010, p.242). It could be argued that such marketing strategies hold some responsibility for the status implied in highly mobile lifestyles through their inclusion of VIP lounges for members and added status attached to long-haul travel and exotic international tourism, a positive identity marker for most people (Gössling and Nilsson 2010). Through tourism choices, people seek to reinforce

or develop particular identity markers and therefore a desired identity appears to affect decisions and behaviour (Markus and Nurius 1986).

Tourism mobility, travel patterns and social networks

Franklin and Crang (2001, p.7) state that “...tourism is now such a significant dimension of global social life that it can no longer be conceived as merely what happens at self-styled tourist sites and encounters involving tourists away from home.” Here, Franklin and Crang (2001) are stating that tourism is now an integral part of modern life and this assertion highlights the significance of tourism research. Tourism is no longer seen as merely an activity for the elite but is even argued by the European Union’s Commissioner for Enterprise and Industry as a basic human right (Pancevski 2010). Franklin and Crang (2001) also suggest that the boundaries of tourism and everyday life are becoming increasingly blurred as hosts often become tourists in other destinations. However, tourism in terms of mobility is much more than simply the movement of people from one place to another. It could be argued that tourism, or actions related to tourism, could be found in all of Larsen et al.’s (2006, p.56) definitions of mobility, as shown below:

- (1) **Physical travel** – the tourist travelling to the destination
- (2) **Physical movement** – produce imported to feed/water the tourist or souvenirs bought and taken home by the tourist
- (3) **Imaginative travel** – photos taken by the tourist and shown to friends and family on their return home
- (4) **Virtual travel** – online tours of hotels when doing research for the holiday
- (5) **Communicative travel** – postcards would be the more traditional example but the modern version would be a picture message sent from a mobile phone. This creates the possibility for social networks to stimulate travel, as messages and images passed through networks give rise to the desire for travel from others within the network.

Hall (2004) suggests that social encounters and interactions have increased in recent years because we are now able to travel greater distances at lower prices. Through migration, the increase in second homes and changes in employment and education patterns, individuals have widened their social networks. By forming relationships with those from different locations, the possibilities for VFR travel are increased. Another

change in personal mobility patterns, which could impact upon future tourism patterns, is that discussed by Franklin and Crang (2001), who argue that it is now the norm for people to move from their places of birth to look for work; people also seek more than employment in a new location because they are looking for a better quality of life.

Discussion of the above literature helps to demonstrate the importance of researching travel patterns in relation to social networks and is linked to tourism research in general. This is because, in a modern society, it would be extremely difficult to disentangle these elements. If a person were to take the decision to relocate for work, or any other purposes, this would be classed as a fateful moment (Giddens 1991) and, therefore, potentially identity changing. In addition, our identity is shaped by relationships with others (Anderson and Chen 2002); therefore, a change in social setting could result in a change in identity. As a consequence, this might produce a change in tourism mobility because of the iterative process of changing identity and tourism patterns.

The integrated analysis of travel patterns (movement of people, goods, information) and social networks is important for several reasons. Firstly, tourism has become integrated into everyday life and it is the everyday experiences (coupled with the extraordinary experiences) that shape who we are (Ochs and Capps 1996). Identity is also formed through our interactions in various social settings; the more networks to which we have access, the greater the possibility for varied identity opportunities (Burke 2001). In addition, the increases in opportunities to be in different social settings will give us the ability to perform multiple identities (Burke 2001). Access to other places through travel also gives admission to other cultures and ways of life and it is through these experiences that we have the possibility to see the world and, ultimately, our place in it, differently (Brown 2009). Access to other social networks through travel makes the world an increasingly smaller place to live. With friends and relatives based in other countries, the desire to travel to those places increases (Urry 2007). Finally, tourism is a form of consumption; consumption of different places, cultures, and transport modes etc. are important to identity. It is possible to use consumption choices to demonstrate or affirm identity (Gössling and Nilson 2010). Once an identity has been formed, perhaps through tourism, it can then be acted out through tourism consumption.

The increase in travel and the desire to travel has links to environmental concern, which is covered in the next section. An increased understanding of why and how travel decisions are made (through better understanding of identities) could enable policymakers to influence future decision-making processes. We need to understand where people are going, how they are getting there and, most importantly, the ‘whys?’ of the where and how.

Tourism mobility, environmental concern and identity

Tourism is continuing to grow with tourists making more frequent trips and travelling greater distances (UNWTO 2013). At the same time, concern for the environmental consequences of tourism is also growing (Dubois and Ceron 2006). It is estimated that, out of the total global emissions for 2007, tourism contributed 5% of all emissions (UNWTO 2007). As physical tourism travel relies heavily on the use of fossil fuels, tourism has become a significant sector contributing to global climate change, with 75% of the sector’s emissions coming from transport (UNWTO-UNEP-WMO 2008). Further analyses indicate that air travel is the biggest contributor to tourism emissions, contributing approximately 40% of emissions (UNWTO-UNEP-WMO 2008). Peeters and Schouten (2006) measure the ecological footprint of various methods of transport for inbound tourism to Amsterdam and their findings reinforce the view that air travel is more damaging than other forms of transport.

The continued growth of tourism is proving problematic in terms of the reduction of CO₂ emissions. This is causing major problems with climate change mitigation since, although there are several possible technological methods of reducing travel-related CO₂, the continued growth of tourism means the results of these methods are being cancelled out (Becken 2007). Of the various solutions to address CO₂ emissions from tourism, behavioural change is regarded as one of the most promising. Other solutions, such as technology, management and legislation, are proving to have limited success, which means that behavioural change is likely to be a necessity in order to achieve mitigation in absolute terms (Gössling and Peeters 2007; Gössling 2010; Scott et al. 2010). However, instigating a behavioural change in tourism mobility practices also appears difficult to achieve (McKercher et al. 2010). Tourists continue to participate in environmentally harmful activities, even though they are aware of the inter-linkages between travel and climate change (Giddens 2009).

Steg and Vlek (2009) suggest that to change behaviour, it is necessary to understand the factors underlying that behaviour. Factors determining behaviour include:

- (1) Perceived costs and benefits
- (2) Moral and normative concerns
- (3) Affect
- (4) Contextual factors
- (5) Habits.

For instance, with regard to costs and benefits, travel mode choice is dependent on variables, such as money, effort and the perceived benefits of tourism (Hares et al. 2010). While higher moral and normative concern for the environment is associated with more pro-environmental behaviour, in tourism, climate change awareness appears to have little effect on tourism consumption (e.g. Anable et al. 2006; Dickinson et al. 2009; Eijgelaar et al. 2010; Hares et al. 2010; McKercher et al. 2010). Here, contextual factors, such as lack of alternatives to air travel and habitual travel choices, seem to steer people with environmental concern to unsustainable choices (Hares et al. 2010).

Todd (2001) states within tourism marketing, it would be beneficial to look at Levy's (1959) assertion of products and consumption having symbolic value. One might argue that the tourism industry, particularly airlines, already takes this approach, albeit from the point of view that tourism is a status symbol. I pose that it could be considered from another perspective, i.e., creating negative identity symbols to discourage unsustainable mobility practices.

Given the assumption that individuals can be persuaded to choose low carbon tourism products, it is vital to examine the underlying identity processes at work. There is a general assumption that individuals predisposed to environmental concern will modify their behaviour accordingly; however, this has not proved to be a potent force in other areas of life, such as car use (Dickinson and Dickinson 2006; Steg and Vlek 2009; Schwanen and Lucas 2011). Hares et al. (2010) identify three main barriers to behaviour change: 1) dismissal of alternative transport modes to air travel; 2)

importance of holidays; and 3) responsibility placed with others¹. Randles and Mander (2009) found that even those who are environmentally conscientious at home (e.g. recycle, take the bus etc.) did not necessarily make pro-environmental travel choices when it came to holidays. This was because they thought their home behaviours allowed them to ‘splash out’ with the carbon on holiday, which indicates that reliance on voluntary lifestyle or behaviour change may not be entirely successful.

Lorenzoni et al. (2007) completed a study giving insights into the perceived barriers of engagement with climate change mitigation methods, in which they record a significant number of barriers (some of which are discussed below). They conclude that despite a level of public awareness and concern about climate change, the barriers will remain in place unless they are addressed by the Government. It is interesting to note that Lorenzoni et al. (2007) are placing the responsibility for change with the Government and not with individuals. In addition, a study by Gössling, Haglund, Kallgren, Revahl, and Hultman (2009) shows that air travellers themselves believe that the responsibility for change lies with governments.

These perceived barriers to behavioural change may be genuine reasons why tourists are unwilling or unable to change behaviour, or they may be justification techniques to help control the dissonance experienced by tourists due to the differences between their attitudes, beliefs and behaviour. This links back to identity. When a person has conflicting identities, they have to employ defensive strategies in order to deal with the resultant discomfort. Defensive justification strategies suggested by Lorenzoni et al. (2007) include:

- Claims of a lack of education
- Mistrust of institutions
- Apportioning responsibility or blame elsewhere
- The belief that efforts are futile.

A gap in environmental attitudes and behaviours might occur when people have

¹ The second barrier, ‘the importance that tourists place on holidays’ is where this research is situated. It will consider the significance of the holiday for the tourist’s identity and reflect on the implications that not taking a holiday would carry for their identity.

multiple identities requiring contradictory performances. Identities are contextual and, at times, some will lie dormant while others will come to the fore (Burke 2003). In situations like this, when actions do not meet the requirements of the identity ‘script’, the individual will need to reason with themselves as to why their behaviour is acceptable. Horton (2003) discusses how shopping in a supermarket could break some green cultural codes; however, by justifying actions (e.g. lack of time, economic factors), supermarket shopping can still allow the individual to conform to a green script.

There is a considerable amount of literature concerned with the gap between attitude behaviour and environmental awareness. To date, there has been little success in bridging this gap. Stets and Biga (2003) suggest that this could be due to a missing link in previous research which takes into account the role of identity. They argue that psychology-based attitude theory demonstrates how individuals make choices based specifically on the object or situation they are in. On the other hand, identity theory, which is rooted in sociology and social psychology, is based on how choices are embedded in the wider social settings and, given that individuals operate in wide ranging social settings, there are multiple identities which make choices multi-faceted. They summarise by stating that “identity theory links individuals to the larger social structure in ways that attitude theory neglects” (Stets and Biga 2003, p.399).

Given that the self is considered to be a significant factor in behaviour, it is surprising that there is such a gap in current research. This thesis, while in no means bridging this gap, helps to go some way towards stimulating debate and opening the door for further research.

Identities are an intrinsic part of who we are, they are clearly linked to every part of our lives, which means identity issues are also at play when it comes to environmental concern. Becoming ‘green’ can be a lifestyle choice and green identities are presented through behaviour and consumption choices (e.g., clothes, food, and travel). Tourism provides a unique site of consumption separate to everyday life that brings certain identities to the fore and, in some cases, necessitates the performance of particular identities to reinforce self-concept. This performance of identity intervenes in behaviour that might otherwise lead to sustainable mobility choices and highlights the

significant role of self in behaviour.

Identity perspectives

It was anticipated that from reviewing the literature regarding tourism, travel and climate change, some authors would touch on the subject of either social or personal identity. While this was the case, the depth of discussion was limited and consideration of all three themes was rare; however, some studies should be considered here. Stoll-Kleemann et al. (2001) dedicated an entire paragraph to issues that I believe to be identity related. Their paper is concerned with denial in relation to participation in climate mitigation measures, which occur when an individual is aware of the causes of climate change and the consequences of their actions but they do not change their behaviour. Stoll-Kleemann et al. (2001, p.112) also make reference to the fact that personal identity is formed by “customary habits and favoured lifestyles” and that denial is used as a method of retaining established identities.

Some studies have used the theory of reasoned action when considering the attitude behaviour gap. This theory was devised by Ajzen and Fishbein (1975; 1980) and looks at how behaviour results from intention, which comes from attitudes towards performing the specific behaviour and perceived social pressure to perform the behaviour in question. The feeling of social pressure to perform certain behaviours relates to subjective norms. This could be seen to influence later work on the relational self and the idea of thinking reflexively about the behaviour which would be expected of someone in order to align themselves with a certain identity (Shah 2006). Social pressures come from the wider social setting and memberships of certain groups, our significant others or society as a whole.

In reasoned action theory (Ajzen and Fishbein 1975; 1980), attitude, consisting of affective, cognitive and conative components (Fill 2009), combines with subjective norms to produce a behavioural intention which, in turn, leads to the behaviour itself. Ajzen (1985) later developed this theory into the theory of planned behaviour, which included an element of ‘perceived control’ that takes into account perceived ease or difficulty in undertaking the behaviour and the individual’s beliefs in factors that may aid or hinder the behaviour. While the theory of reasoned action is still used by some (e.g. Barr et al. 2003), others acknowledge a deficiency in the theory (e.g. Dickinson

and Dickinson 2006). The later theory of planned behaviour goes further to explain inconsistent relationships between attitude and behaviour. Figure 2 demonstrates the theory.

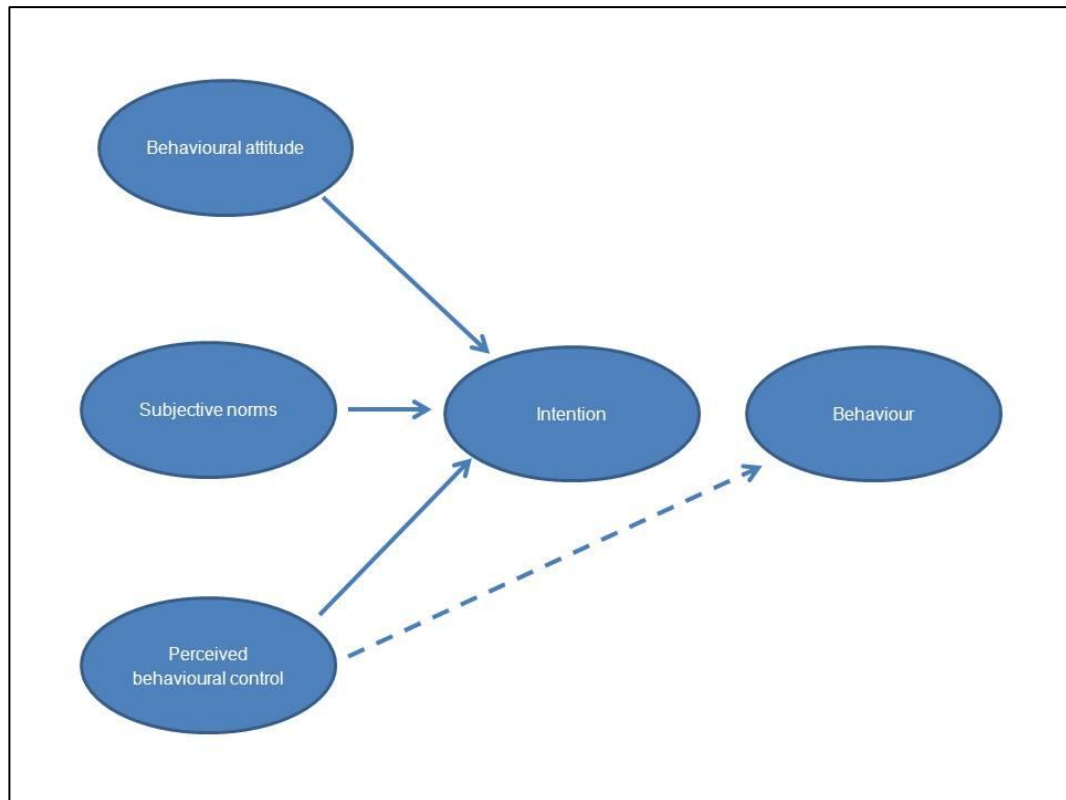


Figure 2.2: Theory of planned behaviour. *Source:* Ajzen (2005, p.118)

To explain this figure in terms of my research, there may be an individual whose behavioural attitude is that they consider air travel to be environmentally destructive and, therefore, they are reluctant or unwilling to fly. Their subjective norms could come from membership of their local Friends of the Earth group. The perceived behavioural control could include a desire to fit in with the group, economic factors and time constraints. This theory can go some way towards explaining why someone who is environmentally friendly may have contrasting attitudes and behaviours because perceived behavioural control does not permit them to carry out certain behaviour. However, in the example given above, there may be other subjective norms that come from wider society; for example, the desire to visit exotic destinations (which is linked to symbols of status).

Sparkes and Shepherd (1992) discuss the theories of Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) and Ajzen (1985) and propose a modification by considering the suggestion self-identity acts independently of attitudes and can influence behaviour. They consider attitudes to consuming organic food products and how this may influence the self-identification of a green consumer. Although Sparkes and Shepherd (1992) were initially sceptical of the proposed modification to the theory, their results indicate that that self-identity can override past behaviour. They suggest that the theory of reasoned action and the theory of planned behaviour need to take into account the influence of identity on behaviour and behavioural intentions. This is because people may hold conflicting attitudes about the same issue and, depending on the prevalent self-identity, may act on certain attitudes over others. This study acknowledges limitations in the use of the theory of planned behaviour when considering the attitude-behaviour gap. By taking into account identity perspectives it is hoped that an understanding of the role played by identity in tourism mobility will be achieved.

Whitmarsh and O'Neill (2010) support Sparkes and Shepherd's (1992) suggestion that taking identity into account can be a more successful way of predicting behaviour than using the theory of planned behaviour alone. Their research specifically focuses on pro-environmental identities and environmentally-friendly behaviour. Their findings indicate that self-identity could be a predictor for several environmentally-friendly behaviours, including waste reduction and energy conservation. However, one of their findings was that identity could not predict travel-related decisions. They acknowledge that individuals may not be able to practice their identities when it comes to sustainable travel due to lack of options. They also point to the fact that there will be competing identities which may be stronger than their environmental identity, particularly with the status implied by car ownership and exotic holidays (see also, Gössling 2007; Urry 2012). From these examples, it would be fair to suggest that there has been an increase in research which acknowledges the importance of understanding identity and the desire for further knowledge about the issues; however, it remains a small body of research.

Gössling and Peeters (2007, p.403) make reference to studies by other authors (namely Urry 1995; Gössling 2002; Hall 2005) to note that "changing global mobility patterns can be seen as resulting in the transformation of social identities towards cosmopolitan ones." However, this is the only allusion to identity in the paper and the significance of

the statement is not elaborated. Becken (2007) is another author to refer to identity in only a few lines; she found that tourists view their travel as an element of their personal identity and she acknowledges that, because of this, engagement in voluntary mitigation policies is unlikely. This appears to be a significant discovery as it holds implications for future policies and the success of emission reduction schemes.

Shaw and Thomas (2006) discuss travel by young people as a means of self-discovery and to gain self-awareness. This could also be seen as a pivotal moment in creating their personal identity and, perhaps, the travel that we make when we are in the process of ‘finding ourselves’ shapes our attitudes and travel patterns for the rest of our lives, which relates back to Noy’s (2004a) ideas on travel and change. Thurlow and Jawarski (2006) investigate the power of frequent flyer programmes in creating a travelling ‘elite’ and propose that the membership of such programmes implies status. Their statement is in line with Gössling and Nilson (2010) who also notes the significance of status in frequent travel. Their paper is a useful resource for this research, particularly when considering the significance of the connotations of their penultimate sentence (p.131):

“... it is important to recognize that ‘elite’ is not always (or simply) material and actual, but rather an ideological and aspirational process; it is a normative ideal in relation to which many people – regardless of wealth or power – position themselves (i.e. adopting an elitist stance) or as in the case of airline marketing, are persuaded by others to position themselves (i.e. they are stylized as elite).”

This statement holds relevance to this research because of the phrase “persuaded by others to position themselves”. In the grander scheme of things, if there is understanding of the importance of identity within a travel context, then policy makers have the potential to be able to persuade tourists to ‘position themselves’ within a greener travel identity.

Summary

This chapter presents the key themes relevant to the research. Taken as separate concepts, the ideas have been researched in depth and are well established in the existing literature. However, existing research has approached the topic from the point of view of how tourism shapes identity. This research will focus on a more cyclical

process, i.e., identity is a continual process and each experience that we encounter will impact on our identity, even if only in a minor way. We then reflexively consider ourselves and move on. Therefore, an experience or event can impact our identity; our identity then changes and we can then go on to make a decision based on an adapted identity which leads us to new experiences and events before the process repeats itself (McAdams 1993). It is possible to have multiple identities in existence at any one time. However, some will lie dormant and others are brought to the fore, depending on the situation we find ourselves in and the audience for our identity performance.

Mobility is deeply embedded in modern-day ways of life, which have far reaching consequences. Tourism continues to grow at the same time that environmental awareness and concern is growing. Given that behavioural change is thought to be the mitigation method with the best prospect of reducing tourism's CO₂ emissions, it is pertinent to gain an understanding of issues that may affect behaviour. There has been some indication that knowledge of identities may play a part in this. This research aims to enhance the understanding of the role played by personal identity in tourism mobility. Due to the inductive nature of the research, this literature review is meant to provide only an outline of the key concepts and to identify a gap in the literature. A further discussion of the literature takes place in the findings chapters, tied to the emergent themes.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter will present the methodology used to satisfy the research aim of enhancing the understanding of the role played by personal identity in tourism mobility. As mentioned in the previous chapter, identities are closely linked to storytelling. McAdams (1993, p.5) proposes that “identity is a life story”; he goes on to suggest that in order to understand a person, you must understand their ‘story’. Noy (2004b, p.116) contends that “tourists construct identity through the performance of travel narrative.” However, identity performance is not just found in narratives of travel or used only by tourists. The narrative approach is relatively underutilised in tourism research; however, examples can be found in studies of sport, education, business, and health and social care (see for example: Smith and Weed 2007; Corney and Ward 2008; Gola 2009). Elliott (2005) suggests that narrative research provides an understanding of minor events in relation to a whole. For these reasons, the narrative interview method was employed with 26 participants. In the case of this study, the participants’ travel life history enabled an understanding of a much larger concept: their identity.

This chapter will present and justify the rationale for using the narrative approach. It will explain the processes behind deciding on an approach and carrying out the primary research, including sampling strategy, data collection and analysis, taking into account every step undertaken in this research. It will also discuss challenges experienced and how these were overcome. The limitations of the method will also be presented.

Research approach

There are many justifications for using a qualitative approach for this research. Firstly, the aim of this research is to enhance the understanding of the role played by personal identity in tourism mobility, which supports a qualitative approach. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) suggest that a qualitative approach should be used in exploratory studies where there is little known about the subject. Marshall and Rossman (2006) support this and provide strong statements to justify the use of a qualitative approach. They state that qualitative research is “[r]esearch that delves in depth into complexities and processes” and that it is “research on little-known phenomena or innovative systems” (Marshall

and Rossman 2006, p.591). Silverman (1997, p.12) summarises the ideas presented in most of the literature on qualitative research; “if you are concerned with exploring people’s wider perceptions or everyday behaviour, then qualitative methods may be favoured.” This is primarily due to the fact that qualitative research allows in-depth access to the participant’s world, how they are thinking and why they are thinking the way they do. This research does not have hypotheses to prove; it is exploring a concept and theories will be emergent from the data; thus, making it an inductive enquiry.

Narrative inquiry

A narrative inquiry is research undertaken through narrative forms. Put simply, a narrative is a story, an account of an event or events that follows a temporal sequence (Reissman 2008). Differing terms are used interchangeably: Clandinin and Connelly (2000) refer to narrative inquiry, whereas Reissman (1993) refers to narrative analysis. Narrative data can be derived from many methods, the most widely used is the narrative interview. However, data can be obtained through other techniques, such as written narratives (e.g. letters), oral histories, autobiographies and the researcher’s personal accounts (Reissman 1993). All these methods have one element in common; they are presented in a storied manner (Reissman 2008).

According to Elliott (2005, p.3), “a narrative can be understood to organise a sequence of events into a whole so that the significance of each event can be understood through its relation to that whole. In this way, a narrative conveys the meanings of events.” The term ‘narrative’ is often used interchangeably with ‘story’ (Frank 2000; Holloway and Wheeler 2010; Jones et al. 2013). However, Frank (2000) suggests that there are subtle semantic differences between the two: people ‘tell’ stories not narratives; a narrative is the end result of a story that has been told. A narrative could be created through the telling of a story about any topic (Holstein and Gubrium 2000). If a person were to recount their school days, that would be a narrative, as would a recollection of time spent in hospital or holidays through their teens. By considering narratives in this way, it is easy to understand how narrative inquiries can be considered to be interdisciplinary; a narrative could and does originate from virtually any subject area.

In this thesis, when the terms ‘narrative research’ or ‘narrative inquiry’ are used, it is in reference to the narrative interview; however, the research as a whole takes a narrative

approach. For example, the thesis is written in keeping with a narrative style; therefore, headings are used without numbers. Wengraf's (2001, p.111) definition of a narrative interview is "[a]n interview design that focuses on the elicitation and provocation of storytelling, of narration ...", which will be used for the purpose of this study. As I will cover later in this chapter, my narrative interviews are not the traditional textbook style of narrative interview and deviate slightly from the pure narrative technique.

The approach to narrative inquiry

Narrative interviews are generally undertaken by asking only an opening question and then allowing the interviewee to talk freely about the themes that they feel are relevant to the question. This means that the opening question must be broad enough to stimulate a lengthy answer from the participant (Holloway and Wheeler 2010). The use of only one question at the start of the interview means that the subject matter "is open to development and change, depending on the narrator's experiences" (Holloway and Jefferson 2000, p.31). However, Reissman (1993) recommends that novice researchers in this field have a set of further questions in order to keep the narrative flowing. This also assists in keeping the interviewee 'on track'.

When carrying out narrative interviews, the sample size is kept relatively small; this is due to the volume of data generated from this type of research (Wengraf 2001). Data can be interpreted with considerations given not only to the spoken word but also to any non-verbal communication, such as facial expression or hand gestures, and also to the reaction of the audience; i.e., the researcher (Reissman 1993). This will be discussed in full, later in the chapter. Although the narrative inquiry is considered to be interdisciplinary, many examples of studies using narrative research can be found in similar fields, namely, nursing, education and sports psychology, with an example from the geography/tourism field coming from Frändberg (2008).

The use of narrative inquiry

Kraus (2006, p.107) takes the standpoint that "the telling is the 'doing' of identity", which means that a person creating a narrative is not just 'telling a story' but affirming their identity. Smith and Sparkes (2006, p.169) also present the argument that identity is created through narratives, "... the stories that people tell and hear from others form

the warp and weft of who they are and what they do.” Therefore, in order to understand an individual’s identity, it is necessary to understand the narratives they present. Smith and Weed (2007) suggest that narratives are central to an individual’s existence and provide explanation and motivation for behaviour. They also believe that even if we wanted to, we cannot avoid narratives because we ‘live them’.

Individuals can present identities by using narratives about many subjects; the stories do not have to be specifically about themselves. Holloway and Wheeler (2010, p.4) state “participants affirm their identities through narratives”; this provides a clear justification of why a narrative inquiry would be a suitable method to use in an investigation involving identity. This is also confirmed by Van De Mieroop (2009, p.69): “life stories are an important means by which individuals make sense of their lives and perceive and construct identities.” When justifying his use of narrative inquiry, Gola (2009, p.336) summarises Reissman (1993) and Clandinin and Connelly (2000) by stating that “narrative is the best way of representing and understanding experience.” These aforementioned studies highlight the relationship between narratives and identity, not just in terms of research but also in identity formation. A final justification of the method comes from Smith and Weed (2007) who propose that “narratives are of importance to researchers who are interested in people and their experiences.” Given the above arguments, I am convinced that narrative interviews are the most appropriate method to investigate identities.

However, narrative inquiries are not without their disadvantages. Firstly, it should be acknowledged that constructing a narrative is a creative process in which the storyteller is aware of the intended audience (Reissman 2008). Therefore, identities found in narratives could be projected rather than actual identities. In narrative research, the story told by the interviewee is only one element of the account; there will be a further story told by the researcher in disseminating the findings. In this way, it could be considered a tale of two truths. Furthermore, the data are subjected to the interpretation of the researcher. This research does not come from a realist but a constructionist perspective point of view; i.e., knowledge is constructed dually by the researcher and the researched and, therefore, the interpretation is contextual. In addition, Reissman (2008) states there are no fixed criteria for assessing reliability and validity of narrative research.

A practical rather than a theoretical challenge posed by narrative research is that of the inarticulate interviewee and the problem of participants being unable or unwilling to express themselves fully. A traditional narrative interview would see the interviewer asking an opening question and then expecting the interviewee to talk in as much depth as possible on the topic in question. The vast majority of people would find this particularly difficult to do; therefore, the interviewer needs to be sympathetic and encouraging in order to get the most from the participant. On the other hand, there may be an interviewee who gets carried away and wanders 'off topic'. Both of these problems can be avoided with some gentle questioning. It was felt that, despite the challenges involved, the narrative interview was the most appropriate method for this study.

Research design

All participants were interviewed twice. The first interview was based around a travel life history in which the participants were asked to recount their holidays undertaken over their life course. The purpose of the first interview was to gain an understanding of identity and to explore the participant's evolving travel behaviour. The second interview was used to follow up on points from the first interview where, at times, the significance of what the interviewee was saying was not apparent at the time. This meant that during the second interview, I could ask them to elaborate on points they had made during the first interview. It was at the second stage that the theme of the environment was introduced. The second interview was more structured than the first but was still designed to elicit narrative responses from the interviewees. The primary role of the second interview was to explore the relationship between environmental awareness and concern and identities. In terms of the research objectives, interview one primarily focused on the first and second objectives:

- (1) To examine travel 'life histories' and explore the narration of identity formation and resultant identity markers.
- (2) To explore the ways in which identity may influence a person's evolving tourist travel behaviour.

Some material related to the third objective also emerged during interview one. Interview two focused on objectives three and four:

- (3) To analyse the manner in which home identities are presented in relation to away identities.
- (4) To analyse how the identities of people embedded in highly mobile lifestyles are constructed or negotiated in the light of current debates on climate change.

Interview guide

Narrative interviews are unstructured in design but, even so, it is acceptable to use interview guides as memory prompts, particularly among novice researchers (Bryman and Bell 2011). Reissman (1993) also advises that novice researchers should prepare a flexible list of questions, in order to get the most from the interviewee. However, the purpose of a narrative interview is to elicit narratives. For this reason the questions that I devised aimed to help the interviewee tell their story and provide deeper descriptions of their travel life history, with questions beginning 'how' and 'why'. These questions were there to be used in case the conversation dried up, which occasionally was the case.

Interview one

The interviewees were advised to make notes on their travel life history prior to the first interview taking place. They could write as much or as little as they desired. It was found in the preliminary interviews that taking time to think about their travel life history and making notes aided memory recall during the interview and produced better narratives, resulting in richer data for the researcher. The interview guide for interview one was created in line with the main lifecycle stages of childhood, teens/growing-up and adulthood. In each of the sections, participants were asked to describe holidays they had taken during that period. There were various questions within each life-stage section that were designed specifically to elicit responses which would provide opportunities for insight into identity. The guide included a final section of 'general' questions asking for descriptions of favourite destinations, future travel aspirations and business travel. The guide also had a set of questions which could be used on an ad hoc basis to try to get more depth from the responses given. The particular sequence was chosen to be in line with the notes interviewees were advised to complete prior to the interview. In addition, it was thought that keeping the questions (and the interviewee's thoughts) in a temporal order would help the participant to recall the events more

clearly. Despite the fact that the guide had a reasonably extensive list of questions, these were not considered to be set in stone. Sometimes, questions had been covered before reaching that stage in the guide, a phenomenon also experienced by Rubin and Rubin (1995). At other times, it was apparent that certain questions were not needed. Questions could also be asked off-the-cuff to probe deeper into responses.

The questions were designed to be deliberately open-ended so that a longer response was required. By using ‘tell me about ...’ as opposed to “where did you go?”, the researcher is shepherding the participant into giving more of a narrative account, rather than merely a list of destinations. Merriam (2009, p.99) also suggests using the following questions to generate detailed and descriptive data “Tell me about the time when ... Give me an example of ... Tell me more about that ... What was it like for you when ...” By using follow-up questions, it is also possible to add more substance to the data collected; asking for examples is another method that can be employed (Rubin and Rubin 1995). Although there was a guide in place to use as necessary, I made sure that I allowed the participant to talk without interruption (Jones et al. 2013). A copy of the full first interview guide can be found in Appendix 1 (p. i).

Interview two

The interviewees were aware that the second interview would be based around climate change and the environment. However, it was not necessary for interviewees to make notes prior to this interview. The style of the interview was similar to the first in that it was designed to elicit narrative responses; however, it was more structured, as I ensured that I covered all of the questions listed on the protocol. The interview began with a personalised set of questions, following up issues from the first interview. This enabled me to probe topics that emerged as significant during the first interview analysis. Following on from this, I had a list of ‘generic’ questions to cover, this began by finding out what travel means to each interviewee through the following questions:

- How do you feel about having a highly mobile lifestyle?
- What does being able to travel freely where you want and when you want mean to you?

I then moved on to specific questions about the environment, starting with asking them

what they knew about climate change. I also wanted to explore whether they saw a link between their personal travel and climate change and what they did in their everyday lives that could be considered environmentally friendly. For the full guide see appendix 2 (p. iv). I felt that interviewees found this interview more challenging than the first and some became defensive in their responses. I also found that participants took more time to think before answering and there were often pauses during their response. I used this to my advantage by using a technique to encourage further response, which involves playing on the pauses. In a conventional conversation, when the person talking finishes what they are saying, there is a short pause and then the other person will begin talking. When interviewing, by pausing slightly longer than is customary, the interviewee may elaborate further (Rubin and Rubin 1995).

After each interview, I made an entry in a research journal. This was not to add anything to the data and would not be included in the analysis but was to help me develop personally as a researcher. I would make comments about how the interview went, how I felt the interviewee behaved; for example, were they nervous? I would also make notes about where I felt I could improve my interviewing technique. These were general notes about the interview procedure rather than the data gathered but I feel that taking time to make these reflections helped me to develop a solid interviewing technique.

Sampling

Initially, this research undertook a purposive sampling strategy in the form of snowballing. This opened up possibilities to include people that the researcher would not normally have contact with. This method of sampling was cost effective, took away the need for inducement and resulted in only dealing with participants who were willing to participate and met the necessary criteria. According to Merriam (2009), snowballing is the most common form of purposeful sampling. Rubin and Rubin (1995) also acknowledge that recruiting participants by snowballing through contacts is common practice. Authors who have used the snowballing method as their sampling technique include Noy (2004a), who conducted a study into how travel (specifically back-packing) can create identity change. The criteria that the participants had to meet were that they were aged twenty five or above and willing to participate and talk about their travel experiences. This age bracket was set because it was thought that

interviewees over twenty five would have been through at least one 'life stage', resulting in multiple instances of identity formation. It goes without saying that they were required to have taken holidays in order to be part of the study. All participants were British; this was a deliberate attempt to avoid the study becoming a cultural comparison of identities where it is, in fact, the individual identities that are of importance.

Twenty four participants were interviewed, higher than might be expected in narrative research where sample sizes tend to be small due to the large volume of data generated from this type of research (Wengraf 2001). Table 3.1 shows the profile of all interviewees. Pseudonyms have been used to ensure anonymity of the participants and third parties (Hadjistavropolous and Smythe 2001; Marshall and Rossman 2006).

Table 3.1: Profile of participants

	Name (pseudonym)	Gender	Age	Occupation
1	Martin	Male	67	Retired RAF Pilot
2	Trisha	Female	47	Hair salon owner
3	Penny	Female	61	Retired teacher
4	James	Male	56	Retired banking industry
5	June	Female	59	University lecturer
6	Stephanie	Female	42	University administrator
7	Jill	Female	62	Semi-retired teacher
8	Claire	Female	28	Building surveyor
9	Heather	Female	65	Housewife
10	Paul	Male	65	Retired from IT industry
11	Susie	Female	31	Unemployed teacher
12	Mark	Male	29	Goods driver
13	Katherine	Female	66	Retired teacher
14	Simon	Male	33	Journalist
15	Liz	Female	61	Retired civil servant
16	Dennis	Male	59	Civil servant
17	Stuart	Male	58	Retired transport planner
18	Tom	Male	47	Owner of local tour company
19	Michael	Male	64	Retired school inspector
20	Beth	Female	31	Researcher
21	Richard	Male	63	Travel writer
22	Samantha	Female	34	Journalist/writer
23	Reece	Male	46	Town planner
24	Daniel	Male	63	Retired local government officer

The snowballing method worked well to begin with; however, when it came to the second stage of interviews, the data reached saturation after only five interviews. It was found that when discussing the environment, interviewees were giving very similar answers, sometimes almost word-for-word. I undertook interviews in small batches: carrying out first interviews, completing transcription and analysis and then undertaking the second interview. This allowed for early indication of issues, such as the problem

with snowballing. When this issue was discovered and I realised that I was not getting the data that I required. I decided that I still needed to use a purposive sampling strategy but needed to target a specific type of person, i.e. those who were likely to be more environmentally minded. As Holloway (2008) suggests, a sampling strategy can evolve as the study progresses. I contacted local groups with varying degrees of environmental concern (see table 3.2). It is important to note that the participants recruited by this method were also interviewed twice.

Table 3.2: Environmental groups contacted

Organisation	Method of contact	Response	Interviewees
Bournemouth Cycling Forum	Direct email	Positive	Y
BU Bicycle User Group	Direct email	None	N
CTC Bournemouth	Direct email	None	N
Dorset Countryside Volunteers	Direct email	Positive	N
Dorset Cyclists Network	Direct email	Negative	N
Dorset Long Distance Walkers Assoc.	Direct email	None	N
Dorset Wildlife Trust & Seasearch	Direct email	None	N
Dorset Young Walkers Group	Online form	None	N
East Dorset Ramblers	Direct email	Negative	N
Friends of the Earth - East Dorset	Online form	Positive	Y
Friends of the Earth - New Forest	Online form	Negative	N
Friends of the Earth - West Dorset	Online form	None	N
North Dorset Ramblers	Online form	Positive	Y
South Dorset Ramblers	Online form	Positive	Y
West Dorset Ramblers	Online form	None	N
World Development Movement	Word of mouth	None	N

An email was sent to a contact from the group, such as a membership secretary, giving a brief outline of the nature of the research and what it would entail. I asked if it would be possible to pass the information onto their members so that those who were interested in taking part could contact me directly. (A copy of the email sent to the various groups can be seen in appendix 3, p. vii.) I was overwhelmed by the number of people willing to take part and eventually had to turn people away as the response was

so positive. Given that all, apart from one person, met all the criteria, I decided to interview people on a type of ‘first come, first served’ basis. However, some people made contact to express interest in taking part but when I responded with the full information and request to book an appointment, I did not hear from them again.

Pilot interviews

Initially, two pilot interviews were undertaken in order to identify any potential problems that might arise from the interviews and the pre-interview travel log. As a secondary purpose, it allows the novice interviewer to sharpen interview skills (Merriam 2009). During these two pilot interviews, a number of issues were identified and a further three pilot interviews were undertaken once measures had been taken to rectify the problems. The length of the pilot interviews ranged from 35 minutes to 95 minutes. Issues identified after the initial round of interviews included:

- The design of a pre-interview travel log was too demanding; participants were reluctant to complete this because of the perceived detail being asked of them. The log required them to make extensive notes regarding their travel life history.
- The lack of follow-up questions asked meant that data was of a descriptive rather than a narrative nature.
- Responses did not allow for a deep level of analysis that would lead to uncovering identity – only simple identity markers were drawn out.

The following solutions were found to these issues and, in the second round of pilot studies, these were found to be adequate solutions:

- Instead of being given a structured form to complete, it was just suggested to participants that it could be helpful to make notes. This meant that they could write as little or as much as they remembered. The only guidance that they were given was the advice that they might find it easier to remember holidays in lifecycle segments, which were childhood, teens/growing up and adulthood. Making this process less formal and structured alleviated any pressure experienced by participants.
- A more structured interview protocol was created with questions, such as “tell me about your holidays during your childhood” or “describe your worst holiday ...why was this?” Creating the protocol acted as a ‘safety blanket’ since having

a list of possible questions in place, reduced the likelihood of the interview ending relatively quickly. The use of the question “tell me about your holidays during ...” meant that the interviewee had the opportunity to develop a narrative but, if the question had been phrased, “where did you go on holiday during your childhood?” the response could be just a list of destinations and years (which was the case in the very first pilot interview in round one). The new protocol and refined questions allowed for a higher quality of answers.

- An approach to questioning loosely based on the laddering technique (Reynolds and Gutman 1988) was introduced. After responses were made, the interviewer would follow up with additional questions, such as “why did you do that?” or “how did that make you feel?” The traditional laddering method would require the interviewer to ask a question, such as “why is that important to you?” and continue with that question by asking “why?” to each response given. The approach that was taken in this research was not as formal as laddering but still allowed for further probing of the original question. This technique allows for further probing of the same topic to get deeper answers and encourages a narrative response to the question. It was found that when the interviewer attempted to use a strict laddering approach, the interviewees appeared to become defensive, which could be attributed to the fact that, by asking ‘why?’ to each response, the interviewee felt undermined and that their response was questioned in a persistent/aggressive manner. It was felt that a more gentle approach to questioning was appropriate in order to keep the interviewee at ease.

After the first five interviews, I felt that I had mastered a process and technique that was adequate to carry out the remaining interviews successfully.

Data collection

Data were collected either at the participant’s home or a public place, such as a cafe. By undertaking interviews in this way, the interviewee is more likely to feel comfortable, as they are either in their own domain or on neutral territory. Some interviews generated through snowballing were undertaken in my own home, at the request of the interviewee; it is important that the interviewee feels comfortable with the interview process, so these requests were honoured in order for them to feel comfortable (Herzog 2005). It is important that the interviewee is made to feel comfortable at all

times in order to elicit the best responses from them (Saunders et al. 2007).

Despite having an interview guide, it was important to remain flexible, allowing interviewees to talk freely about events that they felt important. It was also useful for the interviewer to make encouraging comments, noises and non-verbal gestures, such as nodding or smiling. This allows the interview to feel more like a conversation and relaxes the interviewee so that they feel secure enough to continue talking at length (Bryman and Bell 2011). However, these should be seen as signs of interest rather than agreement, to avoid influencing the participant. Jennings (2005, p.106) makes recommendations for good interviewing practice based on Seidman (1991), which involves the following:

- Listen for more than talk
- Ask for elaboration
- Refrain from the use of leading questions
- Try not to interrupt, although judicious interruptions may save time budgets from being broken
- Give of yourself, it is an interaction
- Check your non-verbal interactions so that they do not bias interviewee reflections
- Ask interviewees to explain laughter, hesitations and emotions
- Trust your instincts – know when to ask hard questions or probe further
- Use guides carefully
- Feel comfortable about silences, they allow time for reflection
- Be genuine.

Interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder; permission to do this was sought from the participant before the interview commenced (Legard et al. 2003). This was roughly the size of a mobile phone; therefore, it was not overly intrusive. Despite this, some interviewees appeared to be wary of it initially, glancing at it from time to time; however, about five minutes into the interview, they seemed to be comfortable with the fact that it was there. During the interviews, only minimal notes were taken. This allowed me to focus all my attention on the interviewee, creating a relaxed and ‘conversation’ like feel. The notes that were taken were of significant things that the recordings could not pick up on; e.g., facial expressions, arm gestures, shoulder shrugs etc. The length of the interviews ranged from approximately 30 minutes to 100

minutes.

The role of the researcher

Frank (2000, p.354) proposes that a narrative is co-created by the narrator and the audience “one person may be speaking, but stories are told with – not only to – listeners who are part of the storytelling.” This notion is also supported by Polkinghorne (1996), who contends that a story is not the product of, or owned by the teller alone but is co-authored by the audience or, in his words, ‘listening partner’. This has similarities to the way that identities are contextually created and negotiated in relation to others. This rings true with Polkinghorne’s claim that the teller is aware of the audience and will custom their story to fit the settings – therefore, it could be argued that the audience helps to shape the stories presented and, indeed, the resulting identities. This has a twofold consequence demonstrated in the following quote:

“because of these [co-creation] operations, the identity stories gathered as data for narrative research are not mirror reflections of people’s experientially functioning identity stories. The gap between the publically presented story and the lived identity story requires that researchers infer from their collected told identity stories (or story fragments) that inform the lives of their subjects.” (Polkinghorne 1996, p.366)

This means that the co-creation has two elements to it. Firstly, the narrator is tailoring their stories to suit the audience, meaning that the audience is playing a role in the structuring of the story. Secondly, the audience (in this example, the researcher) infers meaning from the stories told. This is particularly true when using narratives and investigating identity, as the true meaning may not be the one that the audience or researcher detects. When undertaking research, it is not possible to know whether a person is telling the truth when they recount an experience and there is no way of verifying data are authentic. In the same way, it is not possible to ascertain whether versions of reality are presented because the narrator has the audience’s reaction in mind. However, Reissman (2008, p.187) acknowledges that, in her work on narratives, “verifying the fact was less important than understanding the meanings for individuals and groups.” In my research, it is not necessary to understand the truth of the story, or even the truth of the identity being presented, but it is necessary to understand the meaning for the participant.

Data analysis

The method of analysis for this research is that of narrative analysis. Data found in the form of narratives can be analysed in many different ways, such as grounded theory, discourse analysis and narrative analysis (Reissman 1993). This research adopts the narrative analysis method. Unlike other methods, it allows for the fact that people make sense of their lives in a timeline sequence. It is the most obvious method for analysis when researching life histories but it can be used with many forms of data when faced with large chunks of narrative.

Narrative analysis

Narrative analysis is a term used to refer to both data collection and data analysis, specifically concerning data that involves the temporal sequence of life histories and stories of events. Although the stories are based on what happened, the concern is the “sense that people make of the stories/events” (Bryman 2004, p.412). To summarise, it is the search for and analysis of stories. Reissmann (2008) identifies four main methods of narrative analysis: thematic analysis, structural analysis, dialogic/performance analysis and visual analysis. These are summarised as follows:

- *Thematic analysis*: emphasis on ‘what’ is said rather than ‘how’
- *Structural analysis*: emphasis shifts from what is said, i.e. the narrator’s experience, to the construction of the narrative itself
- *Dialogic/performance analysis*: emphasis is on ‘how’ the story is told, using what methods and on the interviewer/interviewee dialogue interaction
- *Visual analysis*: examines communication through means other than words (i.e. photographs and performance art)

These four approaches search for different elements within a narrative and can be applied individually; however, in practice, researchers often combine analysis methods to tailor analysis to the specific needs of their individual research. The aim of the research will determine the type of analysis that takes place. All these approaches include transcription and data familiarisation and, significantly, narratives could be segments of an interview or the piece as a whole. The study of visual material was considered and rejected early on in the research process. This is because I wanted the interviewees to have a free reign over the stories they told rather than be prompted by

specific memories triggered by photographs (or other mementos/objects). However, I acknowledge that this method could have been useful given the rich work on photographs of holidays (e.g., Urry 1990; Haldrup & Larsen 2003; Larsen 2005; Garrod 2009). I ruled out the use of visual analysis because I had not used visual materials and felt that the performance element of this method of analysis was covered in dialogic/performance analysis.

I began analysing the data using the structural analysis method. This is because I knew that I needed to look at more than what was said (i.e. thematic analysis) and I thought that structural analysis would provide sufficient depth. I went through the transcripts of the interviews, identifying the various elements that are used to form the narrative. Many authors (e.g., Reissman 2004 & 2008; Squire 2005; Attanucci 1991) refer to the framework developed by Labov and Waletzky in the late sixties, which identifies the six main elements of a narrative:

- *Abstract* – the summary of the story
- *Orientation* – facts such as time, place and characters
- *Evaluation* – the narrator provides comment on the story
- *Complicating action* – the sequence in which the event unfolds
- *Resolution* – the outcome
- *Coda* – ends the story and brings the narrator back to the present.

Not all narratives will contain every element and they do not always occur in this order (Reissman 2004). This approach to analysis is very much about how the account is put together, and the form and language that are used to achieve the narrator's desired effects. According to Reissman (2008), using this method of analysis can identify how the 'self' and 'history' of the narrator are constructed. In practice, although I could locate these elements within my data, I did not feel that it was really telling me anything useful. Frank (2000, p.354) discusses the structures that make up a narrative and highlights the problems that I experienced: "these structures are real and interesting, but exclusive focus on them risks leaving out what may be most important to the storytellers themselves." His reluctance to commit to what would equate to structural analysis suggests the need for mixed methods of analysis.

Sanders et al. (2007) claim the use of structural analysis when analysing data collected from narrative interviews. However, they also state that they pay particular attention to “language, non-verbal communication, the audience role and the act scene and manner of the performance” (Sanders et al. 2007, p.3189). These elements of narrative are related to Reissman’s (2008) dialogic/performance analysis, which is discussed in the following paragraphs. This would again demonstrate the need for adaptation of analysis approaches to fit research-specific criteria.

Once I had discovered that the structural approach was not fruitful, I decided to start again using thematic analysis. This is where recurrent words, phrases or ideas are identified within the narrative. This could be carried out manually or by using analytical software, such as Nvivo. Once an interview (case) has been analysed, generalisations can be made by identifying common themes throughout a number of cases. Thematic narrative analysis retains the temporal nature of the data; i.e., strives to keep the data in a cohesive time sequence rather than fragmenting segments. This form is often undertaken by novice researchers who are inexperienced in dealing with narrative data (Reissman 2008).

By undertaking this method of analysis, I found out that I also naturally began using dialogic/performance analysis. Reissman’s (2008) definition of this approach to analysis is adapted from her earlier (2004) definition of interactional analysis. During this process, meaning is created through the interaction of the narrator and the listener, which is the ‘dialogic’ part of the more recent definition. The latter definition views the narrative as a performance in which the audience is persuaded through language and gesture. Performative analysis is “appropriate for studies of communication practices and for detailed studies of identity construction – how narrators want to be known and precisely how they involve the audience in ‘doing’ their identities” (Reissman 2004, p.708).

Dialogic/performance analysis includes elements of both thematic and structural analysis but adds interpretation of the impact of the interviewer, the setting in which the narrative takes place and why the narrative is occurring. Reissmann (2008, p.106) implies that this is an appropriate approach when using interview data relating to identities “one can’t be a ‘self’ by oneself; rather, identities are constructed in ‘shows’

that persuade.” This approach scrutinises contexts, including the impact of the researcher. This is where it is important to understand positionality; in this case, the researcher’s ‘place in the world.’ A good example of this can be taken from an early interview for this research. An interviewee (Martin) told a story of consuming a large amount of alcohol and being violently ill in a tent. If the interviewer were a 45 year old business person and not a 27 year-old student, it is unlikely that this particular event would have been mentioned. Herod (1999) illustrates how he was able to use his positionality as a British academic doing research in America and playing up his ‘Britishness’ to be seen as an outsider and playing dumb when asking questions that he knows would be controversial or difficult.

Specific elements that Reissman (2008) looks for when undertaking dialogic/performance analysis include scenes, direct speech (of the narrator and other ‘characters’), asides, and instances of repetition, expressive sounds and use of the historical present tense when recalling the story. It is pertinent to note that this narrative (or performance) is considered both an act and an enactment. Smith and Sparkes (2006) acknowledge that there is a divide in narrative research between those interested in ‘what’ is said and those whose focus is ‘how’ it is said. We can relate this back to Reissman’s (2008) first three versions of narrative analysis. If the primary focus is *what* is said, then the method to use would be thematic analysis; however, if the focus is on *how*, then more appropriate methods would be structural or dialogic/performance analysis.

When researching identities, *what* is said is equally as important as *how* the individual says it (Smith and Weed 2007). Chase (2005, p.658) states that narrative researchers, who are concerned with identities, are “as interested in the *hows* of storytelling as they are in the *whats* of storytelling – in the narrative practices by which storytellers make use of available resources to construct recognizable selves” (see also Reissman 1993; Holstein and Gubrium 2004; Smith and Weed 2007). Both allow for indications of how the interviewee will be constructing or presenting their identity. What are they telling the listener (in this case we know it will be stories of their holidays) and how are they persuading the listener that they are the person they are presenting? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary for the interpretation of the data to involve more than a simple thematic analysis.

Holstein and Gubrium (2004) suggest working on one aspect at a time whilst Smith and Sparkes (2005) suggest that mixed analysis methods could be most appropriate, as this allows for choice of words to be highlighted rather than simply themes. This is a point picked up by Wheaten (2000), who refers to how participants in her study use language to indicate belonging to a windsurfing subculture. Outsiders of the group use the verb 'windsurfing', whereas in-group members talk of windsurfers. Both are referring to the same subject but position themselves differently in relation to the topic. This is something that would not be picked up by a simple thematic analysis. For that reason, my analysis led me to use elements of thematic analysis and also dialogic/performance analysis. I will present data that, in some cases, shows the importance of what was said and, in other cases, how it was said is the primary focus.

Steps in analysis undertaken in this research

Data familiarisation

Familiarisation of the data involved an initial transcription of the interview as soon as possible after the interview took place (for examples of transcripts from both stages see appendix 4, p. ix and appendix 5, p. xxxii). The initial transcription entailed getting as much down as quickly as possible without worrying about spelling mistakes or acknowledging laughter, pauses or other significant occurrences other than speech. Following this, the recording was listened to with the initial transcription document open and more attention was paid to getting the phrases right and spelling correct.

The process was completed a further time with the focus on 'non-speech.' The benefit of transcribing in these stages was that I became extremely familiar with the data. It also gave me the opportunity to jog my memory of the interview itself, allowing for additional information to be added; for example, facial expressions or gesticulations that cannot be picked up from the recording but stood out in my memory or any notes that I had taken. These could be added in because, in some cases, it is possible to hear when people are smiling or making elaborate gestures, such as waving arms up and down. The transcriptions took place soon after the interviews, which meant that they were still fresh in my mind; this recall was also aided by multiple listening of the recordings.

Thematic analysis

When completing the first analysis of the transcripts, the different life stages discussed in the interview were identified. This was not a complex process because, in most cases, it tied in with a question. Some interviewees did not need pushing to move from one stage to another but, even when I had not asked a question, the narrative made it clear that the interviewee's life stage has changed. Despite this, it is useful to have the change in life stage/circumstance clearly marked on the page for emphasis. The basic analysis also involved a thematic analysis. I identified codes within the data which were later grouped into themes. I did this individually for each interview and then identified commonalities within the whole sample. I used an inductive approach to coding meaning that resulting themes emerged from the data and were driven by existing theory (Braun and Clarke 2006). Once I had a list of codes, I was then able to group them together under potential themes.

Identifying the recurring themes revealed particular topics that held importance for the interviewee which, in turn, can give insights into identity. A final element of the basic analysis was to identify areas to follow up in a second interview. This is mainly because the significance of some areas does not become apparent until afterwards, when the interview has been transcribed and listened to several times. I chose not to use Nvivo or any other analysis software. This is because I felt that, by using software, I would not be as close to my data as I needed to be. I feel that this is very important in qualitative research and particularly with the personal identity aspect of this study. Any task done by a computer and not by myself would mean that a connection between me and the data was lost. This is an important issue in terms of identities where the audience is co-responsible for the construction of the identity (Wetherell and Maybin 1996).

Dialogic/performance analysis

A second analysis of the transcripts was undertaken. This time, Reissman's (2008) dialogic/performance analysis was specifically used. I read and re-read the transcript, looking for the 'how' aspects of the narratives; for example, the over use of specific phrases, such as 'to be honest' or whether the interviewee took ownership by saying, "I could do x to be more environmentally friendly" rather than "you could do ...". In the

latter phrase, the interviewee is not taking responsibility but placing onus on a nameless and faceless group. Therefore, I thoroughly interrogated the data and reflected on the use of phrases and ways of speaking. This part of the analysis process also included looking for inconsistencies in what the interviewee was telling the 'audience.' For example, one interviewee presented themselves as being very family orientated but their best holiday did not involve the whole family. These inconsistencies in the stories being told demonstrate the dissonance that the interviewee may experience in their identity.

Once the second phase of analysis had taken place, I looked for commonalities between the interviews. Although each interview was analysed as a separate case, comparisons were made between the cases and commonalities and discords identified. This was used to create the themes which will be discussed in the findings chapters. At this stage, it should be noted that while similarities have been identified across these interviews, I make no suggestions that the findings can be generalisable or that the study could be replicated. In fact, I would argue the case that, if the research were undertaken with a different sample, the findings would indeed be very different, given the individual nature of identities.

Ethical considerations

During all research, it is the researcher's responsibility to ensure that they do not put their participants in the way of harm (Rubin and Rubin 1995). An ethics checklist was completed and approved by the School's Research Ethics Committee member, in line with University regulations (see appendix 6, p. lxi), and a number of ethical guidelines were considered.

The nature and purpose of this research meant that sensitive or acutely personal information was not actively sought and participants were not placed in physical danger. Thus, emotional or physical harm was not caused in the process of doing this research. However, during my interviews, there were several occasions where interviewees revealed information that they regarded as sensitive; for example, when discussing financial situations or family arguments. On one occasion when returning for a second interview, one interviewee told me that she had revealed things to me that she had never told anyone else. This highlights the importance of maintaining interviewee

confidentiality and anonymity. Accordingly, I gave each interviewee a pseudonym, which is common practice when undertaking research (Christians 2005). I have not hidden their profession as I feel that, in many cases, their professional history was relevant to their identity. On the other hand, although I acknowledge that they all come from Dorset; I do not disclose where they live, as I do not feel this to be relevant to the study. I am confident that the participants cannot be traced.

Participants were given written information about the nature and purpose of the research when initial contacts were sought, as suggested by Gratton and Jones (2010). In addition to this, they were given further details on the research process once they had agreed to take part. They were given assurance that they and any third parties would remain anonymous, and that the data they would provide would be confidential (Hadjistavropoulos and Smythe 2001; Holloway and Brown 2012). Interviewees were able to withdraw at any point throughout the study, as well as request that any data be destroyed (Jones et al. 2013).

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) acknowledge one ethical dilemma, which I experienced. They suggest that researchers run the risk of their interest being perceived as friendship. I was asked by several of the interviewees to stay in touch so that they could invite me to social events that they had planned. Although this indicates the strength of the rapport that I had built up with my interviewees, it also placed me in a difficult situation as I felt that while undertaking the research it would be a conflict of interests and I did not want the participants to feel used (Mason 2002). In addition, I needed to sustain rapport, so while I did decline social interaction after the interviews, I did promise to keep them informed of the results of the study.

Health and safety issues

It is also important to consider harm to the researcher during the course of the study (Lee-Treweek and Linkogle 2000). The majority of interviews were undertaken with individuals not previously known to the interviewer. Interviews took place either in the interviewee's home, the researcher's home or in public places, such as cafes. In all situations, records were maintained of the date, time and location of interviews and the participants' contact details. This was left with a friend or colleague who was also informed on the interviewer's safe return. A mobile phone was carried at all times. The

risk of malicious intent to the interviewer was perceived as minimal due to the fact that some participants were generated by snowballing through contacts and others were contacted through groups where membership was required. A risk assessment form was completed in line with University regulations (see appendix 7, p. lxiv).

Validity

Holloway and Brown (2012) acknowledge that within qualitative research, there are some suggestions that assessment of validity is irrelevant. Often, qualitative researchers refer to trustworthiness instead of validity but within the literature, there is no consensus on the terms that should be employed or the criteria to be followed (Jones et al. 2013). Having said that, I have assessed the quality of my data through the following measures suggested by Holloway and Brown (2012):

- *Audit trail* – this chapter has provided a detailed step-by-step description of the research process, explaining decisions that were made and making clear the steps undertaken.
- *Reflexivity* – I acknowledge my own influence on data. My place in the world is likely influence the results I have gained. My age, gender, appearance and level of education will be obvious to the participant and may influence the stories that they choose to tell me and the identities they present. Acknowledgement of my positionality allows for full disclosure and honesty. I have not tried to hide the influence that I may have had on the research.
- *Transferability* – this research is not generalisable. It is likely that if it were undertaken by another researcher, the results would be different, which is linked to positionality above. In addition, if I undertook the research again, the results could be different. This is because of the contextual nature of identities. The results are dependent on individual identities which vary. However, the results could be transferable to other settings where behaviour is being studied.
- *Quotations* – I have used numerous quotations in order to make clear the links between the data and the literature. In this way, the reader is able to see the analysis and interpretation that has taken place.

Limitations

Sample

The initial snowballing sampling method reached data saturation after only five interviews. When undertaking snowballing, the researcher is reliant on the networks of their initial contact or contacts. If the starting contact only has a limited network, such as colleagues or members of a sports team, then there is a strong likelihood that the participants will all be of a similar standing. This has been minimised by using several initial contacts; however, it could be argued that these are all likely to be similar. Due to data saturation, a new method of purposeful sampling was employed in order to target more environmentally-minded individuals. Effort was made to recruit interviewees of varied ages and occupations. Each interviewee is taken as a separate case. Generalisations will be made by comparing similarities throughout all of the cases but personal identity is exactly that, personal to the individual and, therefore, this study is not trying to represent the population as a whole.

Memory of participants

There is a tendency for narrative researchers to view the stories that they are told uncritically (Bryman 2004). However, when studying identities, it is essential that the researcher has a completely open mind and is able to see the data beyond the immediate face value; i.e., not just accept that what is told is the truth, to realise that the narrator is choosing to give information for a specific purpose – to present themselves in a particular light.

Another limitation is the question of how trustworthy the data is. In quantitative research method texts, ‘validity’ and ‘reliability’ are terms used with regards to the analysis of the data and how the researcher handles the data. However, trust in the participant is a problem that is discussed when undertaking narrative research in particular (e.g., Holloway and Freshwater, 2007). This is because the researcher is relying on the memory of the interviewee because the stories are retrospective. Holloway and Wheeler (2010) even go as far as saying that “the researcher may never know whether the story was accurate.” This issue is also discussed by Clandinin and Connelly (2000) and Reissman (2008), who acknowledge both outlooks; i.e., the truth

of the story **and** of the analysis. Reissman's earlier work (1993, p.64) counteracts this issue by stating that "historical truth ... is not the primary issue." This study is concerned not with the event itself but what the 'story' of the event says about the narrator's identity. Reissman (2004, p.708) makes another statement that should ease any worries a researcher has about the issue of trustworthiness: "narratives do not mirror the past, they refract it." This acknowledges that the narrative is not a truthful account of the event but merely a representation. This is summed up by Chase (2005, p.657):

"When researches treat narration as actively creative and the narrator's voice as particular, they move away from questions about the factual nature of the narrator's statements. Instead, they highlight the versions of self, reality and experience that the storyteller produces through the telling.."

Another point to consider is whether or not the same results would occur if the study was repeated. Chase (2005, p.657) states that "narrative researchers treat narratives as socially-situated interactive performances – as produced in this particular setting, for this particular audience, for these particular purposes." He goes on to say that the same story told to different people will vary depending on the audience, even if told to the same person again. This is because the narrative is co-created by the audience. For this reason, it must be acknowledged that the results presented here might not be replicated. This is not a significant problem, given that the research is about identities and identities are known to be not only contextual but constantly evolving.

Researcher bias

Holloway and Freshwater (2007) raise the question as to the extent to which the researcher can remain unbiased. It is possible that the data and the analysis could be influenced by the researcher's personal feelings. When conducting the interview, if the interviewer makes encouraging comments/noises (as recommended by Bryman and Bell 2011), this could signal to the interviewee they are expected to continue with that line of response. This could be a problem if factually correct data are being sought; however, this study looks for identity markers and in the markers that the interviewee chooses to present: factual accuracy is not under scrutiny. During the interviews, I often found myself wanting to strongly agree or disagree with what the interviewee was saying; however, I tried to avoid this as I was aware that I could potentially influence the data.

On the other hand, it was important to show interest in what the interviewee was saying in order to build rapport. The more comfortable participants are, the more likely it is that they will open up (Sanders et al. 2007). This was a very fine line to tread; however, I feel that I dealt with the situation adequately.

Summary

This chapter has provided an explanation of the approach and methods used in this study. It has also provided an overview of the limitations of using narrative interviews, ethical considerations and health and safety issues encountered when undertaking the research. The following three chapters will present the findings of the research. Given the inductive nature of the research, findings and discussion of the data are interwoven.

Chapter 4: The narrated self

Introduction

Narratives are used to create, maintain and ultimately present identities. They may be based on any subject and still give insight into self. For instance, Reissman (1997) undertook research looking at the effect of divorce. Through the narratives she collected, she notes that data produced representations of self: this highlights the worth of narratives for the study of identities. Similarly, the data collected for this study produces rich narrative accounts in which the interviewees 'present' themselves in a certain way. This was a desired outcome of the interview style undertaken. During interviewees' narratives of their travel life histories, whilst the stories were seemingly 'just' about the holidays they have taken throughout their life course, they actually revealed a lot more. It is possible to gain insight into identity and self.

This chapter presents data indicating how stories of travel revealed information about the person behind the story and shows examples of specific choices participants made in order to present themselves in a certain light. I also demonstrate how people have used travel in order to avoid becoming a certain self or to achieve a particular self. In addition to presenting findings related to 'The Self' this chapter presents data which supports the suitability of the narrative approach for investigating identities. Findings presented in this chapter come primarily from the first interview.

The topics discussed in this chapter are all linked to the 'self'. My findings indicate that participants used narratives of travel to present themselves in a certain way to me, the audience (Goffman 1959). They are able to choose certain stories over others in order to create a particular version of themselves. In addition, they can choose travel to help create the self that they wished to be. In line with this is the idea that in their narratives, they could differentiate themselves from others in their stories. Many chose to present themselves as travellers rather than tourists. Following on from choosing how to present oneself in a narrative is the idea of putting that into practice, choosing to become or avoid a certain self by undertaking certain behaviour (Markus and Nurius 1986). Evident through the narratives is that people made decisions about travel based on who they would like to be. On occasion, the idea of a possible self was created through self-reflection (Giddens 1991). The chapter demonstrates the link between

identity and travel.

This is me ... or is it?

Identities are rooted in the stories that we tell ourselves and others in order to make meaning of our existence and place in the world (Bagnoli 2009). My interviews were specifically designed to encourage story telling in order to gain insight into identities. Many of my interviewees recounted stories that presented themselves in a certain light. Sometimes they were successful in this and, at other times, the finer details of their stories did not seem to match up with the desired self. It must be noted that these are my interpretations of their intended presentation of self: it is possible that they had other intentions.

When people talk about themselves, they choose what to reveal and what to keep to themselves. Talking to strangers is like having a blank canvas as people can present themselves in exactly the way they would like to be seen. Martin, a retired RAF pilot, who on the surface would appear to be a sensible, golf loving father and husband, wanted to show that he also had a wild side to him. Through his narratives, Martin demonstrated a rebellious streak recalling stories of times when he undertook things he knew to be wrong; however, he exuded a type of pride in telling these stories. Goffman (1959) acknowledges that people can choose how to present themselves to others and refers to this as a 'performance'. The use of the word 'performance' would seem to be particularly appropriate as he acknowledges that some presentations of self may be fictional i.e. not entirely grounded in reality.

Martin gave examples from both his youth and adulthood. One particular story he mentions on more than one occasion involved a 1,400 mile car journey with his young family across Europe that lasted 23 hours without stopping. He begins this story by saying: "*And then I did something that I am ashamed of to this day ...*" but this episode is mentioned three times during the interview which could suggest that, while he knows he should not have done it, he is happy to talk about it because it could be viewed as dangerous and exciting and ultimately resulted in no ill harm. Martin gives other examples of 'bad behaviour'; one example comes from a childhood holiday with a group of boys and a schoolmaster:

“He [the schoolmaster] did all the research for this and we went down from the north to the south of Sardinia and he was showing us all the ancient ruins and things like this and we went across on the ferry to Palermo in Sicily and down to the south coast of Sicily, Agrigento, where I was hospitalised for two days because he told me not to go on the hot sand in bare feet and I did. I burnt my feet so the whole group had to wait while I recovered and then that was another little episode.”

The use of the phrase “*another little episode*” shows that he is suggesting that he was always doing things like this and implying that he might have many more similar stories which would help him to build a particular self-concept. While he recognises that he had behaved badly, it is not severe because it was only a “*little episode*”. However, considering the schoolmaster had planned the trip and that all the other boys were held up for at least two days, the consequences of his misbehaviour might warrant calling it more than “*a little episode*.”

Mark was another interviewee to present a reckless side; he recounted an episode on a family holiday where he got arrested:

“I think it was the Greek holiday; it was a bit more bizarre because I got drunk with my sister and ended up drunkenly going around in this taxi for ages and I got arrested sort of, so yeah, that was a very bizarre one. And I’ve got memories of, you know, drunkenness so that’s a mixed memory.”

Later on in the interview it became apparent that Mark was not ‘sort of’ arrested: he was drunk and could not remember where he was staying so had to sleep it off in the police station. He describes another holiday as: “*crazy and irresponsible*”. However, a lot of his stories are about being moral and doing the right thing when it comes to living his life, not just holidays. Mark’s current belief is that he will not go on holiday unless there is some ‘greater good’ that comes from making the trip. He frequently talks of his “*current moral standards*” so presenting this wild and reckless past self appears to be at odds with his current self. However, during the analysis of the transcript and even at the time of the interview, I was not overly aware of him experiencing discomfort with the dissonance, as was the case in other interviews. One explanation of this apparent lack of dissonance could be because the two differing self-representations refer to different parts of his self. His morals relate to his environmental concern whereas his recklessness applies to other aspects of his life. Palmer (2005, p.8) is one of a number of authors who acknowledge the existence of multiple identities which can co-exist

alongside each other “a person may draw upon more than one identity depending upon their personal circumstances. These interweaving identities are like hats that can be changed to suit both the occasion and the mood of the person wearing them.”

To compound this apparent confusion over Mark’s identity is his response to being asked which holiday was his best and which one he would relive. In both cases it was his all-inclusive package holiday to a 5* resort in Mexico where a particular highlight was swimming with dolphins. His “*current moral standards*” mean that there must be some kind of “*maximum benefit*” to the trip which would include making a social or humanitarian contribution to society or being educated about the political system. The holiday to Mexico happened some time ago; therefore, it could be argued that it does not necessarily compromise his current moral values. However, he is being asked which holiday he would relive and the Mexico holiday would certainly compromise his current self-concept. He partly acknowledges this conflict by stating that if he relived that particular holiday he: “*would probably need to have my memory wiped before and after*”. This statement shows that he realises that the holiday is not compatible with his current self and that he would find it difficult to return to his current self again after the trip.

Mark is presenting two very different selves (his past self and present self) and it is unclear which one he was promoting to be the strongest at the time of the interview. Gillespie (2007) noted a similar occurrence in his research about self-identification through differentiation. He documented the phenomenon of tourists being reluctant to be identified as a tourist. His interviewees derogated certain tourist behaviours when actually they conducted themselves in the same manner. Mark demonstrated the same trend during his interview by criticising the behaviour of British tourists as drunken louts when he joined in with their activities: “*we met up with some English people who said ‘raaaaaay you’re English as well, let’s get really, really drunk because that’s what we do’.*” Taken at face value, this sentence does not seem that condemning; however, the way it was said was with a particularly sarcastic and condescending tone. His next sentence was said very matter-of-factly: “*So I got ridiculously drunk*”.

When looking back at his past holidays Mark says that with his: “*current moral standards and outlook on life I would probably tut and be disgusted with what I had got*

up to.” This statement could be seen as Mark’s way of mediating the negative presentation of a past self (Gillespie 2007) by promoting his current strength of character. In addition, the purpose of his self-presentation here could be that he is telling the stories of his “*fantastic and crazy memories*” in order to present his current lifestyle in the context of a ‘wilder’ past. This could be because his audience in this identity performance is a young, female student and he feels that he needs to have an ‘edgier’ narrative. This is in line with Goffman’s (1959) suggestion that we have different selves that we present to different audiences. Another interpretation could be found in Gillespie’s (2007 p. 591) statement that, as people move through life and social positions, they “identify with identity positions initially rejected.”

Cohen (2010) found that some of his interviewees were aware of the fact that the self was always evolving and that they could perform or present certain chosen selves at any one time. While Mark did not have this same level of insight, he was aware of the contrast in his stories and was able to acknowledge that he had significantly changed, even if he did not realise the multiplicity of his current self-concept.

I am not a tourist

My interviewees often stated that being in the presence of tourists was a negative event for them and indicated that they did not want to be identified as a tourist. Richard specifically sought out a destination that was off the beaten track: “*we looked up all the islands, all the Greek islands that had brochures about them; all that were in the guide book, we crossed off and we got to one that wasn’t mentioned in any guide book or anything.*” For his identity, it was important that he was not seen as a mass tourist. Gillespie (2007) noted a similar occurrence in his research about self-identification through differentiation. His interviewees derogated certain tourist behaviours when actually they conducted themselves in a similar manner. Given the growth of the global tourism industry, it becomes increasingly difficult for the ‘traveller’ to seek out places that mark out a different identity. This encourages long-haul flights, as people need to travel further and further to seek out the new and get away from the crowds. Mark, having consciously stopped taking holidays, appears to be very critical of those who do still travel: “*it is purely so people can get to another country and get a suntan, which they can get in this country maybe two days a year, and just indulge in their luxuries as much as possible.*” He even goes as far as suggesting that instead of taking self-

indulgent holidays, people should give the money to charity instead: “*a £500 or £1000 holiday could change people’s lives if you gave that [amount] to a charity*”. He does, however, acknowledge that his views have lost him friends over the years.

Michael talks about being ashamed of going on Saga holidays. These holidays are for a certain age group and perhaps the ‘shame’ comes from the fact that being someone of that age is not part of his self-concept:

“Our friends said the only way to get to Cuba was with, I am so ashamed I can hardly say it, Saga. So we were now 50, aged 50, and we went with Saga and there were people on this trip who were in their 80’s, and we and a few others were known as the Saga louts, because we were out for a good time, but it wasn’t what you are meant to do with Saga.”

Michael, although conceding that he took part in a Saga holiday, is clearly differentiating himself from the traditional Saga tourist. He states his age in comparison to the majority of the other tourists. He also contrasts his behaviour with that of others by stating that he was known as a ‘Saga lout’. Although being a lout is not normally seen as desirable behaviour, here Michael is presenting it as preferable to being a ‘normal’ Saga tourist. I feel that this was intended to present himself in a fun and youthful way. Once again, it should be acknowledged that as the audience to this self-presentation, it is possible that I influenced the self that Michael is presenting. Michael spent a long time telling me about a trip to the Arctic Circle that he had just returned from. He talks about meeting a tourist who has visited the same area:

“I have since met someone who has just been up in the Arctic on an Alaskan cruise and you kind of think, you know, pathetic, really pathetic because we were really down and dirty is how it was, unbelievable.”

Here, he is making the distinction between this tourist cruise and a trip that he made with his wife and his cousin and his wife. He is presenting his trip as more adventurous because they did not stay in luxurious hotels; they made the trip by (dusty) road and did actually get physically dirty, something that the tourist on the cruise would not have done. Judging from the tone of his voice when talking about the other tourist, he is not being malicious but does genuinely think their experience was less profound than his, with which he felt more connected. Michael indicates that he did not view himself as a tourist on this trip but as a traveller, as deduced through the following quote: “*we met lots of other people but we learned some real lessons from other travellers*”. Here, by

stating “*other travellers*”, he is placing himself (and the rest of his party) in the same category of travellers. Jill has this to say about one of her holidays to Cornwall: “*it was horrible because it was so full of tourists*”. She was there on holiday but, like many of the other interviewees, views the presence of the other tourists a problem.

Gillespie (2007 p.583) presents data which offers the perspective of a “derogated tourist identity position”, which is evident in the data discussed above. My interviewees created a differentiated identity perspective to be seen as ‘other’, different from the tourist. This could be because there is status in differentiation, as is evidenced by Gössling and Nilsson (2010) in terms of VIP members’ lounges in airports.

Tom’s travel life history was varied and involved trips in almost every continent. He talked with passion and excitement and it was clear that travel was an important part of his life and who he is. Tom’s narratives presented himself as an accomplished traveller. In addition to presenting identities and self through narratives, Swain (2002) acknowledges that clothing is a significant method of presenting identity. Through various signs and symbols demonstrated in clothing, (specific items or brands) it is possible to display to others shared norms and values (Thompson and Hirschman 1995). Tom’s identity as a seasoned traveller was demonstrated within his narrative through the fact that he had a: “*beard down to his knees*”. In one particular part of his story, he recalls an incident in a primitive guest house in Nepal. He and his wife had been: “*out of the loop largely for 4 or 5 weeks*” in the period when America was entering Afghanistan. The guesthouse had a television; Tom says:

“I remember I was watching this BBC news and it was fantastic and I was just desperately trying to just sort of sucking up this, I do like my news and current affairs and, errrrrr, there were some guys there from an independent production company who were doing a film about paragliding and filming it. And my wife must have been up in the canteen or something and this, errrrrr, bloke said ‘oh, there is some dickhead down there who has been glued to the TV; you’d think in this beautiful area that he would be, you know, out looking at the country side not just sat there watching some bloody telly”

Here, Tom explains how other tourists did not recognise him as a serious traveller, leading them to criticise the fact that he was watching television. He indicates that he does not believe the people in the bar were like-minded by saying: “*you know, he had been in London three days beforehand, whereas I had a beard down to my knees.*” He

feels that his beard should have indicated that he was a serious traveller, thus justifying him the luxury of spending some time watching television. This visual representation of self is just one way that interviewees identified themselves.

Another method of identification was through talking about their occupation. I did not ask them prior to or during the interview about their occupation; however, it came up during many narratives. It was not only a method of self-presentation but was often related to their tourism consumption, as Richard's account reveals:

“I was an accountant; the boss came in one morning and said you are due four weeks leave, five weeks, I don't know what it was, and he said 'we need you to be here when all the accounts, just before the end of the financial year, so the spring wasn't a good time but now, in September, would be ideal, why don't you take your holiday now?'”

Richard felt the need to explain that he was an accountant, choosing to present himself in this way with all the connotations that come with this occupation. It is possible to use occupation as a means of presenting an identity to an audience as it can provide an 'us' and 'them' identification (Palmer et al. 2010). His occupation changed many times throughout his working life, as revealed during his narratives of travel:

“Then I travelled around Poland and Czechoslovakia just visiting little; well, I was on my own but you meet travellers on the way and get chatting to them; there were these youth hostels and they were affiliated to the International Youth Hostel Federation. They were usually boarding schools or things that were used during term time but in the summer as holiday places to stay, just bunk beds and things. And I went round all the National Parks because, by this time, I was working with the Peak National Parks in Cheshire and countryside work; so I was actually looking at how they did things and I got an introduction to them through my family in Germany.”

Richard later took a job working in the field of coastal conservation. His work often took him abroad and he combined these working trips with holidays. When talking about the different roles he has undertaken, he explains some of the tasks in detail, identifying himself further with the occupation:

“The Council of Europe came along and gave us an award and started to invite me to go to Strasbourg and Brussels and Milan and places in the South of France. And because I was, by this time, getting my French and German back up to scratch and they were thrilled to have an English person who spoke three languages; basically, I was able to chair meetings. ... So I used to chair meetings and act as interpreter and organiser of the conferences and

things like that with the African Governments, looking at migrating birds; all sorts of things like that. But, instead of flying out there and flying back, I would take a fortnights' leave and get a European train ticket and just get on a train, take a bike with me and go off cycling wherever I was, the Alps or French coastline.”

Curtin (2010, p.7) also found that her participants offered information about past and present occupations freely and suggested that it was a “marriage of personal interest and presentation of professional or intellectual self” and was linked to a need for achievement. This is connected back to Richard’s previous quote; he is demonstrating personal interest by linking travel with work commitments but he also talks about it enthusiastically, indicating genuine interest. I would also suggest a need for achievement or for recognition of achievements. This is because he mentioned winning awards and invitations to work for prestigious organisations, indicating a pride in what he accomplished but also a desire to let people know about this success. In addition, in his presentation of self, Richard is showing off his language abilities. He is saying that not only can he speak three languages, but he also speaks it with such competence that he can act as interpreter, thus setting himself apart from the masses. This links back to an earlier comment from him where he chose a holiday destination based on what was *not* in the guide book, not wanting to be or be seen as part of the masses.

There have been several ‘tourist typologies’ suggested over the years (see for example: Cohen 1972; Crompton 1979) and, within the literature, there is debate over the classifications of being a ‘tourist’ or being a ‘traveller’. When it comes to the people actually undertaking travel, it would appear that tourists do not want to be seen as tourists at all (e.g., Jacobson 2000). Prebensen et al. (2003) undertook a study to find out if German tourists to Norway viewed themselves as ‘typical’ German tourists. Their results show that 90% did not but when it came to activities, motives or definitions of a typical German tourist, the two groups did not differ. This indicates that self-perception plays a part; the two groups were the same but viewed themselves differently. Prebensen et al. (2003) conclude that being viewed as a typical tourist is seen as a negative attribute. They suggest that “individualistic settings tend to encourage individual initiative and the pursuit of personal gratification, whereas collectively-oriented societies favour group interests and shared responsibilities” (p.416).

That the above-mentioned interviewees want to set themselves apart from the masses could reflect that they come from individualistic societies. This could go some way to explaining their lack of total environmental responsibility. They show great commitment to environmental issues at home but do not fully follow through in their away behaviour. I will present data in a later chapter which demonstrates that some interviewees are only partially committed to acting sustainably. This could be linked to the desire to be viewed as an individual (as part of their identity) and their quest for personal gratification; in terms of tourism, this could be status associated with travel. The idea of ‘responsibility’ will be discussed in terms of environmental behaviour in chapter six; however, here it is relevant to discuss it in terms of ‘touristic behaviour’. Often, it is thought to be others who cause the negative impact, i.e., ‘the others are tourists, I am a traveller’.

Possible selves

A concept that was evident through many of my interviews was that people undertook travel because of future visions that they had of themselves. They held various images of the person they could become, either positive or negative. As a result of this possible self, they undertook travel to either become or avoid becoming that person. Tom provides several examples demonstrating the concept of possible selves and, in my interpretation, examples where he is trying to avoid a negative possible self:

“I think I had a bit of a chip on my shoulder about being a carrot cruncher from a village because, even when you went to Purbeck School, you had people from Swanage who seem really worldly wise and street (I laugh); you know, compared to [his village], they were.”²

This is Tom’s response to being asked why he undertakes so many hitchhiking trips. Tom comes from a small village in the heart of rural Dorset, which he mentions by name several times throughout the interview, indicating that this is of significance to him. Tom’s possible self here is of a ‘carrot cruncher’, someone from the countryside who is thought to be a bit backward. Here it could be interpreted that, by travelling and seeing the world, he is avoiding the negative possible self of being viewed as the carrot cruncher or he is trying to reach the positive possible self of being worldly wise (like

² Tom is from a village with approximately 4,000 inhabitants whereas Swanage has 10,000.

Tom currently lives in a town with a population of 180,000.

the people from Swanage). Whether he was concerned about approaching or avoiding a possible self, it is clear that there were identity factors at play which reached beyond his identity at that time. Tom goes on to present another example of using travel to suppress a possible self:

“... and then that sort of takes us through to when I was about 26, 27. Yeah I had a motorcycle accident which meant I was I’m a bit cr..... well you know a bit sort of a bit ... injured, so I had to have a hip replacement and stuff. And I did my last significant trip in Europe, I hitchhiked to Prague, then overland through, kind of, Serbia and down in the end to Istanbul and in to southern Turkey. I hitchhiked from my Mum’s front door to Prague and then caught the Balkan express, which goes through Budapest or Bucharest, I can’t remember but I basically trained it as far as Istanbul.”

It is noticeable here how Tom struggled with what he was saying and found it very hard to find the right words. He tried to say he is “a bit crippled” but could not quite manage to say the word ‘cripple’, possibly because it is not a politically correct term to use. However, judging by other language he used over the course of the two interviews, I do not believe this to be the case. A more likely interpretation is that the accident is something that he is still trying to come to terms with, 20 years after the event took place.

Pennebaker et al. (2003) suggest that an understanding of motives and fears can be found in errors of speech or slips of the tongue such as this. In addition, this information was revealed in the middle of one of his narratives, i.e., there was not any prompting to reveal the information. The fact that he discussed it means that it is a matter of importance to him. He could have continued telling the stories without discussing the accident, but he chose to talk about it. Although I had prompts to use throughout the interview if needed, I was not directing the stories that Tom or any other of my interviewees chose to tell; therefore, the interviewee was free to present whichever story they chose. Tom chose to present the story and the identity associated with his accident and resulting injury. He continues his story of this particular trip:

“At the time, I was actually on a walking stick with a lot of, as I say, I was quite badly injured, had a sort of leg shortening and a sort of fused hip and blah blah blah; so it was a bit of a personal, errrrrrrr, after having done lots of trips to then going off again with a backpack and a gammy leg, you know, because your independence you have built up this invincibility, to then have that shattered in a split second by someone pulling out in front of you, I’m on a motorbike, they’re in a car.”

There are several points of interest in this latest quote from Tom. Firstly, the use of ‘blah, blah, blah’ reveals an attempt to diminish and underplay the extent of his injuries. However, he starts the sentence with the phrase, ‘I was quite badly injured’, so he is not trying to hide the injuries, but to make it seem that he dealt with them quite easily and because he dealt with them, he does not want to bore me with the details. In other words, he was injured but strong enough to put the injuries aside and get on with life and travel. In these examples, Tom’s possible self is clearly a negative self of, in his words, ‘a cripple’.

It is clear that Tom does not like the association with disability. It was very important to Tom that he could still go off with his backpack and his ‘gammy’ leg; he was trying to avoid the possible self where his injuries from his accident meant that he was unable to continue with life as he knew it. His possible self led him to undertake a backpacking trip to Turkey, where he hitchhiked from his front door all the way to Istanbul. This is not something that a stereotypical ‘cripple’ could do.

Frank (1995) proposes three types of narrative when he talks of the ‘wounded storyteller’. Firstly there is the restitution narrative, the injured person will return to the way they were before their accident. Secondly, Frank suggests a chaos narrative where the storyteller does not imagine ever getting better (these involve an element of despair). Finally the quest narrative accepts the disability and seeks to gain from it. It is difficult to place Tom’s narrative of disability into any of these categories. He does not speak of getting better; therefore his is not totally a narrative of restitution. His narrative could be considered chaotic because he does not imagine getting better, although his story is filled with hope rather than despair. He could also be thought of as having a quest narrative because he accepts his disability, but rather than seeking to gain from it he appears to carry on despite the disability. Nevertheless, it is clear that his disability is a motivating factor in his travel.

Markus and Nurius introduced the concept of the possible self in their influential 1986 paper. Since then, other authors (e.g., Morgan 1993; Dunkel and Anthis 2001; Whitty 2002) have tackled the ideas presented but their framework remains the most relevant one to date. They state that possible selves occur when an individual considers their potential and their future self (Markus and Nurius 1986). There are three types of

possible self; there is the ideal self – the self that we would very much like to become (these may or may not be realistic). The self that we could become, which includes all the positive opportunities open to us and the selves we are afraid of becoming. Examples include: the successful self, the popular self, the unemployed self, and the alone self. Possible selves are thought to be a means in which an individual evaluates their current self-concept. In addition, it is believed that they represent goals, aspirations, motives, fears and threats and these can act as a motivation for behaviour change in order to achieve or avoid a possible self (Markus and Nurius 1986).

Tom's travel after his accident saw him trying to avoid a negative possible self and proving to himself and the outside world that he was capable of undertaking the same (or even more challenging) kinds of travel than others. Hoyle and Sherrill (2006) make clear the distinction between the various types of possible selves by distinguishing between positive or negative possible selves; that is to say, 'hoped-for' or feared selves which are either to be pursued or avoided.

It is thought that feared selves are more rooted in personal experience than hoped for selves, which means that they can be used more as an indicator of current self-concept. Dunkel (2000) also suggests that possible selves are rooted in past experiences. According to Hoyle and Sherril (2006), hoped-for selves are thought to be more easily activated. These selves are not based on personal experience but on observations of others. In comparison, feared selves are based on personal experience and because of this are thought to be clearer indicators of current selves. However, Dunkel (2000) suggests that it is a balanced combination of both positive and negative possible selves which creates a stronger motivational force. I argue that examples of possible selves in my data indicate that, contrary to Hoyle and Sherril (2006), it is actually feared selves that are more easily activated and contribute to behaviour change. This is because they are based on personal experience which people can relate to more than an abstract self, with which they do not have knowledge or experience.

The notion of possible selves can also be found in the work of Giddens (1991) who argues that as identities are no longer prescribed by society, the individual is in control of their identity and future identities. It is through a reflexive understanding of who one is that future selves can be imagined (Giddens 1991). Desforges (2000, p.934) also

found this phenomenon of individuals adopting new travel behaviour in order to avoid a certain identity. This is exemplified in his research through a couple who had just entered retirement. The wife, Molly, “didn’t want to end up like some of her husband’s peers who have recently retired.” His example is similar to the case of Tom who, rather than wishing to achieve a negative possible self, is striving to reach a more positive and able possible self. A comparable example to Desforges’ (2000) Molly can be found in my data during the interview with Paul and Heather. They talk about a friend who had died unexpectedly at the age of 50. This friend was their same age; his death led them to think about their mortality and missed opportunities should they also die at a relatively young age:

“ ... And I think this friend dying made us realise that, you know he was our age.”
(Heather)

“Seize the day. He was our age, we’d known him for 30 odd years and it was a bit of a wakeup call and you start to think, you know, there were lots of things we were saying ‘oh when we retire we’ll do these things’ and it made you realise that you might not actually retire, you know, so if you want to do things, do them when you can.” (Paul)

This event changed their travel behaviour as they wanted to embrace life and take up all available opportunities. The possible self they are trying to avoid is of someone who died too young and missed out on certain experiences, an unfulfilled self. While Heather and Paul cannot control the timing of their death, they can ensure they have lived their life to the fullest and not put off opportunities until ‘later’. Todres and Galvin (2010, p.3) suggest that illness (and death) are catalysts for living authentically “Illness then can be “a wakeup call” to face existential tasks that may have been avoided”. They are saying that there needs to be a ‘moment of vision’ for an individual to think reflexively before making change. Possible selves have been acknowledged to be a catalyst for motivation and, ultimately, behavioural change (Markus and Nurius, 1986); however, this phenomenon has not been extensively discussed in terms of tourism behaviour but mainly in educational or sporting settings (e.g., Cross and Markus 1994; Oyserman et al. 1995; Pheonix and Sparkes 2007). Morgan (1993) states that possible selves encourage the individual to undertake behaviour relevant to achieving or avoiding the possible self, as demonstrated in the actions of Heather and Paul.

In the examples presented here, identity is driving tourism consumption because of the desire to evade or become a possible self. The individual feels that by making a certain trip, they will achieve or avoid the possible self as the outcome. They could have a possible self who travels more or one who travels less frequently. The notion of linking travel and identity could be used to generate a certain possible self which could be attained through a particular type of travel, e.g., more sustainable travel behaviours. This is supported by Morgan (1993, p.431) who suggests, specifically when it comes to environmental behaviour, that it is not the current self-concept which drives behaviour but the imagined future self “certain disposition behaviours, such as environmentally-friendly activities, may be motivated by a desire to avoid or approach possible selves, rather than being motivated by perceptions of the current self.” Grandberg (2006) also suggests that possible selves are linked to behavioural change. Her study focuses on possible selves as a motivator for weight loss. Her results indicate both positive and negative possible selves i.e. a thin (or not fat) positive possible self or an obese negative self. An additional dimension to her work is that once behaviour has been altered by the possible self, there is the opportunity for validation or social feedback. This results in identity control “individuals will adjust their behaviour until social feedback aligns with the identity standard” (Grandberg 2006, p.111).

Sparks and Shepherd (1992) propose that in order to maintain a desired identity, the accepted behaviours of that identity must be performed. This is strongly supported by Horton (2003) who indicates that a ‘green distinction’ must be earned through the correct identity performance in everyday life. In Horton’s example of environmental activists, he suggests that certain places aid the performance of a green identity, in his example, a vegetarian café. This is also true of tourist destinations allowing or assisting in the performance of an identity.

Fateful moments

While the interviewees were telling the stories of their holidays, they were also giving away other details of what was happening in their lives at any given time. It was clear that some of these events were life-changing moments, like Tom’s motorcycle accident; other events were less dramatic and more commonplace, such as each time Richard changed his job. In the previous section, we heard a lot from Tom and how his accident created a new possible self, a self that prompted him to undertake more travel. Here, I

want to take a step back and propose that the actual event is a significant factor in changing his behaviour. Of the accident, Tom says:

“... having an accident, [it’s] like when people lose somebody very close through illness or whatever, [it] has a profound effect on your life. If you experience it yourself or somebody close to you and I think that was, that makes you re-evaluate yourself and what’s important.”

Tom is talking about the effect of his accident and how it affected his decision a few years later to quit a highly paid job and go on a round the world trip. The most significant part of the quote from Tom is when he acknowledges that the accident made him re-evaluate himself. With the knowledge that identity is an iterative process, i.e., we experience something, take on information, process the experience and information and then come out the other side either with a new outlook or our existing one strengthened; it is understandable, therefore, that such an experience would change a person. Giddens (1991) uses the term ‘fateful moments’ to describe such experiences, while Denzin (1992) refers to them as epiphanies. As stated earlier, Heidegger (1962) refers to similar occurrences as ‘moments of vision’. Giddens (1991) states that fateful moments occur in a person’s life when they have to make a decision that could potentially change them or when they learn information of seismic proportions. They are also moments where, perhaps, there is no decision to be made but the consequences of the event have significant impact.

There are instances in everyone’s life that could fit under the banner of fateful moments, including giving birth, receiving terminal or body changing medical diagnoses or getting divorced. All threaten to disturb the ontological security of an individual, the “protective cocoon which defends the individual’s ontological security, because the ‘business as usual’ attitude that is so important to that cocoon is inevitably broken through” (Giddens 1991, p.114). This could impact on an individual’s self-identity because any changes would require the individual to look at themselves reflexively before moving forward, as Tom stated in the previous quote. To confirm this point, Giddens (1991, p.143) states “[f]ateful moments are transition points which have major implications not just for the circumstances of an individual’s future conduct, but also for self-identity. Consequential decisions, once taken, will reshape the reflexive project of identity through the lifestyle consequences which ensue.” Denzin (1989) similarly describes epiphanies as interactional moments and experiences that can change a

person's fundamental meaning structures. The 'lifestyle consequence' that Tom mentioned was to take up travelling rather than working, reflecting what is important to him; he was able to come to this decision through self-reflection after his accident, his fateful moment.

Trisha is another interviewee who appears to be aware of her fateful moment and its impact on her life and holidays, although slightly less explicitly than Tom. Trisha had suffered for many years with Crohn's disease and, at the age of 30, had to have an operation which resulted in her being fitted with a colostomy bag:

"It was a body-changing image and an appliance that I had to deal with – I had bowel surgery – that influenced our holidays in a big way because I would suddenly get this thing that I was having to deal with that could either make you not do anything or you could get on and battle through the big issues that are attached to it."

Trisha took the latter option of 'battling through the big issues', as she took her first long haul holiday only 8 months after the operation. She goes on to say: "*for me also it was a case of I needed to be able to prove if I could fly, nothing would be different.*" The fateful moment of the operation challenged Trisha's ontological security; her known, secure world had been shaken and she needed to find a new 'normality'. When summarising that holiday, she said: "*So for me on a personal journey, I ticked off a lot; yes we can do that, yep I can do that and, again, I kind of grew in confidence really but in a different way.*" On a later holiday she learnt to dive: "*I thought, if I can dive with this thing, I can do anything.*" This clearly demonstrates that Trisha used her holiday and the activity she undertook whilst on it, to prove to herself that her fateful moment was not going to hold her back from doing exactly what she wanted to do. She needed to do something challenging in order to make subsequent events seem less daunting. This is a quest narrative (Frank 1995); she is refusing to accept a chaotic narrative and chooses to use her illness to challenge herself. Up until the moment of having the operation, she had only undertaken what could have been considered fairly 'safe' holidays (package holidays to Spain).

Trisha acknowledges that there is a potential for problems to occur: "*... it's quite an apprehension every time you do something big, how do I work this out ... so you are always thinking of how to get round it*" but it has not stopped her doing anything, only encouraged her to do more and push herself. Through looking at her travel life history,

it is possible to see a change in her holidays after her diagnosis and subsequent operation. This event led her to reconsider her holidays and led her to undertake challenges. This made me wonder whether, if she had not experienced her fateful moment, she would have had the incentive to challenge herself. Kavanagh (2012) in her study on sport and disability refers to a paralympian who suggests that she would not have achieved so much if she had not been disabled. Thus, the sport is the transforming factor in turning a personal tragedy into an affirmation of a positive identity. The same can be argued for Trisha; she has experienced a body-changing illness but she has used this to create a positive identity by undertaking more challenging travel.

Thomson et al. (2002) undertook research that looks at fateful moments although they describe them as 'critical moments'. They define these as either identified by the interviewee or by the researcher as "having important consequences for their lives and identities" (p.399). Their definition allows the researcher to evaluate and infer significance from the event. I feel that this example shows explicitly that a 'fateful moment' has shaped Trisha's travel. Tom and Trisha sought challenges after their fateful moments; this is something that has been considered by Alaszewski et al. (2006). Their research looks at stroke survivors' narratives of recovery. They go on to suggest that, in some cases, risk-taking could provide an opportunity for identity performances and by overcoming challenges; individuals could create an improved sense of self. This could be the case with Tom and Trisha whose sense of self had been challenged by their fateful moment. It could also be a way for them to feel 'normal' again because risk-taking is usually done by those who have not been challenged.

Tom and Trisha describe fairly extreme events which could be seen as physical fateful moments. During the course of talking about their travel life history, many of my interviewees spoke of fateful moments, some seemingly brushing past them at speed as if to signify a lack of importance. An example of this can be seen in the interview with Dennis who was talking about holidays he used to take with his wife. They would get the ferry over to France and drive to southern Spain: "... well we had quite a few of those holidays, Lucile and myself, on the Costa Brava, driving down and then one holiday in Italy." They took holidays to destinations that they could drive to because his wife had a fear of flying: "we did have a couple of flying holidays when we flew but

she was terribly nervous so.... I think we both enjoyed the journey down as well". These driving holidays were very much a fixed routine in Dennis' life; however, in the middle of his narrative about his holidays, Dennis slips in the fact that he and his wife had separated. He continues to talk about those holidays: "*we both enjoyed the journey down*" and, within a few minutes of the interview, he was then describing holidays he took with his new partner.

Dennis' separation with his wife could be classed as a 'fateful moment' but he hardly pauses for breath when discussing it. This could be because he is over the emotional fall-out created by the divorce. Dennis does not talk about the separation from his wife in any detail; therefore, the supposition that it is a fateful moment is created through my interpretation based on consideration of the literature. According to Thomson et al. (2000), fateful moments can be identified by either the participant or the researcher. Whilst Dennis did not overtly acknowledge that his fateful moment had shaped his travel, changes are identifiable after he met a new partner. When generalising about his holidays with his new partner he says the following:

"We have always, well, if it's been overseas, we have always had the flights to get there so we haven't driven but, where have we been? We have tended to look at places like, where can you get a flight from Bournemouth and then just gone there so we have been to Perpignan, we have been to Majorca, we are about to go to, fly to Naples for a holiday in Sorrento."

Although Dennis' holidays did not change dramatically in terms of destination after his fateful moment, his primary mode of transport did. This opened up more possibilities in terms of destinations, although they remained similar in nature. With his previous partner, the journey seemed to play a significant part in the holiday itself:

"We both enjoyed the journey down as well because we never went on the French Payage, the Motorways; we always took the N roads which were slower but allowed you to see so much more of France, but it was very enjoyable."

This is something reported by Dickinson et al. (2011), supporting the notion that holiday journeys are used to create some kind of connectedness between those undertaking the trip together. This is in contrast with Dennis' post fateful moment travel where it would appear that the journey and, to some extent, the destination was irrelevant; their primary motivation was the 'getting away' aspect of their holiday.

Holidays themselves can be seen as fateful moments. This can be openly acknowledged by the participant or it can be something that perhaps they have not thought about. The life-changing nature of tourism is recognised in several studies on the link between travel and personal and cultural change (Inkson and Myers 2003; Hottola 2004; Milstein 2005). Michael seems to be aware of the fact that holidays can be life changing when he states: *“we spent two weeks in the Solomon Islands. That really was life changing for two reasons ...”* On this trip, he talks about several things which he felt changed him. Firstly, this was his first trip away without his wife and two children and: *“I probably wasn’t ready for that in the sense that I missed them (said with a shy laugh)”*. Secondly, his outward trip was more eventful than expected due to problems with his passport: *“they said you have only got, however many months, 6 months left on your passport, it’s a rule I didn’t know. I had enough passportness-worth to get me back but that’s not good enough”*; this added a few extra days and destinations to his journey:

“I had to go next morning to Petty France to get a new passport. ... got a new passport, back to Heathrow; there is only one flight a week from Heathrow to Honiara in the Solomons. So it was either sit for a week or do something else, and they flew me to New Zealand where I stayed one night, ..., up through New Zealand to Brisbane, where I stayed a day, ..., and then I flew out of there to the Solomons.”

These experiences, although not life changing, would have caused an amount of reflexive thinking, by challenging his ontological security in an extreme sense. They were experiences where he learnt something new about himself. Apart from those experiences, he also felt that he had life-changing moments whilst in the Solomon Islands. It should be mentioned that this was a business trip as part of his role as an education inspector and the purpose of his visit was to set up a twinning arrangement with a school in the Solomon Islands and to coordinate IT services:

“In one village, they killed a pig in our honour. I mean, actually this poor screaming animal was sacrificed to provide the meal we had that night. Shocking, in terms of the difference between our world here and there, and I couldn’t understand why IT was going to be relevant. You know, the idea of getting, it was the very early days of the internet, getting a computer into a village where they were living in very simple, not mud huts, but huts, didn’t make sense really and I had a bit of a struggle with myself. My own values of what we were doing here in England in terms of expenditure on IT in schools and what wasn’t there; you know, there weren’t books in schools let alone IT, so that was very challenging and, after two weeks, we came back having seen some life-changing things.”

Michael states that his experiences during his trip to the Solomon Islands were life changing. However, by looking at the narratives, it is clear that this was not an extreme life-changing moment when compared with what some of the other participants had experienced. He did not return home and make dramatic changes to his life. His changes would have been more internal, as he states: “*I had a struggle with my own values.*” Fateful moments occur when there is an event, decision or experience that challenges the ontological security of the individual which forces them to look reflexively upon themselves (Giddens 1991).

Michael acknowledged that this trip offered a life-changing moment. There is always the possibility when someone says that something was life changing that they are trying to add drama to their story because narratives allow for the possibility of embellishment (Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2006); however, when looking at the details of his narrative, it is easy to understand why the different aspects of his trip could have challenged his ontological security. Missing his family in a way that he had never imagined could have revealed a dependency or vulnerability that he had not been aware of before. Likewise, the issues with his passport may have unsettled him if he had always thought of himself as competent. Finally, seeing the extreme difference between life in the UK and in the Solomon Islands and the contrasting priorities could have made him assess himself and his place in the world differently. The humbling experience of meeting poverty through tourism is well established in the literature (e.g., Briedenhann and Wickens 2007); however, Sin (2009) proposes that in volunteer tourism, it can be used as a way of ‘othering’ and for self-presentation purposes.

Noy (2004b) presents the case of Israeli backpackers who use tourism as a means to find themselves in order to construct a new identity. Several of the interviewees are able to identify self-changes which they can directly link to their trip. Clarke (2004) presents a similar case of British working holiday makers (WHMs) who claim to return from their trips having experienced self-change. Clarke (2004, p.504) appears to regard such change with some scepticism with his tongue in cheek description of their narratives: “maybe we should take the hyphenated claims of WHMs – that they return home open-eyed, open-minded, grown-up, laid-back, chilled-out, easy going – a little more seriously”. He explains that their trips have the properties of fateful moments because they have provided the opportunity for self-reflection. Contrary to Noy

(2004b) and Clarke (2004), Cohen (2010) proposes that it might be unrealistic to use travel to ‘find oneself’ or view it as a fateful moment because the self is constantly evolving and changing. In this way, the lifestyle travellers of Cohen’s research are simply acting out the expected discourse of finding themselves.

Holidays provide the opportunity for other types of fateful moments. Reece’s holiday to Italy at the age of 15 created a turning point in his life:

“There’s also something that is quite personal but it was definitely an awakening to my non-standard sexual orientation if you like, as well. That I distinctly remember, that was a whole, well this is, you know, [stumbling with words]. I won’t elaborate too much but that’s when I suppose I really realised I was gay, I suppose. So that holiday has got quite a sort of, yeah, it had quite an impact.”

I am not suggesting that the holiday was the fateful moment but it clearly provided the opportunity for a fateful moment to occur. This is because the tourism experience can challenge and change sexual identity and practice (Brown and Stephan 2013). Holiday destinations are considered to be places of liminality, where inhibitions are reduced (Graburn 1989). When free from the constraints of ‘everyday’ life, tourists will feel more permitted to experiment with sexuality and sexual behaviour (Thomas 2005) in a way that they were unable to at home. Reece talks about the availability of alcohol to younger people and the normality of drinking when he was in Italy:

“We got there and the fridge ... was stocked with twelve litre bottles of white wine and, in the caravan, there were twelve huge litre bottles of red wine. I was probably only about 14 or 15 at the time and it wasn’t sort of frowned upon that people of that age couldn’t have a drink or anything. Just a completely different sort of approach to life, I guess.”

While he does not state that this played a part in his sexual awakening, Bellis et al. (2004) note that alcohol and sexual risk-taking in tourist destinations are connected. Reece does not give specific details about the events that took place on that holiday so it is not possible to suggest at which point his fateful moment occurred; however, it would be fair to suggest that the holiday provided the catalyst/opportunity for the fateful moment to take place.

Fateful moments are thus inextricably linked with the creation of different self-identities. The possible selves experienced by Heather and Paul, whose friend had died

unexpectedly, could also be viewed as a consequence of a fateful moment. Caswell (2011, p.1) provides a strong argument as to why death could be viewed as a fateful moment: “the death of one individual has the capacity to reinforce others’ awareness of their own mortality and so threaten their sense of safety and security in the world”. This takes us back to Giddens (1991). The death of Heather and Paul’s friend was their fateful moment that led them to take stock of the world and their place in it, which in turn significantly changed their lives and travel:

“So, I think because the reason we did Australia and travelled those 9 weeks was because of this friend dying and that had a knock-on effect on us because we realised; yes, it was reasonably easy to give up work but there was a motive behind the 9 weeks. You know, there was this sudden realisation that, who knows what’s around the corner, the fact that our good friend had died at the same age as us with, little bit shock treatment, I suppose, do it now attitude. So it wasn’t just a case of let’s take 9 months off, there was a sort of reason behind it”. (Heather)

“And we had already planned to go to Australia, but that changed our attitude; instead of going for two weeks, we went for a long period and, in order to do that, it meant giving up the contract I was on and we could use the time”. (Paul)

In the cases of Tom, Trisha and Heather and Paul, their fateful moments and possible selves are very closely linked. In order to better understand both concepts, it would be beneficial to discuss these potential links. When we look upon ourselves reflexively, this can create possible selves; therefore, it could be argued that fateful moments (and the reflexivity created by fateful moments) are the catalyst for the creation of possible selves.

Linking fateful moments and possible selves

There is the potential for a fateful moment to generate a possible self due to the impact of the moment in question. As Giddens (1991) explains, the nature of a fateful moment means that the ontological security of the individual is shaken and this forces them to re-evaluate their self-concept. Given that the individual looks reflexively upon themselves, there is opportunity for the creation of possible selves. This, in turn, will result in the individual taking action in order to achieve or avoid the possible self, depending on whether it is positive or negative. Having said that, the two are not necessarily dependent upon each other and they may occur independently. This

relationship is demonstrated in figure 4.1.

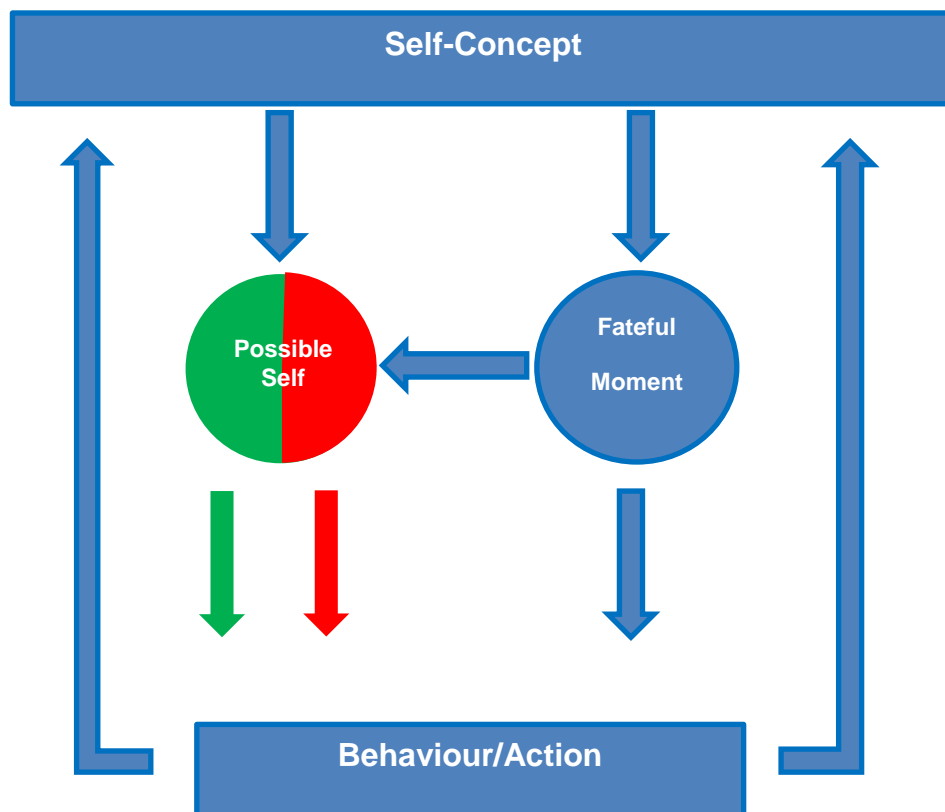


Figure 4.1: The relationship between possible selves and fateful moments

The data discussed above show that possible selves were created after fateful moments. One of the clearest examples of this comes from Tom. His possible self was a ‘cripple’; had his fateful moment not taken place, he might not have imagined a future self. Another strong example can be found in the case of Heather and Paul, whose friend died unexpectedly at a young age. This event caused them to reflect on and to take action to change their life in order to avoid becoming their future self. The same can be said of Trisha, whose surgery was her fateful moment. Although Trisha was discussed in terms of the fateful moment shaping her travel, it was more than likely the possible self, created by her fateful moment that, in fact, shaped her travel.

Gardiner et al. (2009) refer to Giddens’s (1991) work when looking at redundancy as a fateful moment, although they use the phrase ‘critical life event’. I will use the phrase ‘fateful moment’ for consistency. They suggest that, after a fateful moment, individuals will use projective and evaluative techniques in order to progress with their lives. This

is demonstrated above in the example of Heather and Paul, who clearly used these techniques in order to assess and re-evaluate their lives and ultimately make the changes they did at the time. An evaluative technique would be in line with Giddens's (1991) self-reflection and a projective technique could be seen in line with possible selves, i.e., imagining a certain future.

Summary

Not only can identities be demonstrated or affirmed through travel (e.g., Thurlow and Jaworski 2006) or stories of travel, but our identities can also shape our travel and this will continue in a cycle. In addition, as presented in this chapter, travel is shaped by not only who we are but also who we want to be, or avoid being, i.e., our possible selves. Giddens (1991) suggests that we are responsible for creating and maintaining our own identities through the narratives (or stories) we tell. This shows that narratives are not just about 'telling a story' but also affirming identities, which goes some way towards justifying the chosen method in this research. This chapter has also presented data which indicates that people use narratives to present identities or selves which are manifested through their stories, demonstrating the significance of narrative in identity construction. The discussions on possible selves and fateful moments suggest how our self-concept is a fluid entity which finds a way to adapt to changes that may occur through a fateful moment or the creation of a new possible self.

When talking about themselves and their travel biographies, the stories presented always included other 'characters'. Interviewees were unable to present themselves as a singular entity; when talking about themselves, it was always in relation to an 'other'. In some cases, it was very obvious; family and friends were mentioned by name. In other cases, it was less apparent; the other was present but did not take on a 'character' in the story. However, not one participant completed their interview without reference to other people. The understanding of self and, indeed, the presentation of self is contextual (Goffman 1959). An individual's self-concept will change depending on those around them and also depending on to whom they are presenting the self-concept (Goffman 1959). This could be linked to the literature; in order for there to be a 'self', there needs to be an understanding of 'other selves' (Burke 2001). A full discussion of the importance of others and significant others will appear in the next chapter, 'Relationships: the effect of significant others'.

Chapter 5: Relationships: the effect of significant others

Introduction

Interpersonal relationships play a large part in most people's everyday lives through daily contact with husbands, wives, partners, family, friends and colleagues (Anderson and Chen 2002). The relationships that we have play a part in shaping who we are as people (Hogg and Abrams 1988). This chapter will present data examining how far interpersonal relationships go in shaping identity, and to what extent these relationship-based identities shape tourism mobility. Anderson and Chen (2002) suggest that our 'selves' are dependent on the significant others in our lives and that the self is relational, i.e. it can change depending on relationships with others. Relationships with those who could be considered significant others are located through the various networks running through our lives and include family, friends, colleagues or even wider reference groups (Shah 2003). These networks, in which our everyday lives are situated, are now spread throughout the world (Axhausen 2002), which gives rise to opportunities for greater travel. Despite the existence of communication technology, which is able to bring people closer together, networks still require occasional face-to-face contact in order to be maintained (Urry 2003). This chapter presents data which indicates that interpersonal relationships can and do shape the self and consequently tourism mobility. It also analyses the various ways in which the relational self influences tourism mobility.

Visiting friends and relatives

It was evident from the data collected during the interviews that many people had family and friends living abroad. This resulted in mobility patterns being shaped by the desire to visit loved ones:

“... his dad lived in Milan so we went to Italy and we went to Holland to see my aunt and we went to Spain to see my uncle, funny how it was always family ...” (Susie talking about the holidays she and her (now ex) husband had taken within the space of a few years).

Susie demonstrates the significance that visiting friends and family has in shaping tourism mobility. We live in an increasingly globalised world and people move to other locations for (amongst other things) work, education, leisure and residence (Urry 2007).

This has resulted in increased global networks, meaning that it is possible to have friends and family spread across thousands of miles (Axhausen 2002). Hanam et al. (2006, p.2) acknowledge that even when staying still, it is possible to be part of a global network as “such multiple and intersecting mobilities seem to produce a more networked patterning of economic and social life, even for those who have not moved.” Even with networks involving great distances, face-to-face contact has remained important for maintaining relationships and trust (Axhausen 2002; Urry 2003). Urry (2002, p.270) even goes as far as saying that “the need for physical co-presence and corporeal travel would appear to be with us for a long time yet.” However, elsewhere it is argued that communication technologies can maintain strong relationships without the need for physical proximity (Larsen, Urry, and Axhausen 2006). In later work, Urry (2007) maintains that there remains a case for physical proximity and suggests that modern wide-reaching networks still require occasional face-to-face meetings in order to sustain the relationships within that network. Urry (2002, p.256) acknowledges that the reach and spread of social networks is causing “all forms of social life to involve striking combinations of proximity and distance ... increasingly over geographical distances of great length.”

The notion of VFR-related travel has existed in the tourism and mobility literature for a number of years now. Whilst the frequency of VFR travel is not a surprising finding in itself, it would be pertinent to ask why this is such an important form of mobility. One way of explaining this would be to look at identity-related factors. Penny demonstrates the importance of family to her identity by referring to them constantly throughout both of her interviews; she often answers from a “we” perspective. The following quote is in response to being asked how she feels about retirement and it is a clear indicator of the importance of ‘we’, in this case, referring to her and her husband:

“Well it has opened up certainly more destinations and I think now after the weddings obviously **we** would look now at further destinations, **we** would look now at Canada and maybe Australia, who knows **we** might be going back there. Errrm, just the fact that **we** can go where **we** like and whatever time of year **we** want to go and not have to pay top prices and, obviously, economy is the economic situation at the moment and I think **we’ve** got to think about how much it costs as well and I think **we’re** just so lucky to be able to do deals that **we’re** not paying top price. Yeah, enjoying the freedom of being able to choose AND to go for as long as **we** like whereas **we** were always restricted before when **we** were teaching.” (Emphasis added by author).

In addition, she also frequently refers to her family by name: *“I don’t think they’ve, well, they have actually been to South Wales because Hayley went on a field trip for geography, Rachel’s never been. Neither of them has been to Scotland.”* There are also instances where she gives an answer to the question from her husband’s perspective before she answers with her own opinion. This particular example comes from an environment-related question in the second interview:

“Errmmm, well living with a scientist for 32 years [laughs], I often get varying sort of ideas from my husband about whether he really thinks what they’re saying is true ... Hubby surprisingly is not as worried but I really feel if we don’t look after the resources we have now, you know I think it is important that we think about recycling, if only for the future of younger people.”

One particular example of the strength of Penny’s family identity is demonstrated through her answer given to the question of which holiday she would consider to be her ‘best’:

“(Long pause) I really loved Disney with the family but my South African experience has to be the best ... it was a very special time anyway, 25 years married, and it really was just breath-taking. The whole experience ... Everything we did was just magical. But had it not been for my sister and brother-in-law there was no way we could have afforded that and I suppose the second best was the time in Disney with the children ... Umm, Disney because it was a family experience and that was magical with the girls and I wouldn’t have missed that ... That had to be my best one [the South Africa holiday]. Although I love the girls dearly, it was that one.”

Penny considers her South Africa holiday as her ‘best’ one, but throughout that particular narrative (which lasted approximately 5 pages of transcription); she kept referring back to the other holiday with her daughters. The interviews show that Penny’s identity as a wife and mother play an important role in the make-up of who she is and in order for Penny to maintain and reinforce this identity, VFR travel will play an important part in allowing her to do so. It is not just her husband or her daughters, who are important to Penny; she often talks about friends or other relations, indicating that relationships with others are of significance to her.

Davidson (1996, p.97) acknowledges the existence of multiple selves and suggests that holidays provide the opportunity for one self to be more dominant than another, “the holiday provides choice over which particular self or selves will be engaged”. Through

her South African holiday Penny is embracing an identity that is not the dominant one in her everyday life, the identity of a mother, a concept which is also supported by Davidson (1996). However, it is clear that Penny experiences dissonance whilst discussing this holiday because she is back in 'reality' where her identity as a mother is the strongest. Whilst Penny leaves her dominant identity at home, she still maintains a relatively compatible identity as it remains family orientated since the description references her sister and brother-in-law. Todd (2001, p.193) suggests that holidays are desirable:

“because of the novel situation in which they place the traveller, where they are less aware of the bounds of their role. Thus, the importance of situational influences is highlighted, suggesting that a range of possible selves is being drawn on, rather than one core global self”.

Kim and Jamal (2007) and Steiner and Reisinger (2006) support this notion and affirm that holidays can allow the true self to emerge as part of the quest for existential authenticity. It is well known that we have multiple identities which can exist at the same time but, in certain situations, we choose to perform one over another (Turner 1982). Jill provides an example of the existence of multiple identities through her holiday choices:

“I think the kids sort of obviously they are trying to look after me so at the last minute we decided to go to France because again, sun, head to where the sun is, the nearest place and I said I'm not going on a plane because I'm trying to be green.”

She later talks about another holiday with her children, this time to Marrakech. She had tried to organise travelling by train but, due to her daughter's time constraints, this was not feasible. Despite demonstrating a strong green identity in her home life and demonstrating the desire to be green in her travel behaviour, that identity took second place to that of a mother wanting to spend time with her children. Small (2002) also recognises the existence of multiple selves and proposes that it is not just the choice of holiday but also the different aspects within the course of a holiday which can bring out a variety of selves. She then suggests that individuals may choose holiday companions depending on which self they want to nurture. In the example above, Jill was nurturing her identity as a mother; however, she chooses other holidays which allows her to nurture other 'selves'. For example, she attends festivals organised by the Transition

Network³. These events are aimed at bringing like-minded people together to discuss various topics and engage in activities:

“There were lots of speakers there talking about lots of things, you know, like how, for example, West Papua is being quietly annihilated by the Indians and the world is doing nothing ... and people talking about peak oil or how to make those woven fences or all sorts of music, drama, art. Amazing.”

On this occasion, Jill travelled by train, which meant that the experience started before she arrived at the destination:

“And I got the train, again trying to be green ... When I got off at the station, there was supposed to be a bus to the campsite, ... there was somebody sitting down on their big army bag reading a book so basically the four of us had got talking and this girl had come all the way from Oslo for this festival so we shared a taxi”

In addition to using holidays as a way of performing certain selves, it allows for a nurturing or maintenance of relationships, which are equally important to self. Penny's eldest daughter Rachel has travelled extensively and Penny shows a pride when talking about this. Being well travelled is a signifier of success and, hence, status (Urry 2012), which parents would deem desirable for their children. This, in turn, signals that they have succeeded as parents by providing a positive identity. This would be particularly important for Penny, whose identity is heavily influenced by relationships with significant others. Rachel's travels and subsequent stories and photos of her travel have opened Penny's eyes and created a desire for travel. It is quite possible that Rachel may emigrate at some point in the future and this will play a part in Penny's future tourism mobility:

“So yeah, Australia, if Rachel and Chris ever decide to go back and, at the moment with the job situation with both of them, it's quite tricky, Rachel was more or less offered a job back there any time she wanted to go ... I would only go if they went back there. It's not a destination I particularly want to see but, obviously, if they were there, I would make the effort to go because it is such a long way.”

From this, we can surmise that whilst there is nothing new in the notion of an individual's tourism mobility being influenced by the desire to visit friends and relatives, the possibility that this travel is fuelled by the need to reinforce an identity

³ Local community groups providing responses to the issues of peak oil and climate change.

offers another perspective on the concept.

VFR travel and finding a ‘home from home’

There are other identity issues linked to the desire for VFR travel. As well as identity issues that are concerned with relational self and identity there can also be personal identity concerns. Claire has undertaken many holidays to visit family and friends, even spending three weeks in Malaysia visiting an ex-boyfriend who was away travelling for a year. Claire presents her trips as exotic, dangerous and adventurous. However a thread that runs through her stories is one of seeking a “*home away from home*”; that is, a place where she feels just as comfortable and safe as if she were at home. This indicates a need for security and safety: “*I think because Ian had an uncle out there, that was a good starting block to go and do somewhere like that ...*” This quote is in response to a question asking why she chose to visit Australia for three months. Claire was going to be a long way from home and, as revealed below, it was important for her to have a security blanket should things go wrong. There is a similar comment later on in the interview when she talks about going to Florida:

“Yeah, I went over to see my cousin who was living temporarily in Florida and so I flew in to West Palm Beach and she picked me up and I went and stayed with her and then sort of similar thing to Australia. We went and hired a car and basically covered as much as we could of Florida in two weeks. So drove up to Orlando, did a bit of Disney...”

In both of these instances a stay with relatives is used as the starting point for a bigger trip. The relative has been in the area for some time so knows where to go, where to avoid and provides other sound advice:

“We got out there about mid-November, you are just getting into their summer and north Australia is the last place you would want to be because it’s the hottest bit. So that’s why **we were recommended to go up to that bit first, get it out the way**, then as temperature starting going up, you would be going south; so that’s the reason we did it that way round.”

Knowing ‘a local’ also provides a base to return to if things should go wrong (Löfgren 2008). In both the Florida and the Australia trips, the relative met her at the airport, providing an extra security measure: “*So we got in to Australia and Ian’s uncle picked us up and we actually stayed with him for two weeks and then he set us up with a car, bought us a car and got us sorted.*” This demonstrates that she used the relative to get her settled and equipped for the trip before she and Ian ventured out on their own.

Claire's strongest memory from her travel life history was from the Australia trip:

“We were staying there three months and, sometimes, I would get a bit homesick but we stayed in this, on the sunshine coast for a week out of our trip and we were travelling back down the coast, and it was **to be honest** it probably wasn't the most exciting ... when you've got a stationary caravan and you've got your little kitchen area and everything else **you've got a chance to make it feel like a home for a week** and I think that's a part of it. **To be honest**, for some reason, even though it was probably the quietest part of the three months I was out there, it was probably the best one and one of my strongest memories because I think **I just felt so at home** in this one little area ... and I think, I don't know, it's strange that we go away to find somewhere different but when you find somewhere that's **home from home** it always seems to be one of your favourite places, so yeah. That's probably one of my strongest holiday memories.” (Emphasis added by author)

This admission causes Claire some conflict in her identity. She wants to be (or at least be seen as) adventurous but the reality is more ordinary. I felt that Claire did not truly believe in the adventurous self that she was presenting. During the 65 minute interview she used the phrases 'to be honest' and 'honestly' 21 times. Edwards and Fasulo (2006, p.344) suggest that over emphasis on one's honesty through the use of 'honesty phrases' “start to sound defensive or even untrustworthy, as if for them, truth telling were not to be presumed”. Edwards and Fasulo go on to state that such honesty phrases are used to frame a dispreferred answer or an initial assessment of a topic of conversation. In the quote from Claire (above), she uses an honesty phrase to precede what could be considered a dispreferred answer because it is in conflict with her presentation of an adventurous self.

Pennebaker et al. (2003) propose that language is contextual and should be assessed accordingly and with reference to the possible goals of the speaker and the speaker-audience relationship. It is through considering this that I have come to conclude that Claire was indeed experiencing cognitive dissonance and her way of dealing with it was to portray her honesty semantically. The “*home from home*” element from Claire's narrative is a concept that has been considered by Haldrup (2004) in his study of Danish second-home holidays. He suggests that holiday destinations are valued for being a “safe haven” for the family, a place where the family are free to perform their roles (Haldrup 2004, p.444). Rosenblatt and Russell (1975) provide a counter argument by suggesting that because a holiday positions a family outside of the normal routines of everyday, it places an uncertainty on their roles which can lead to conflict. This is

discussed in a later section of this chapter. Haldrup (2004, p.445) goes on to suggest that the second-home tourists in his study “may even be more at home in the fantasy world of the holiday house than in their permanent residence.” While Claire is not in a second home, she does strive to make her caravan feel like home for a week. This would indicate that stability is very much a part of her identity. This relates to work on culture shock undertaken by Hottola (2004) who suggests that shock arises from the move from the familiar to the unknown: Claire’s search to replace the familiar is a common response.

Family holidays: creating, sharing and recreating memories

From many of the narratives, it was clear that childhood holidays and holidays taken in their formative years remain important for many of the interviewees. Often these holidays have created a shared memory for friends and family which people then want to recreate later on in life and, in some cases, with their own children:

“I’m quite keen to go on holidays like I used to go on when I was a kid now like staying, ... just going camping but the stuff I’ll do on holidays is very similar to when I was a kid. But I don’t know if that’s because of the holidays I went on or because how I was brought up was going on walks and doing outside stuff but I suppose the way you are brought up is probably connected to the holidays you go on.”

Susie is able to make the connection between her past holidays and her current travel pattern. Whilst she no longer holidays with the childhood family unit, she is trying to recreate the feelings from the time. June is more emotive when she talks about her childhood holidays:

“I have got really lovely memories of it because often it was the only time that we were all together; so my older brothers they had a motorbike or a car and would turn up with their girlfriends, or my next two sisters would make a fuss of me and I would have new outfits ... So it was a really special event to go on this holiday ... we had a biggish house, it was a council house but we had 4 bedrooms to it. But when we were on holiday you slept more or less in these two rooms which gave it a feeling like camping.”

June states that she has “*really lovely memories*” and her tone underlined her strength of feeling. She touches on a point, which will be discussed later in the chapter, that for her the holidays were very much about being together as a family; for her, the only time they were all together. An additional element to this is the proximity to each other.

Their home was big and yet when they were away they were forced into a much smaller space. This is highlighted by Crompton (1979, p.418) who points out that “it is inevitable that a much greater exchange and understanding of each other is likely to occur than in the normal routine situation in which family members go in different directions interacting only spasmodically”. The things June and her family did while on holiday added to the feeling of intimacy: “*so these are nice memories if you like of being together, buying our own food, cooking our own food*”. Although they were doing ordinary things, there was extraordinariness to it because of the togetherness (Hui 2009). Hui (2009, p.309) asserts that “tourism must be recognised as something that occurs alongside practices of the everyday and of home”. June acknowledges that the memories may still affect her now:

“Loads of laughing, being together. Nothing grand or expensive and it’s the seaside. Yes, I have sort of glossed over that; the sea for me is a big issue. I love the seaside and I wonder whether I acquired it during that early family holiday, the sound of the sea. It was a stony beach and there’s a sound of the sea on stones, very powerful and that still is the best sound for me to go to sleep with now and I wonder if that’s from my early family holidays, as I find it such a relaxing sound.”

Michael is another to have warm feelings of childhood holidays. When talking about them he uses the word “magical” and is very animated in his discussion. He sums them up as: “*idyllic, absolutely idyllic*”. Most participants spoke fondly of their childhood holidays and usually described them as not particularly extravagant whilst also stating that they did not need to be; what counted was being together. Sometimes their travel was quite unusual for the era; however, participants were humble about this. James, for example, was 14 when he made his first trip to Canada to see his sister who had emigrated. At this age, James was still in his formative years in terms of identity formation (Hogg and Abrams 1988) and this trip, which is a clear case of VFR travel, would have had significance:

“And then I was 14 when I did go to Canada because my sister had emigrated and I paid for it myself basically. I got a part-time job. It took about 2 years to save up for it to get the flights and I just flew out to Canada and went out there for 6 weeks ... That was quite (pauses) almost kind of educational for a 14 year old in those days to travel that far; it was unheard of. None of our friends or family had ever flown, package holidays weren’t around at that time so people just didn’t do it, especially across the Atlantic. So that was that one.”

Later on in life, James repeats this visit taking his family to visit his sister, introducing his wife, sons and later on, his second wife to her. While there are practicalities of introducing family members there is also likely to be significance in the fact that this destination will have played a part in shaping his identity. There are two interpretations of these actions. Firstly, he could have been seeking continuity in a changing circumstance. Or he could have been trying to redefine himself with his new partner. However, a third interpretation is possible, that he is seeking the comfort of the stability that the shared travel experience represented for him.

Trauer and Ryan (2005, p.481) argue that “the presence or absence of significant others is a fact that lends or inhibits additional intimacies with place and people”. The significance of James’ relationship with his sister and with Canada is highlighted by the numerous times they are both mentioned in his narratives. His repeat visit with his second wife shows that he is trying to cement the relationships he has with his sister, with his second wife and with a country that he is clearly enamoured with. Trauer and Ryan (2005) indicate that there is importance in repeat visits and shared memories, particularly when one partner shares a place (and memories) which has significance from an identity-formation perspective. James’ first visit to Canada was at an age where an initial identity is still being formed. The word initial is used because identities are constantly evolving and changing (McAdams 1993; Cohen 2010).

Claire reflects on her childhood holidays that were often taken with aunts, uncles and cousins, as well as more immediate family members:

“We were all just, sort of, as a family; the two families just really close. I don’t know that we could just enjoy each other’s company and just be together and do whatever really. It didn’t really matter where we were; we would always find stupid games to play and things like that basically. So, I suppose the only reflection would be just how close we were as a family.”

She also acknowledges that her childhood holidays were: “*quite relaxed, sort of having a home from home in a way. So we just, treated it like it*” (laughs). This is supported by Trauer and Ryan (2005, p.482), who state that “the tourist place is potentially a ‘home of hearts’, a second or another home full of feelings and intimacy, albeit different in nature from the conventional home”. For Claire, the intimacy experienced while on holiday allowed for the realisation of: “*just how close we were as a family*”. The

statement from Trauer and Ryan (ibid) also has significance for June and her memories of family holidays, as the holidays allowed her to experience an intimacy that was not possible at home. The holidays forced them into a closer space which allowed the performance of a family identity.

An important aspect from this section is the evidence that people, places and identities are all intertwined. Trauer and Ryan (2005) suggest that places can be used to reinforce interpersonal relationships. Significantly for this study, Pooley et al. (2005) take this further and suggest that our companions on holiday may be part of a self-identification process. In the previous chapter, I discussed how it is possible to influence the performance of identity (Goffman 1959) by the clothes we wear (Curtin 2010). The suggestion here, by Pooley et al. (2005), is that what we do, where we go and who we are with can also be used to define ourselves.

Holidays cementing relationships: finding togetherness

Following on from this comes another significant finding, that of holidays cementing interpersonal relationships. Throughout both her interviews, June referred to the idea of togetherness as being central to her holidays, with her family as a whole or just with her husband. The following quote from June is part of her answer to the question, “how influential were your childhood holidays on later travel?”:

“When you have children of your own, you then start to recall what was special about them [the childhood holidays]. I mean whether you do it deliberately, but I do remember the idea of being away as a family as being something nice and certainly that did probably influence the holidays we took when I had a young family; things like caravan holidays, holidays where we were all **together** in the same place. It didn’t have to be grand. We did have some holidays abroad but even when we were abroad, it was all about being **together** and swimming **together** and walking out **together**; so, I think they are influential but you don’t know it at the time.” (Emphasis added by author)

June is suggesting that it did not matter where they were or what they were doing, just as long as they were together. This is something that has been considered by Haldrup (2004, p.433): “family-based vacationing is more concerned with the extra ordinary ordinariness of personal social relations than with the documenting and gazing at spectacular sights”. Small (2002) is another author to state that the meaning of the holiday itself is unrelated to the tourism destination; meaning is found in the

relationships experienced whilst on holiday. In June's case, it is about creating shared memories which, over time, further cement the relational bond. Stephanie provided an insight into the importance of family togetherness over place with the following response to the question, "how did your childhood holidays compare to your friends' holidays at that time?":

"We'd be going somewhere in a tent but they [her friends] went on a tour of the west coast of the States so, you know, as far as I was concerned, there was no comparison but, you know, I didn't think 'oh no that's not fair; I wish I was doing that' because I actually knew I would rather be with my family than with her family. So, it wasn't necessarily where she was going; yeah sure, I might have liked to have tried it but I wouldn't want to swap it for what I was doing; so, looking back, I certainly wouldn't have swapped it."

Trauer and Ryan (2005) suggest that importance of place is created through the meaningful relationships that develop in the location, as well as the enduring memories from the experiences. June also acknowledges the importance of the journey in assisting the feeling of 'togetherness': "*first of all there is the travel down, travelling down in the car, wherever we're going*". This is echoed by Dickinson et al. (2011) and Sheller (2004, p.44) who proposes that "private cars are now also becoming mobile leisure spaces...".

June recognises that the idea of togetherness is not just about being physically together:

"It is both physical and psychological, I think, in the sense that the house is big. I was chatting to you before; the house is quite big, errrrrrrr, one can get lost in it; the children have all left home. I sometimes go and watch TV in my lounge and Edward goes in his lounge. Having a wonderful time but still, getting on with our lives and whatever. But when you go on holiday together you are often in one hotel room"

This excerpt reflects some people's experience of modern life which, for June, is the isolation of big houses and personal technology. It also replicates a situation June experienced during her childhood. She felt that the house was so big that she never managed to experience closeness with her family. Her holidays are still being used as a way to bring people together and also to bring them back in touch with basic needs and commodities. The psychological connection that she is referring to is demonstrated in the following passage:

“You know, you’ll chat about things that you wouldn’t chat about at home. You’ll chat about the place you’re in; for example, that Rome trip. We both, liked, loved Rome for different sort of reasons but just going in to a beautiful building and seeing it together and looking it up and seeing the history of the building and saying we must go over to a different place nearby or, the whole thing was just a bonding experience”

Shaw (2001, p.128) suggests the importance of holidays for the family because the places visited together can “help create or re-create a common feeling of unity.” It is not just the physical co-presence that creates unity for June, but also the conversations that follow. Heimtun and Jordan (2011, p.272) support the idea that holidays can physically and emotionally transport the tourists away from their reality: “the construction of the holiday as a special site of leisure that transports people (literally and emotionally) away from their everyday environments underpins its experience economy.” This can be linked back to Davidson’s (1996) proposal that holidays provide an opportunity to act out multiple selves or ‘other selves’, which are not dominant in everyday life, because we are away from routine or normality.

Wang (1999) suggests that tourism provides an opportunity for self-actualisation, which is not possible at home due to the restraints of routines. Graburn (1989) supports this and proposes that the reason people feel able to perform their ‘true’ selves away from home is because they are in a liminal setting and free from the usual societal constraints. June’s description of the unity and connectedness with her family whilst on holiday presents a powerful motivation for continuing to travel. The association of the idea of togetherness with the self and tourism is through the creation of a ‘family identity’ and the security that comes with that.

Maintaining and creating social bonds

A feeling of ‘togetherness’ is not the only purpose of holidaying with significant others; the shared holiday experience can also be used as a way of maintaining, reinforcing or even creating a specific identity. Jill appears to use travel as a way of engaging in various communities or subcultures; subcultures being smaller groups of society operating by the same cultural norms (Yinger 1960). This is something that has carried on from her childhood holidays when her family used to follow motorcycle scrambling rallies:

“They [her childhood holidays] were all based on motorcycling scrambling and motorcycle rallies so there would be people who would ride their motorcycles up and down, you know like, errrrmm, what do they call it now, you know what I’m trying to say, with bikes [undulating hand gestures]. So the smell of the diesel from the motorbikes was really nice, they used to have campfires where everybody would come and congregate and, ummmmm, sort of wooden huts which people would sit in and eat so it was all very basic but, errrrmm, yeah I quite enjoyed that, that was the purpose of it [the holiday] really. I think they used to follow those rallies.”

The notion that family holidays are used as a means of creating or maintaining existing identities is proposed by Gram (2005, p.17) who states that identity is: “built up carefully by a number of choices, which are not necessarily stable. Holidays (as other forms of consumption) are one brick in the identity building process”. The choices that relate to identity include tourism consumption and this could be a way of creating, maintaining or avoiding certain identities. Gram (2005, p.17) goes on to suggest that a family’s tourism mobility decisions are in response to the question, “what kind of family are we?” This proposes the idea that a family can create or maintain an identity through their choice of holiday. This suggestion could be linked back to possible selves and the example of Tom, who undertook travel to avoid the ‘carrot crunching’ possible self; i.e., the choice of holiday is not only an answer to ‘what kind of family are we?’ but also ‘what kind of family aren’t we?’.

Looking back at the statement from Jill, the important phrases seem to me to be: “*campfires where everybody would come and congregate*” and: “*wooden huts where people would sit in and eat*”. These phrases show an intimacy, sharing and closeness with the other community members, partaking in the same shared activities; this requires an understanding of the identity script that the group will conform to (Horton 2003). Jill’s subsequent holidays, up to the present day, demonstrate her need to be part of a group. This includes going on art retreat holidays, festivals and gatherings for social movements, such as the Transition Network. She could be using the travel which is associated with membership of these groups to perform a social identity. Green and Jones (2005) suggest that group membership can have a positive impact on self-esteem. They also propose that travelling in order to affirm a desired social identity may be a means to escape undesirable home identities. As will be evidenced later in this chapter, Jill is undertaking travel in order to avoid a negative possible self: a grieving widow.

Jill enjoys camping and this occupies a large part of her travel life history. When questioned on what appealed about this type of holiday, Jill responded with: *“you know, you have got the complete freedom of choice, and also you are with the elements and nature, as opposed to being stuck in a hotel and having to obey social norms.”* However, when camping, attending festivals or being part of a subculture, there are social norms to obey; they might not be the same as those undertaken in more mainstream holiday choices, but there will certainly be a shared understanding of acceptable identity scripts (Horton 2003) for the required performance (Goffman 1959).

Jill contradicts herself when she says that she is choosing camping as a way to escape the social norms of: *“being stuck in a hotel”*, as she will be faced with different social norms expected of those undertaking a camping holiday. The idea of not obeying social norms is one of the reasons for her enjoyment of festivals: *“again, you know, getting dirty and not having to dress up or try to look smart. Again, going with the elements and you’re with a large group of people ... and music”* (said as an aside). It would seem that being part of the group or community at festivals was the primary motivating factor rather than for the music itself. However, by: *“getting dirty and not having to dress up”* she is demonstrating that she is aware of, and complies with, a different set of social norms. This would suggest that she is using travel as a way to build or maintain relationships with like-minded people. Having a social identity where she fits into certain groups appears to be important. The ability to fit a certain social identity by adhering to social norms is linked to the notion of creating social capital.

Heimtun (2007, p.277) introduces the notion of the need in modern society to create social capital, which she defines as “reciprocity and generalized trust among people”. It is through membership of various social networks that social capital is created. It is thought that social capital can take one of two forms (Putnam 2000): bonding social capital or bridging social capital. Both are linked to identities and group membership in that their creation is through shared beliefs, practices and norms. Bonding social capital makes reference to those who are ‘like us’; i.e., family and strong relationships, whereas bridging social capital is linked to those ‘unlike us’ where weak ties can be formed through membership of organisations. In the example above, Jill appears to be forming relationships by using bridging social capital. Relationships and being part of a community appear to be important to Jill’s identity. Putnam (2000, p.23) states that

“bridging social capital can generate broader identities and reciprocity, whereas bonding social capital bolsters our narrower selves.” Using tourism as a setting for producing bonding social capital has a direct impact on sense of self through the close proximity and extended time spent with like-minded people. It can be argued that the production of social capital and created sense of self is a strong driver for continued travel.

Shared holiday experiences are not just about the ‘event’ itself, i.e., what the person is doing; it is also about the stories that are told whilst taking part:

“And I got the train, again trying to be green and also because it’s cheaper now. When I got off at the station, there was supposed to be a bus to the campsite, because it was 7 miles and, errmmm, so yes there was somebody sitting down on their big army bag reading a book so basically the four of us had got talking and this girl had come all the way from Oslo for this festival. So, we shared a taxi and, yeah, we ended up killing ourselves laughing because we both had big hair and both had daughters who are wild and various other things ... so it was really good because it was like my first holiday without my kids although it was only short, you know it was nice to start developing new friendships, so yeah.”

We construct and maintain identities through narration, and holidays provide opportunities for this to happen both during (as illustrated by Jill above) and after the event. Trauer and Ryan (2005, p.482) state that a place or holiday destination can be used as a “centre for physical and emotional exchange”, something which Jill experiences through the sharing of stories of grief and loss (Jill’s partner, Joe, had recently passed away) with the woman she met at the train station. As mentioned earlier, June also experienced this emotional exchange whilst on holiday with her family through the shared experience of wonder at an impressive building. Heimtun (2007) proposes that talking about the shared holiday experience is a way of maintaining relationships, even new ones. Jill has remained in touch with the woman she met at the train station and they have formed a strong bond with plans to holiday together in the future. Shared memories are thought to be at the core of friendships and are important for reproducing bonding social capital.

According to Heimtun (2007, p.284), the creation and recall of memories is significant given that “highly mobile and fleeting friendships in today’s society need repetition of pleasurable memories in order to renew themselves.” This leads to the suggestion that

holidays with significant others are about the production of a memory in order to strengthen social relationships and belonging, not just mechanical consumption of a place (Heimtun 2007). Small (2002) found that women talking about positive holiday experiences discussed those that were a break from their normal routines as mother and home maker; but it is noted that they did not want to travel solo. The break from routine could be seen as a break from an identity, the holiday experience being used to embrace an identity not normally found in their everyday life. In addition, travelling with others meant they had someone to share and discuss the experience with. This demonstrates the need for companionship from significant others in order to make meaning of the experience through shared narratives and highlighting the importance of relationships in holiday experiences.

‘We could have quite cheerfully killed each other’: Holidays, a time for togetherness or a catalyst for conflict?

Earlier, I discussed holidays as a ‘home from home’, a safe haven to act out positive identities. It is acknowledged that the common portrayal of tourism presents holidays as the setting where dreams come true (e.g., Gram 2005; Heimtun and Jordan 2011); however, my interviewees often presented a different reality:

“there were always arguments about packing the car and all of that ... I can remember on one holiday having huge argument with my mother, thinking, that’s it, I’m leaving but I don’t know where to go.” (Stephanie)

Rapoport (2001, p.xii) casts doubt on whether “any of the copywriters responsible for all this false advertising can even spell salmonella”. Gram (2005) also observes that not all family holidays succeed in bringing people together. In some cases, it provides the opportunity for conflict owing to increased proximity and time spent together (Gram 2005; Heimtun and Jordan 2011) and also in the changing or reallocating of routines and roles that have been established at home but have to be re-thought when away (Rosenblatt and Russell 1975). During interviewees’ narratives of travel life histories, there were several stories about ‘when holidays go wrong’. These stories often emerged naturally throughout the course of the discussion but I did have a specific question which asked for their worst holiday experience. According to Löfgren (2008, p.89), “all tourists have a selection of them [negative holiday stories], ready to be remembered, retold and swapped”; this is a statement fully validated by the stories recounted during

this research. While holidays go wrong for various reasons, such as poor weather or failure of the transport system, the interest here lies in interpersonal relationships.

In addition to increased time and proximity, Löfgren (2008) proposes other reasons for conflict, namely moments that are full of tension or anxiety or moments where nothing happens. There is a lot of waiting involved in holidays and this causes boredom and reduces levels of patience, particularly if children are involved. He also talks about the pressure to have fun because that is what is 'supposed' to happen on holiday. This is supported by Gram (2005), who observes that we are 'supposed' to have fun on holiday because that is what a good family does – it is part of a family identity. There is some suggestion that people would be reluctant to talk about things that go wrong on holiday because this would indicate a failure of the family unit. Some interviewees, when questioned, would initially say that they did not have a 'worst holiday' but would then remember something that they could talk about under this umbrella:

“There have never been any holidays that have been so awful that. Having said that [dawning on her]; right, ok, the holiday that I went on and vowed I would never go on again was about 3 years ago and we went in September to the Lake District and it was. My mum had just been told she was ill and she wanted to do as much with the family as possible; so, my parents rented a cottage in the Lake District and my sister and I went, and I guess in a way it was to maybe try to re-create those holidays we'd had as children. And I think my sister and I could quite cheerfully have killed each other and, bearing in mind we were both in our forties, you know we just, the sibling rivalry was just horrific, so that's probably my worst holiday because I came back from that and I said to my friends if I ever say I'm going on holiday with family again, shoot me. And I never have. But if I went on holiday with my sister on her own, it would be fine; but I think it was because we both, well I suppose we were under a lot of pressure as well, but we were both vying for attention and, you know, as children do; it doesn't matter how old they are.”

This excerpt demonstrates a reluctance to admit to a bad family holiday experience. Given the desire to present positive identities, the trustworthiness of narratives could be called into doubt as people strive to present a positive and successful family identity rather than one of a failed family which people would be less willing to admit to (Gram 2005). Deem (1996) suggests that we are “more likely to hear sanitised narratives than any account that reveals disappointments ...” This is confirmed by Dickinson et al. (2011), who found that tourists will reconstruct negative experiences in a positive light. The reconstruction of negative experiences into a positive is a method of asserting a

positive self-image (Edley 2001). In addition to being linked to the negative ‘failed family’ identity, Small (2002) found that women often felt incompetent during negative holiday experiences because of a perceived responsibility for the happiness of others and the success of the holiday. A second point of interest is that, despite Stephanie and her sister both being in their forties; they had petty arguments and fought for the attention of their parents. This is an idea picked up by Rosenblatt and Russell (1975) who suggest that when adult children holiday with their parents, conflict can arise. This could be because of a shift in power and control over decision-making; other examples of interviewees who also initially said they did not have any bad experiences but then retracted, included Susie:

“I suppose there are bad bits of holidays, like when my friend flew out to India and I was really looking forward to her coming out; but then it was her and her boyfriend [said with attitude] and then it was her and her boyfriend having problems and then it was ‘oh no, we need to talk, we can’t come and hang out at the beach with you’, that was a bit of a downer on it...” (Susie)

This demonstrates that while holidays often have positive impacts on relationships, they can also create tension in otherwise stable relationships. Small (2002) suggests that the choice of travel companion can be a choice of which self to nurture. It is likely that the tension that Susie experienced on this trip was created by the additional unexpected travel companion (her friend’s boyfriend). This travel companion was not her choice but was enforced on her, meaning that she would have had to adjust her presentation of self to reflect the added person.

The reluctant traveller

I have demonstrated above how travel can be shaped by the need to find a ‘family-based identity’ and by the sense of self that can develop from the unity experienced by going on holiday with the family. Here, I will reveal another dimension, focusing on those who travel to please their significant other.

Martin’s job as an RAF pilot provided him with numerous opportunities to travel and satisfied his ‘travelling needs’. He states that, in his personal life, he would have been happy not to travel but he did not (or could not) do that because he had a young family:

“I didn’t really have a great deal of interest in holidays because I was getting around the world; selfishly, quite well enough thank you. I think to a degree, although I enjoyed skiing, we took holidays because the rest of the family wanted it. I would have been quite happy to sit around at home but that’s just a selfish point of view and we didn’t do that. We went on and did things.”

Shah (2006) suggests that significant others can guide our behaviour and experiences through our own views of the goals and expectations that the significant other holds for us. This suggests that relationships can hold significant power over our behaviour, and this forms the basis of the argument within this section. Shah (2006) proposes a model which demonstrates the interdependence between, self, significant others and goal (behaviour) (figure 5.1). This demonstrates the two ways in which our cognitive associations with significant others can be related to goal pursuits (or behaviours). Both routes depend on the nature and strength of the relationship with either the significant other or the goal.

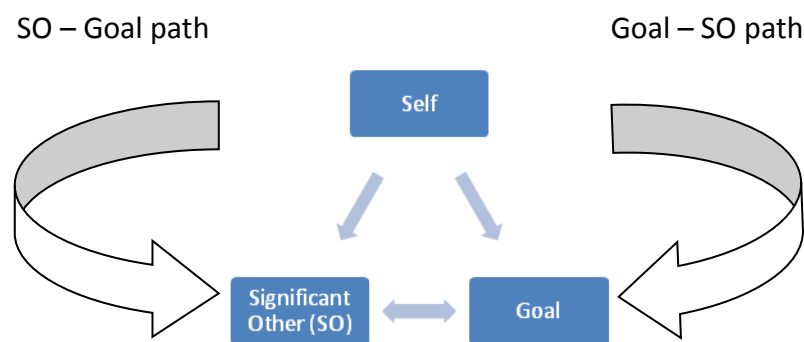


Figure 5.1: A triangular model of self-regulatory relationships. *Source:* Shah (2006, p.389)

Martin was not the only the interviewee to indicate that he would undertake travel for the sake of their significant other. Beth, for example, holds strong opinions on environmental behaviour and would like to give up flying; however, she has recently married and her husband does not have the same strength of feeling that she does:

“I mean, I feel really bad because, this year, I have taken flights to Ibiza and Marrakech ... especially because there’s my husband, although he kind of supports and understands that, I suppose he has less of a personal commitment and he sees it as being a bigger society issue, so it’s always tricky.”

Martin and Beth are taking the SO – Goal path; i.e., their relationship with the significant other(s) is stronger than that with the goal and, therefore, the SO is driving their behaviour. The influence significant others (which could be family, family friends, work colleagues or wider reference groups) have is not just through their physical presence. They also have a ‘psychological presence’; i.e., the ways in which we “mentally represent” them (Shah 2006).

Anderson and Chen (2002, p.619) state that “the self is relational – often entangled – with significant others and this has implications for self-definition, self-evaluation, self-regulation and, most broadly, for personality functioning, expressed in relation to others”. They also suggest that the self is essentially interpersonal; this is because it is possible to have many different selves, even during the course of one day, depending on the interpersonal enactments and experiences that we encounter. They propose that significant others are those who have been deeply influential on a person’s life or people in whom someone has made a significant emotional investment. This definition is adopted for the purpose of this thesis. According to Anderson and Chen (2002, p.619), a significant other may be able to influence the sense of self of an individual, including “thoughts, feelings, motives, and self-regulatory strategies”. The significant word to note here is ‘motives’; the catalyst that causes us to act in a certain way. Anderson and Chen (2002) also suggest that it is people’s beliefs in the standards that their significant other has for them that drives emotional lives and acts as a motivational force.

As a continuation of Goffman’s (1959, p.46) proposal that it is possible to perform in a “favourable social style”, Rosenblatt and Russell (1975) suggest that our behaviour whilst on holiday with significant others is censored by their presence because of a need to present a favourable self. Brown and Stephan (2013) support this and suggest that when travelling anonymously, a tourist can become disinhibited because they are free from the constraints of home. The ideas of Rosenblatt and Russell (1975) and Brown and Stephan (2013) would suggest that travelling solo would be appealing and it enables the tourist to ‘be themselves’. However, Heimtun (2012) proposes that women travelling solo can feel disempowered and socially excluded in tourism spaces unless they are embracing the identity of an independent traveller.

Jill provides an alternative example to that of Martin and Beth. Jill's daughter had invited her to go on a holiday to Croatia. Jill turned her down because she felt that she was only being invited purely because her partner, Joe, had recently died. Here, she demonstrates that she was influenced by a significant other (and potentially a possible self) to not make a trip:

“So, she was going with her friend and, although I wanted to go, I felt as though I should not go. You know, ... I could tell she was asking me to go because she was thinking, ‘oh, what would I do otherwise?’”.

Whilst Jill enjoys both travel and spending time with her family, I felt that Jill was careful to avoid projecting a negative possible self, that of the grieving, needy widow. She goes on to demonstrate that she has made more of an effort to undertake travel more recently: *“I’ve pottered about this holiday and been to various places but I made myself buy a ticket so I couldn’t wriggle out of it”*. Since Joe died, Jill has made other efforts, such as joining clubs and going to festivals, in order to avoid a negative possible self. In this example of the Croatia holiday, Jill's relationship with the goal – avoiding a negative possible self – is greater than that of the tie with the significant other. In this example, her significant other could be her daughter or Joe, as significant others can hold influence through how we mentally represent them. They can hold a psychological power which will influence our behaviour (Shah 2006).

Summary

Interpersonal relationships can have an impact on tourism mobility and it is evident that identity issues can underlie travel decisions. Identity is relative to the people around us and provides a strong driving force to undertake travel in order to reinforce how we present ourselves.

This chapter has presented a fresh outlook on the motivations behind the well-documented notion of VRF travel. It has shown that in order to maintain a particular identity (e.g. one based on the family), a performance of that identity which keeps in line with the ‘script’ is necessary (Horton 2003). VFR travel can be used as a means to do this. In addition, this chapter has presented data which demonstrates that VFR travel can be used as a method to present an unrealistic identity. For other interviewees, childhood holidays play a significant role in shaping travel in later life. This is because

of the power of the memories of those holidays and of the relationships experienced at that time. Closely linked to this is the idea of togetherness that is experienced while on holiday. The idea of being ‘together’ with significant others was discussed by many of the interviewees. Holidays were shown to allow the performance of a family identity which is not possible within the constraints of home. Travel can be used as a method of maintaining or creating social bonds through shared experiences. Certain travel choices will be carefully made because travel as a form of consumption (Gram 2005) can assist in the performance of identity in much the same way as other consumption choices, such as clothes (Swain 2002).

An area that is often overlooked in the tourism literature is that of the negative tourist experience. Any type of holiday failure could be seen as a personal failure and a failure of an identity (Small 2002; Gram 2005) because holidays are part of the performance of a successful family identity. Following on from this is the idea of negotiated travel, where one member of the relationship is forfeiting their travel desires for those of their significant other because of a real or perceived expectation of them (Shah 2006). Interviewees found that their particular identity as a spouse or parent meant that they would reduce the significance of other identities in order to successfully perform others.

It is clear from this data that the self and identity plays a significant role in relationships and the desire to create or maintain relations shapes travel. This demonstrates another way that identity can be a facilitator for tourism mobility decisions. The next chapter, ‘The plane will fly anyway’, presents data relating travel and identity and discusses how tourists negotiate multiple identities.

Chapter 6: The plane will fly anyway

Introduction

As demonstrated in the previous two chapters, travel and identity are closely linked. When combined, the two make for a powerful force, driving travel and the desire for travel. This need for travel creates problems for those for whom caring for the environment is an important part of their identity, as it generates conflicting identities which produce a feeling of dissonance. In order to deal with dissonance, people will create strategies of justification. Whilst interview one allowed for travel-related identity factors to emerge, interview two explored the identity issues in relation to tourism and climate change issues. One of the outcomes was that there can be conflict between green identities and other identities. People felt the need to justify their travel behaviour that conflicts with potential green identities. These justification techniques mean that other identities are allowed to be dominant when the individual is taking holidays. This chapter will predominantly discuss data from the second interview, as analysed in relation to the identity issues highlighted from the first interview and discussed in the previous chapters four and five.

Climate change: there is a debate

After a recap of the previous session, the second interview began with the request: “tell me what you know/understand about climate change ...” This allowed the interviewee to talk freely in as much or as little detail as they wanted or were able to. The answer given allowed me to assess how much they really understood about the topic. Many interviewees began their answer with a deep intake of breath, indicating that this is a complex subject for them to discuss. In the majority of cases, people appeared to be well read and knowledgeable. They also told me they read a lot about the subject:

“Fuuufff ... [long pause] ... I read quite a bit about it, errrrr, in the daily papers. What do I know about it? Well [said with a tone that implies scepticism] there are various schools of thought that is saying the climate is getting warmer, fewer seem to think it’s getting colder; they are talking about carbon dioxide emissions which are getting into the atmosphere.”
(Martin)

In two cases, although the interviewees were aware of the issue, they did not really have a full grasp of the problem; this could be a lack of understanding or an inability to

communicate their understanding fully; “*Oh god, it’s one of those things you talk about all the time but to actually put into words ... I don’t know, it’s just that everybody goes on about our seasons are changing but ... is this where it comes down to the ozone layer?*” (Claire). Dickinson et al. (2010) found that some of their participants had limited knowledge of climate change and that this could be due to a genuine lack of understanding or a discursive strategy in order to position themselves a certain way. Once the interviewee had told me what they knew about climate change, they then wanted me to know that they were aware of the debate:

“There is this theory that due to man-made activities the world’s climate is changing; it is getting warmer because of the carbon, mainly because of the carbon dioxide being trapped in the atmosphere, which acts like a tea cosy. And there are, you know, lots of sceptics who don’t believe it is changing” (Katherine)

Almost all of the interviewees explained that they knew that scientists could not reach an agreement. Stoll-Kleeman et al. (2001) have suggested that denial is a method for retaining an identity when dissonance is experienced. This is also supported by Dickinson et al. (2010, p.486), who suggest that “there is much power in denying knowledge”. The participants from the study by Dickinson et al. (2010) also raised the issue of the climate change ‘debate’. By placing emphasis on the debate, the interviewees from both my study and Dickinson et al.’s (2010), are not denying the problem, they are placing doubt on the truth of the matter. By stating there are different perspectives, this places the individual in a positive light because it demonstrates that their personal view is balanced. This strategy also enables them to continue with their current behaviour.

Some interviewees also felt that from what they had read on the subject, climate change could be caused by the natural occurrence of cyclical ‘ages’: “*I think the world has always gone through cycles of warming or cooling*”. While this could be them telling me just how well read they were and that they have a round knowledge of the subject, it could also be an example of their justification techniques; e.g., ‘if there is a debate, the facts are not set in stone, therefore it is ok for me to create CO₂ as I **may** not be doing any harm’. Therefore, there is a possibility that they do know about climate change and what it causes but are using the ‘controversial’ evidence in the media as a strategy to justify their inaction.

After the interview had ended, Martin stated: *“they are interesting questions because they make you think about things that you generally don’t bother about or, if you do bother about it, you put it to one side because most of these topics really are in the ‘too difficult’ category”*. This seems to sum up the situation for many of my interviewees. Climate change and tourism mobility can be put in ‘the difficult category’ but, given that many of the interviewees have a good knowledge and understanding of the subject, I would question whether the difficulty that Martin refers to is found in the subject matter. I propose that the difficulty is experienced in the ensuing decisions and actions that need to be taken as a result of his knowledge of the ‘difficult topic’. ‘Difficulty’ could also be experienced because he is aware of the consequences of climate change but continues to act in a detrimental way. Therefore, the major difficulty appears to derive from keeping in line with beliefs but still catering for travel desires. There would appear to be a power and attractiveness in denial.

Environmental commitment home and away

It was evident from the data that people behaved differently when on holiday than at home. Environmental concern appeared to be left at home and other priorities became more dominant when away. As evidenced in the previous two chapters, these priorities are based on identities which are allowed to come to the fore when away. However, people do not leave their environment identities at home completely; these identities are hidden beneath other identities which take priority at that moment in time. This means that there will be some dissonance as people negotiate the emergence of a dominant identity. Any dissonance that is experienced is alleviated through the use of ‘justification strategies’ which are put into play. One of these strategies is the reasoning that holidays are a one-off and allowed because they are a treat. It is widely accepted that holidays are an indulgence; they are a break from the norm and a reward for working hard during everyday life (Cohen 1979; Wang 1999; Graburn 2001). This was supported by my interviewees:

“... I mean a holiday is seen as a treat ... I’m not a regular traveller but somebody who travels all the time for business then maybe you would consider, yes, doing a different business travel method but because it’s, you know, you maybe have a holiday once a year, and also the fact it’s your treat ...” (Claire)

There are several ways to explain this quote. Firstly, Claire genuinely does not see

herself as producing a significant contribution of CO₂, as she is not a regular traveller, thereby distancing herself from those who are and who would be part of the problem. She is freeing herself from responsibility, as it is ‘not her fault’. This could be linked to the identity issues surrounding differentiation from others, which was discussed in chapter four (Gillespie 2007). She is differentiating herself from those who travel frequently in a similar way that Mark, Richard, Michael and others did not want to be or be seen as part of the tourist ‘problem’ (Jacobsen 2000). They derogated tourists despite undertaking the same activities and behaviours of the tourists, which is a phenomenon acknowledged by Gillespie (2007) and Prebensen et al. (2003).

Claire is differentiating herself from travellers who create the negative impacts of CO₂ production. She does not consider herself to be part of the problem; however, in her travel life history, she spoke of numerous long-haul flights that she has taken in recent years. Secondly, she could be unaware or in denial about the consequences of travel. This could be a possibility because Claire was one of the interviewees who struggled to articulate her understanding of climate change. Her answer to that question was particularly short compared to others. However, my interpretation of her comment is that she sees the ‘occasional’ production of CO₂ as part of her ‘treat’ as reasonable. The last explanation is the most likely given that Claire had previously spoken of her environmentally-friendly actions.

She acknowledges that the only contribution she makes at home is: “*recycling and that sort of thing*”, however, she describes in detail the things she does in her role as a building surveyor that would fall into that category: “*... we obviously do help people design homes with solar panels, a recovery system for water where you reuse your rain water ... we have got this new thing now which is an air source heat pump.*” She finishes this description more convinced about the ways that she acts in an environmentally friendly way: “*so yes, I suppose, in a way that is my contribution, because, yes, we help people design houses to use renewable energy sources basically*”.

Given that Claire is trying to distance herself from those who contribute to CO₂ and that she talks about all the positive environmental behaviours she undertakes at home, this would indicate some discomfort in her contradictory stances. Gecas (1982) asserts that, in order to maintain a positive self-concept, there is a need to conceptualise self in

relation to the outside world in a way that is self-affirming. This could be to point out the negative behaviour of others: *“somebody who travels all the time for business”* whilst acknowledging one's own good points: *“I’m not a regular traveller”*. Claire’s environmentally-friendly activities at home do not mean that she is predisposed to carry that behaviour into her travel practices. Thorgersen (1999) acknowledges that just because an individual participates in one environmentally-friendly behaviour, it does not mean they will necessarily follow this up with another. In fact, he reports that there is a ‘negative spillover’ and people who participate in recycling (for example) will not necessarily feel obliged to undertake other environmentally-friendly behaviours and may even feel less obliged.

During the first interview with Claire, she had presented an ‘unrealistic’ identity which caused her problems, as demonstrated through her use of ‘honesty’ phrases. While she does not rely on this mechanism in her second interview, there are definitely some defensive strategies in use: *“but again, I don’t think anybody wants to think of travelling for two days to get somewhere where they can take a few hours with a flight”*. Here she is talking about the possibility of travelling by train, instead of by plane, when going on holiday. She is trying to identify with the ‘masses’ that ‘of course’ would not do this. By stating that she is not alone in this type of behaviour, she is justifying it to herself and to me.

In a similar vein, Daniel feels that his holidays are deserved. He presents a slightly different angle from Claire who views her holidays as a treat. Daniel feels that he works hard to earn his holidays. His discussion of his mobility patterns was based around the idea of freedom and the ability to be able to travel more now that he and his wife are both retired: *“It’s important in the sense that we’ve been a long time at work ... now that both of us are retired we are less constrained by work, well not constrained at all.”* By highlighting that they have been working for a long time, Daniel is trying to justify his continued travel. When he talks about his green efforts at home, he talks about the economic benefits rather than environmental benefits. Neither Daniel nor Claire have a strong interest in the environment and were recruited during the early stages of the research. This could go some way to explaining their lack of concern. However, even those who are members of Friends of the Earth continue to fly and then use justification methods for their travel.

June agrees that holidays are a privilege: “*I feel sort of indulged and over privileged by it and errrrmmm and yet isn’t it a joy that the ordinary man and woman can enjoy that stuff*”. June later explains that she feels travel is also accessible for those less privileged. She says:

“You see people who clearly don’t have a lot of wealth, some people on benefits; you can see they’ve saved a few pounds here and there who can have at least a reasonable holiday with a young family abroad, ... they’re still away, they’re still enjoying their family ... very few people can’t afford something in the way of a holiday.”

This perspective indicates that travel is an ‘enjoyment’; it enriches people’s lives and to take this away would be unfair. The above quotation from June is in line with her earlier discussion of holidays as a time for the family and creating a sense of connectedness and togetherness. Her family identity is obviously a strong identity for her. However, she is also aware of the issues of climate change and indicates that it is important to her: “*I do all the things that I think most reasonable citizens now do.*” By stating how valuable it is to go away as a family, she is highlighting that side of her identity and reducing the other.

Some people who have strong green identities, experience dissonance when taking holidays. This is because holidays are deeply embedded in our everyday lives and are desired (McCabe and Stokoe 2010) but, at the same time, people are aware that taking holidays is an environmentally damaging activity (Giddens 2009). It is at this point that the necessity of justification techniques comes into play. A common theme throughout the interviews was that people felt their environmentally-friendly behaviour at home allowed for a CO₂ expenditure on holiday: “*We do have a log fire, ... but of course you have got the emissions then but we use the ash on the allotment to help, so I suppose in a way we’re doing our little bit with that* (laughs)” (Penny). The interviewees were all in agreement that they did something at home which could be considered environmentally friendly. In addition, they all thought that this was a positive thing, something which was also found by Barr et al. (2011), who state that these home environmental practices “pose little threat to accepted social norms” (Barr et al. 2011). June provides an example of how current social norms have shifted towards more sustainable home consumption and that she is complying: “*I do all the things that most reasonable citizens now do*”. However, the social norm for travel and tourism has not changed in line with everyday sustainability and the current view is that frequent and

exotic travel is seen as a positive status marker (Gössling and Nilson 2010). Randles and Mander (2009, p.111) assert that “in theoretical terms, overseas travel is a means to accumulate and maintain cultural and social capital”.

June is aware that there is an argument that suggests holiday travel contributes to climate change; however, she does not feel any culpability because of her home environmentally friendly actions: *“I don’t feel any guilt ... I’m quite conscious of saving water and definitely going green in terms of packaging and looking after my waste, so I am obviously someone who does care about the environment”*. The idea of behaving sustainably at home in order to allow for an away expense of CO₂ is a concept discussed by Randles and Mander (2009). June admits: *“I wouldn’t say I’m errrr absolutely committed or whatever”*. This is a view that she repeats later: *“I know I could do a lot more, I know I should be more aware, people are a lot more, they apply a stricter regime.”* Perhaps, by acknowledging that she could be more committed, she is allowing herself to take the liberty and travel by aeroplane, thus reducing potential for dissonance because she ‘is not as committed as she could be’ This is confirmed by her later statement of:

“That’s an interesting question you’ve asked there because I’m obviously quite aware of that stuff and yet I’m not particularly against these little short trips that I take, which I perhaps I ignore that cheapy element of the plane flight because I, it’s what I’m now enjoying, perhaps I’m being deliberately blind to that because it would get in the way of my pleasure of travel.”

June was one of the only people to openly acknowledge conflict between her home behaviour and her travel behaviour. Others, like Reece, continued to explain that their home behaviour allowed for CO₂ expenditure: *“my overall carbon footprint is probably, you know, even with the holidays, is probably less than someone who drives all the time and just has, say, one or two holidays a year.”* In addition to that, people argue that their travel is minimal. They put forward that they do not take many flights per year, many long-haul flights, or simply that other people are worse. Business travel is a particular bone of contention: *“it seems to me strange that businessmen travel thousands of miles for a meeting ... particularly with today’s technology, that’s an area where you could definitely limit travel and be far more economic in terms of time and travel.”* (June). This appears to be quite a contradictory statement from June, given her previous discussion (see chapter five) of how physical mobility and travel are important

ways of bringing her family together and creating something that is not possible in their everyday home life. I propose that this statement about business travel is a clear indication that she is experiencing dissonance and her way of dealing with this is to place the blame on others, in this case, business travellers.

What difference will I make?

Some interviewees expressed a sense of helplessness verging on hopelessness. They felt that that any efforts they made, whether existing activities or a possible future behaviour change, would be a drop in the ocean. The common notion here was ‘what difference will only I make?’ There are multiple interpretations of this with one being that there is a genuine frustration that they are making an effort and others are not following suit. An alternative suggestion could be that they are justifying to themselves, or indeed to me, that they should still take their flight to Florida and “only me” will not make much of a difference. This feeling of frustration that ‘I alone cannot change anything’ was even demonstrated by those with strong home commitments to acting sustainably.

Martin talks about his recycling efforts and says: “*you turn around and say my effect on the overall picture is going to be absolutely miniscule but if we all thought like that nothing would ever get done*”. When asked the question about CO₂ reduction through decreasing travel, he was slightly evasive and brought the topic back to how to make more reductions at home: “*I think energy saving in the home is very sensible ... the way we build houses in this country is hugely inefficient.*” This shows that his home and away attitudes are in contrast. He believes that everyone should make an effort at home but when away, he is unprepared to consider changing travel patterns. This is something that has been considered by Barr et al. (2010, p.480), who acknowledge that “many consumers are not yet ready to reduce the amount they fly to reduce their impact on climate change.”

From the same school of thought is Stuart who says: “*I feel that we do need to try and reduce our CO₂ use. I try and cycle where I can to do my bit, but I am not sure that’s going to make that much difference.*” Stuart is an example of one of the people who borders on hopelessness as he goes on to say: “*from what I have read recently, things are not getting any better. I think it was last year, or the year before, the sort of amount*

CO₂ released into the atmosphere was the highest recorded at a time when we should be trying to reduce our CO₂ use.” Despite this pessimistic perspective, Stuart continues to make efforts at home and also considers his travel behaviour. He prefers to travel by train and believes that, subconsciously, it is because of the environmental benefits. When asked if he had considered the link between climate change and holiday travel, he says: *“perhaps I have thought about it subconsciously and perhaps that’s why I have enjoyed train travel over air travel.”* However, when directly asked why he prefers trains to aeroplanes, he lists a number of perceived benefits of rail travel over air travel. This list of reasons could be because he is uncomfortable stating that his travel choices are environmentally driven and by justifying his choice on other grounds he is seeking to ‘normalise’ his environmental behaviour.

Stuart demonstrates a deep concern for the environment; therefore, he is ‘normalising’ environmental behaviour, because of a discomfort with stating that the motivation behind the behaviour is a possibility. There were several other interviewees who stated other motivations for behaviour that demonstrated environmental commitment. However, the other interviewees do not appear to have as strong an environmental identity as Stuart; therefore, their justifications, such as economic motivations, may actually be the main incentive for environmentally-friendly practices.

Stuart’s environmental attitude is deeply embedded, through his home environmental efforts and through his profession (Stuart works in the planning department of the local council). His holiday travel is split roughly 50-50 between rail and air travel, which is considerably higher than the vast majority of my interviewees. Given this fact and his stated environmental beliefs, Stuart does not appear to be experiencing any dissonance and his: *“what difference can I make”* attitude is part of what he considers to be a realistic perspective rather than any type of coping mechanism. He presents his environmental actions as though he is doing everything in his power to be environmentally committed.

Tom also has negative views about the effect of his environmental efforts. He admits that his recycling and cycling and using public transport: *“isn’t going to save the planet.”* He also admits that he does things that he knows he could do differently and more sustainably. I believe that the difference here is that Stuart shows strong

environmental commitment both home and away; therefore, his identity is consistent. Tom, on the other hand, as demonstrated in the previous chapters, has other extremely powerful identity issues at play. Given the discussion about Tom's possible self, it could be argued that this remains stronger than any environmental identity. Although this possible self was created a number of years ago, it is clear that it is still relevant. His injuries remain; therefore, his motivations for travel will remain. He talks of one incident recently:

“When one has that training with a lorry and, errr, you have to basically jump up into the back of this lorry, you know it's about four or five foot up in the air, the lorry driver was a young Dutch guy and he sort of hopped up. I was just conscious of not being able to hop up on the dodgy hip sort of thing so, in a sense, it's what provides inspiration.”

The motivations of his possible self are evident in the following statement from the second interview when he was reflecting on his story about his accident:

“But coming back to sort of finishing the trip, well actually, during the trip, just being there and just feeling, you know, you are there independently and, you know, it happens and makes you realise that it is not a problem. I mean, it might be a consideration but it is not going to stop me doing everything particularly.”

It is plain to see that Tom's possible self might override any environmental identity he might have.

What was also evident from the interviews was that people felt that tourism was being targeted when efforts should be made elsewhere first, or instead of tourism. Daniel has this to say:

“How do I feel? I would be reluctant to alter my own tourism activities simply on the strength of the latest philosophy and with an absence, or an apparent absence, of alternative measures being taken in other areas, because one can still see smoke belching out of chimneys across the country as we travel, so there is certainly a lot that industry could do and there are, in all sorts of other areas, examples of waste energy or energy use that damages the climate. As an individual, I don't feel that I have got much impact.”

This passage is a response to being asked how he felt about the link between climate change and tourism. There are several points of interest in this statement. Firstly, his initial response is to put a question back but he does not wait to get a response before continuing with his answer. By repeating the question in a rhetorical manner, he is

indicating that there is tension and that he is feeling defensive. This was experienced by Dickinson et al. (2010) in their research where they concluded that there were two possible motivations of this strategy, either as a defensive strategy or a way in which to assist in the positive presentation of self. I believe that Daniel is using this strategy defensively. The tone in which he said: “*how do I feel*” was particularly fraught. It felt like he wanted to say: “*why should I feel?*” There is another deflection technique in the middle of the passage where he puts the focus on other industries and the damage that he feels they cause. He uses emotive phrases when talking of these ‘others’: “*smoke belching ... waste energy ... energy use that damages ...*”. He completes his answer by almost taking a step back from any problems because he feels that he alone cannot make an impact.

Daniel’s answer indicates that he is feeling challenged. This could be because, in his previous answer, he had indicated that he was aware of the link between tourism travel and climate change:

“Yes, I can see the link because holiday travel incurs travel that, you could argue, isn’t absolutely necessary in the same way as going to work is necessary. People have a lot more leisure time these days so the tendency is for people to travel more and in travelling and the way that they travel generally creates damage to the environment and the various sorts of travel transport can have an effect on that.”

The discomfort here is found in acknowledging that tourism creates problems for the environment and acknowledging that his personal tourism-related travel is a part of that. Therefore, he is admitting to himself and to me that he is part of the problem. Many of Daniel’s answers in the second interview mentioned work, either travelling for work purposes or travel being acceptable because the person has worked hard to earn the ability to travel. Gössling (2002) makes a similar statement. He acknowledges that there is now a right to travel (WTO 2001) and the feeling of entitlement to take holidays and take a break from work is now a characteristic of modern (western) society (Urry 1990).

Daniel talks about freedom to travel now that he and his wife have retired. His constant references to work and his previous job indicate that although he has retired, his career still plays a part in his identity. He worked in local government. He states that government should be responsible for encouraging behaviour change and that it is not

the individual's responsibly for initiating this change. The notion that governments have more responsibility than individuals in encouraging behavioural change was also found by Gössling, Haglund, Kallgren, Revahl, and Hultman (2009). When Daniel was given the example of governments encouraging an 80% CO₂ reduction he states that this would not influence him to change his travel behaviour; his strength of feeling was clear during the interview in the tone he used and in how certain he was in his answers:

“I wasn't party to the government putting together an objective to achieve an 80% reduction in carbon emissions and, as I've just said, I think the government need to persuade individuals and promote more energy-efficient ways of travel rather than simply say 'in 30 years you've got to reduce your travel'. I don't think that's realistic. ... I can't see that, unless it's a punitive measure where people are allowed so many miles travel per annum, I can't see it being enforceable.”

Lorenzi et al. (2007) also propose that behavioural change needs to be initiated by governments before individuals will act. Tom is of the same frame of mind as Daniel and thinks that efforts need to be made elsewhere before targeting tourism:

“You can pillory air travel because it is so seen as a more discretionary activity, does that mean it is only less valid or less justified? You know, I mean, if you have got a factory over there pumping out [a] load of CO₂ making widgets, then you have got a plane over there pumping out CO₂ taking people on holiday, is that more important?”

While they are not saying 'only me' they are suggesting that others are much worse than themselves, not just on an individual basis but also on an industry scale. This is particularly pertinent in Tom's case, as he owns a bus company which offers coastal tours to tourists and runs a shuttle service from the local airport. He has to follow environmental guidelines in his work but, at the same time, he also wants to grow his business and his profit margin.

Dennis provides a different perspective: “*it's one of the things where you think, well if the bus was running anyway, I'm not particularly adding to the carbon footprint; well, if nobody used the bus, we could say we'll suspend that service*”. Dennis considers that the: “*bus will run anyway.*” Other interviewees spoke of the 'plane flying anyway'. This gives an indication of part of Dennis's identity and of having a less extravagant lifestyle. Dennis's answer to the question about dream holidays was that his would be a train trip up to Scotland. Other people talk about round the world cruises or going to

distant places; Dennis would not enjoy that, he would just like to relive childhood experiences and have a more down to earth trip.

Dennis' love of trains appears to stem from his childhood, as his father worked on the railways and could get cheap travel for their holidays; he also acknowledges that he has links to the rail industry from his mother's side of the family. The fact that he says: "*the bus will run anyway*" indicates that he has less extravagant behaviour than many of the other interviewees. This is because status is implied with air travel (Gottdiener 2001) but bus travel can be viewed as "a mode of travel available to the less fortunate" (Guiver 2007, p.243). Dennis continues to say: "*I mean, there's obviously a slight increase in fuel consumption because of my weight but I don't think it would count for anything really because I'm not that heavy!! (laughs)*" This shows just how aware and conscientious he is, acknowledging that even his weight would cause an increase in fuel consumption.

Katherine also believes that before addressing the problems created by tourism, other areas should be looked at: "*what about all the electricity that we are burning, I think it's a very small amount that air travel contributes towards the carbon dioxide layer or global warming*". When she talks about the electricity that "we" are burning, she is including herself in the equation. However, in other parts of the interview, she states that: "*I have never used the tumble dryer ... I try not to have the heating on too high ... I am quite good at turning off lights and computers and things*". This demonstrates that she thinks she does try to conserve electricity. This response is quite different from many other interviewees who try to differentiate themselves away from others who people felt are wasting energy. She goes on to discuss many other efforts that she makes in order to be more environmentally concerned.

Rather than skirting round the issue, June openly states that she feels: "*the airline industry is being picked on*". She goes on to say:

"I would also want to know a broader view about what are the biggest users of energy, generally. Because, again, domestic behaviour has been targeted but not business behaviour, as far as I understand it. It seems a lot of what you read say, why keep talking to the individual domestically when a lot of the industries are still large consumers of carbon."

Research has suggested that tourism contributes approximately 5% of global CO₂ emissions (UNWTO-UNEP-WMO 2008), which is not an insignificant amount but, in most cases, the interviewees seemed unaware of exact figures. If June's ability to travel were to be limited, it would seriously undermine part of her identity. As discussed in chapter five, in order for her to perform her identity as a mother and a wife and to experience the connectedness associated with those identities, she needs to undertake travel.

Whitmarsh and O'Neil (2010) confirm that an environmental identity may be overridden by other identities, which I believe to be the case here. She is aware of the connection between climate change and tourism and this could cause some conflict given that she makes environmentally-friendly choices at home. This is not a surprising occurrence since Giddens (2009) acknowledges that many tourists will continue to participate in activities, which damage the environment despite being aware of the connection between tourism and climate change. Like most of the interviewees, she is able to list a number of things that she does in her everyday life, which could be considered environmentally friendly. However, unlike others (for example Penny), June does make a connection between her environmental identity and her family identity:

“My sons are pretty conscious of environmental issues, which I think is something you do as a parent, I know certainly my son is now cycling around London, which, errrrr, I know isn't a great idea but, on the other hand, it must mean that they're much more environmentally aware than I was.”

Samantha provides an alternative point of view to many of the other interviewees in her response to the question of whether she has thought about the link between holiday travel and climate change:

“Not really, I guess because I don't travel that often that it hasn't been at the forefront of my thinking; maybe if it travelled more I would consider.... no I wouldn't actually, that's a lie, I know that I would still carry on travelling regardless, which is very selfish [said quickly] but, no, I hadn't really given it a great deal of thought at all.”

Samantha is very environmentally aware and conscious of her impact. Here, she states that she has not considered the link between climate change and travel because she does not travel much; therefore, it is not applicable to her. However, she says that if had she

considered it, she would continue with her travel: “*regardless*”. She demonstrates a discomfort with this in two ways; firstly, by stating that she is selfish, as though by acknowledging this, it reduces the problem. Thorgersen (2011) states that selfishness is seen as the default human state and that there is nothing particularly shocking about describing someone as selfish. This acknowledgement of selfishness is a tactic used by many of the interviewees and will be discussed further in this chapter. Secondly, she says this quickly, almost trying to get it over and done with. In my early interviews, I felt that people could not make the connection between their personal travel and the environmental impacts. Here, I feel that Samantha (who was recruited through her links with Friends of the Earth) can make the connection but it will not alter her behaviour. This is in contrast to a study undertaken by Hares et al. (2010), who discuss an ‘awareness-attitude gap’.

Samantha, despite being environmentally committed at home, states that she had never considered the link between her tourism travel and climate change. Given her home commitment and knowledge of environmental matters, it is likely that she will be aware of the effect of her travel on the environment. This is evidenced through the discomfort displayed by describing herself as selfish and speaking very quickly. Therefore, contrary to the participants of Hares et al.’s study, she does not have an awareness-attitude gap, but one might suggest that there is a gap in her attitude and behaviour.

A world without travel would be poorer

Some interviewees used the explanation that they felt a reduction in travel would have detrimental effects on economies, on education and even on social acceptance cohesion. These perspectives came from some of the interviewees who appeared to be the most well read on the subject. That is to say, they stated they were well read but, in addition, their explanation of the issues relating to climate change were the most accurate and clearly explained. Two of the examples I give come from those who show a strong commitment at home but less regard for the environmental impact of travelling. In these cases, their viewpoint could be seen as dissonance mitigation. The final case, Martin, shows less of a home commitment so would be less likely to be experiencing dissonance. Richard and June are two of the interviewees who have a university education and this may play some part in their thought process, as Duroy (2005) suggests that education levels are linked to environmental commitment.

Martin does not talk about tourism or air travel specifically but he brings up the issues of how developing countries would survive if air travel was considerably limited. He feels that there would be substantial knock on effects of reducing air travel or imposing high taxes on the use of aeroplanes in trade:

“It may well be that flying green beans from Nairobi in the hold of a 747 makes these green beans very expensive, so I’ll stop buying them. But nothing is simple, the next thing you know all the people who are making green beans at the moment, they suddenly don’t have a job. So then we have to up the aid budget because Kenya’s got poor people who are starving; so nothing’s easy is it? If you think it through and it might actually be cheaper in overall terms to allow these folk to grow vegetables in Kenya and fly it to Europe because, at least, they’re employed and it’s a form of overseas aid.”

This may be his honest viewpoint or a strategy to justify his travel. When considering the finer details of this statement, Martin is actually considering the financial implications of the reduction of air travel. He is concerned about the prices of products increasing and the potential need to increase aid to countries affected by his hypothesis. He makes the situation real by using “I” when considering that people might stop buying products and also by using the example of a particular country. His argument is emotive and one can imagine the scenario well. His example of reasons not to impose a reduction in air travel is in line with his motivations for environmentally-friendly actions at home, which are all driven by financial implications rather than environmental concern, which is something that he acknowledges:

“I’m very conscious of water usage and I’ve got water butts all around the house, whether that’s because I’m being particularly green or whether it’s just because it costs me when I use a lot, probably a bit of both. And I’ve just bought, at some expense, I was fitting them this afternoon, led light bulbs, but that’s driven more by money.”

Martin is particularly sceptical of the possibility of being able to influence people through their concern for the environment; he believes that there must be some kind of financial incentive to instigate a behavioural change. *“People will respond if they can see a financial saving. They will respond possibly, but not so well if they can see that it’s just a nice thing to do. I think we are all perhaps a bit inherently selfish.”* In the first sentence, he is distancing himself, by talking about: *“people”* but then he includes himself as part of the collective in the second sentence by using: *“we”*. In Martin’s first interview, he presented himself as having a rebellious identity; by acknowledging his open ‘selfishness’ he is continuing with that presentation. Martin was not alone in his

‘selfishness’. Many of the others told me how they thought they were selfish. Jill argues:

“My only problem is purely selfishly, that my brother happens to live on an island [Australia] and I happen to live on an island and so when they have got their way around that problem, I am more than happy to go across Europe on a herd of elephants, you know [laughs].”

Jill’s problem is obviously a logistical issue; she lives in the UK and her brother lives in Australia. Hares et al. (2010) acknowledge, in some cases, lack of alternative methods of transport do affect decisions. In addition to logistics, there are also identity perspectives. We have discussed the case of June, who experiences a sense of connectedness during travel, which allows an identity performance not achievable at home. While I believe that this is also the case for Jill, I feel that there are other issues at play. Firstly, throughout her interviews, it was apparent that being a part of a community was important to her. This was something that was initiated in her childhood, by attending scrambling meetings with her family; this progressed through to present day where she attends festivals linked to environmental groups, such as the Transition network.

Horton (2003, p.66) states that “environmentalism is an important recipient of this contemporary search for new forms of community”. An additional element of this connectedness is that of network capital which Urry (2012, p.27) defines as “the capacity to engender and sustain social relations with those people who are not necessarily proximate and which generates emotional, financial and practical benefit.” It could be argued that Jill gains emotional benefit from sustaining social relations with other members of the community groups she belongs to. While the attendance of Transition events is in contrast with her willingness to fly, Horton (2003) states that to a certain extent, there can be contrasting performances of identity, as long as they can be ‘traded-off’ through various justifications. Horton (2003) describes the example of strong environmental activists who justify their use of a car because they need it for work purposes and can then trade off the emissions with changing their bed sheets less often. This trade-off seems to be what Jill is doing here, as she talks about other ‘green’ things she does to make up for the fact that she will still fly.

Given that Jill demonstrates a strong environmental commitment alongside a willingness to fly, we should take heed of Whitmarsh and O'Neil's (2010) warning that there is a danger when dissonance occurs that people will change their environmental attitude to match their behaviour. In Jill's case, this would result in a dilution of her environmental identity.

When asked how important it is for her to be environmentally friendly, Stephanie has this to say:

"I would say it's important to be environmentally friendly but probably, if I'm honest, for me personally, I don't think it's very important ... so I would say I'm not very environmentally friendly [said quietly]. Buuuuut, I think it's important for other people to be environmentally friendly [laughs] but not me."

This use of: "*if I'm honest*" indicates that what follows is a dispreferred answer (Edwards and Fasulo 2006). This is the same concept that was discussed in chapter four in relation to Claire. In Claire's case, the answer was dispreferred to her; she did not want to admit something to herself. However, in the case of Stephanie, I think this is an example of being aware of the narrator-audience relationship; she believes that this will be a dispreferred answer for me. While I made every endeavour not to influence the interviewees in any way and to remain completely impartial, the fact that the topic of this interview is the environment indicates that I am, at the very least, interested in the subject matter, perhaps even concerned. I feel that this is likely to be the case given some of Stephanie's responses to other questions. When asked about her home endeavours, she openly acknowledges that she does the very minimum of what is expected and only because she was 'forced' into it by the local council changing their refuse collection system.

Many interviewees mention undertaking certain behaviour in order to ease their environmental conscience. Katherine says:

"Some of the companies I go with, they do collect extra to offset and they pay it to some Carbon Offsetting thing so I suppose I am already doing it. I think that's the way if you are going to do it, if you are going to, so that people can still travel and travel with a conscience."

Horton (2003) believes that behaviour against the identity norm is done 'guiltily' with

the acknowledgement that it is not good for the identity. Identities are thus negotiated with attention being paid to what is good or bad practice. When considering his reasons for not using a hire car at a destination he has flown to, Dennis' viewpoint is similar to Katherine's: "*Yes, there are other factors as well. But I think it is sort of helps our conscience (laughs) to say well look we probably don't need to hire a car.*" This is part of Horton's (2003) trade-off concept but also relates to living by a 'green' identity script. In this identity performance (Goffman 1959), some parts of the script may be broken up to a certain point from which there is no return (Horton 2003).

Many interviewees believe that reducing travel would mean an increase in hostilities between nations or, at the very least, a reduction in cultural understanding which has been developed over the years (UNWTO 2012). Daniel demonstrates his view of the importance of visiting other countries and a reason why he would be unwilling to reduce travel:

"I'd like to tour a bit more extensively in France; I'd like to understand a bit more about the culture and perhaps try to see why the French view us in the way they do and vice versa. My experience of the French has been very good up until now and, to me, the common view of the French seems to be a bit misplaced from my experience."

Richard has similar views to Daniel: "*I think it helps international friendship, it helps break down barriers*". He suggests that his travel benefits local communities but he shows that he does not think this about all tourism because he does not class himself as a typical tourist:

"Last year when we went to the south of India, there were no tourists there; it was all pilgrims ... We weren't regarded as tourists, we were regarded as visitors to the temple and they knew we weren't Indians but we were welcome and we were causing far less disruption to them than all the other people."

He believes: "*mass tourism where big companies are making big money out of people just getting on a plane and getting dumped somewhere*" is damaging. His strong views about the difference between tourist and traveller types would allow him to continue travelling whilst having a lifestyle at home that was committed to sustainability. These views allow him to deal with any dissonance experienced in contrasting values and identity. The identity issue here is an implication of status connected to being a traveller rather than a tourist. This ties back to the discussion in chapter 5 where

Richard and others were reluctant to be labelled tourists, as it was important for their identity and presentation of self that they were seen as travellers. When asked what the ability to be able to travel when and where she wanted meant to her, Stephanie gave a response that was a clear indicator of the role that identity can play in travel decisions:

“It would mean a great deal, I guess that would kind of mean that, I suppose looking from the position where I am not there, it would mean I’ve made it, it was kind of like an end goal kind of thing; you know, like you were successful so therefore to be able to travel whenever you wanted means that you have such success that you are financially able to do it and also able to free up the time; I mean, I wouldn’t have to go to work anymore [laughs] that would be great.”

Gössling and Nilsson’s (2010) assertion is that travel is used as an identity status marker. In their research, they suggest that status is implied through the promotion of long haul and exotic travel using strategies, such as VIP lounges and frequent flyer programmes. Here Stephanie would use travel to demonstrate her success and wealth, in terms of money and time. This status symbol is something that she feels she has not yet achieved. Stephanie’s assertion that she is: *“looking at it from a position where I am not there”* is an indication of insecurity. During both her interviews, I felt that was a part of her character. She made lots of jokes, laughed a lot and made self-deprecating comments which indicated insecurity in what she was saying. Brouwer et al. (1979) suggest that insecurity can be gauged through repetitions, hesitations correcting oneself, and asking questions, all of which were evident in Stephanie’s interview.

Penny feels that her physical presence in a destination brings it to life and can create meaning:

“I have taught different cultures from text books and certainly I regret not having been to Pompeii before I did because, having taught that period in history, it just brought it to life and I feel it would have brought so much more to my teaching having had that experience”.

Penny’s daughter has made the same trip. Not only can the experience of a place add to her ability as a teacher, but the fact that her daughter has had the same experience (also from the perspective of a teacher) brings a shared understanding to enhance their relationship (Edwards and Middleton 1986).

June feels that tourism can bring economic wealth to the country that is visited and cultural wealth to those making the trips:

“Tourism of course brings great wealth to some very poor countries ... you can see in some nations, some wealthy nations ... whose youth don’t travel ... to a certain extent they seem less worldly, less understanding of other nations.”

She describes this subject in detail and concludes by stating that it is: “*a complicated argument*”. It is known that when concepts are too complicated to understand, rather than try to process the complexities, individuals will often gloss over them (Stoll-Kleeman et al. 2001). This was acknowledged by Martin earlier. June’s presentation of self here is of someone who has travelled, has an understanding of others and is therefore differentiated and perhaps ‘better’ than those in: “*some wealthy nations*” who do not travel. She, like many of the other interviewees, is presenting a cosmopolitan identity, awareness of cultural knowledge and of poverty and disadvantage, which presents an educated, well-travelled view which has hints of British colonialism (Palmer 1994). This positionality highlights the relevance of studying mobilities which rather than alleviate inequalities, can create them (Sheller and Urry 2006; Shaw and Hesse 2010).

Following on from the concern for other nations is the idea of the growth of developing countries. This idea was approached from a number of angles. Firstly, Martin takes the stance that developing countries are only just going through their growth stage and it would not be right to put limitations on them. Countries like China and India have such high levels of poverty that reducing carbon emissions would not be high on their list of priorities. He believes that developed countries, such as the United Kingdom, have the luxury of not having anything better to worry about. He also feels that while we should not put limitations on their development, it would be hard for us to then make a significant contribution to reducing carbon emissions: “*if you look at the amount of cement that China is pouring every day to expand their infrastructure, there’s no chance that Britain can do anything that is going to have a meaningful effect*”.

Tom is in agreement that it would not be right to stifle the growth of developing countries:

“I am very conscious of the development, the developing world and their right to what we take for granted and our, we can’t just say to them, ‘oh no, you can’t do this, you can’t do that because of what’, we’ve had all that ... You know they have got a right to do that and I think, yes, we must tread very carefully if you start dictating to these countries.”

To put this opinion in a tourism perspective, Tom acknowledges that, as China develops, more of its citizens will be in a position to travel and, again, this should not be prevented because the developed world has already had these opportunities. He also acknowledges that, being in the tourism industry; he has a vested interest in the growth of tourism: “*that’s what I want to see, you know, I’ve got a payroll to pay and people to think about*”. Tom tries to make light of any contribution that his business actions may have on climate change:

“it’s a pretty solid, good offer, you know, we are not selling fags to kids outside school gates or nuclear warheads to Iran or anything; it’s all fun, it’s positive and it’s a kind of growing industry or will continue to grow, so it’s a good fun thing to be a part of”.

The point in the interview where he says this is just after a long discussion of the impact of China’s industrial growth and of an increase in Chinese people travelling. He seems aware of the consequences and yet tries to play down his own contribution through tourism. This is a clear example of dissonance. He is environmentally aware and concerned, yet he needs to validate his business. By comparing his business to activities, such as providing children with cigarettes or trading arms, he is differentiating himself (and his business) through comparison. By using activities which are disapproved of in his comparison, he is able to justify his activities which he knows to be environmentally damaging. This action of self-affirmation is thought to reduce dissonance: “self-affirmation eliminated dissonance by somehow reducing the sting-to-the-self that results from dissonant behaviour” (Steele and Liu 1983).

Whose responsibility is it anyway?

The idea of taking responsibility was an issue that was considered by many of the interviewees. There are several angles that this topic could be approached from. Penny states that environmentally-friendly actions should be something that everybody gets involved in: “*it is very important and I feel it’s very important that **everybody** tries hard to do it because, you know, who knows where the resources will come from in the future.*” However, as discussed earlier, her efforts will only go so far as she would be

unwilling to give up travel. *“I have to be honest, we’re both 60 plus now and this is the selfish side; we think we’ve got to see these places before we get old and frail and are unable to do it.”* These two statements indicate that Penny is experiencing some amount of dissonance. She believes that everybody should make an effort but ‘selfishly’ she would like to keep travelling. It is possible to suggest that she is experiencing conflict here because of the parenthetical phrase: *“I have to be honest”* which, as previously highlighted, is a phrase used to precede a dispreferred answer (Edwards and Fasulo 2006).

Going back, Penny’s initial comment was that it should be a group responsibility. This is echoed by Katherine, who also says: *“I think everybody has to do their bit, haven’t they? I know it’s not much what one person does but I think it’s important that we do.”* Katherine also admits she is not as environmentally friendly as she could be but she does make some effort. However, it is possible to see that she does have commitment to green issues because she finishes the sentence by talking about ‘we’, which is inclusive; she is not trying to distance herself from the problems. However, later in the interview, when her freedom to travel is hypothetically challenged, she does appear to become defensive, insisting that she did not travel much when she was younger and that other areas would be better targeted:

“I didn’t fly off round the world when I was younger and ... I do my bit here ... when you think of all the lights that are wasted and the street lights that are on and I think, well you know, if they cut down I might [consider changing travel behaviour] but until they make an effort to, people make an effort to turn things down a bit. I mean you walk around, don’t you, and you see such a waste of electricity and energy.”

As with Penny, Katherine shows some commitment but then backtracks, placing the responsibility with others rather than the ‘we’ that she initially spoke of. Stuart describes climate change as being a: *“build-up of CO₂ in the atmosphere which is being caused, probably, by activities by men, by humans, by ourselves.”* He is stating that there is a collective responsibility for the causes of climate change and he is not only placing himself in that collective but also his audience with the use of *“ourselves”*. He suggests that it is not just his responsibility, or others, but I also play a part in the process. Stuart was one of the more active in his environmentally-friendly endeavours and his view on responsibility is fitting.

Reece presents himself as someone who is concerned with the environment and he makes efforts at home; however, when considering responsibility for actions, he takes a step back and places accountability with Government: *“I feel that there should be a stronger, you know, political will to incentivise or penalise accordingly ... and I just don't think it's there.”* By stating that the Government has a duty to manage society's actions, he is taking any blame away from himself and therefore easing any guilt he may have. This tactic becomes clearer when he goes on to say: *“Governments should really be focussing their efforts rather than sort of fretting about, you know, air travel and stuff.”* Taking this standpoint allows him to have environmental concern and still continue to travel, particularly by air.

It is of consideration that Stuart works for a local council in their town planning department and has input into public transport systems and has a vested interest in sustainable transport. Beth holds similar views to Stuart in that she is committed to acting in an environmentally friendly manner yet she is placing some of the responsibility with the government:

“... are people prepared to make that commitment [to stop flying] if no-one else is, and I think what is especially difficult for people, and I find really, really, difficult, in the sense of I can make a personal sacrifice but when I have got a Government that claims to be it's the greenest ever Government but then is clearly making choices which are totally counter-intuitive to that. I think also from the Treasury; we seem to have a Treasury that is really focussed on economic growth with no understanding that it could be based on green growth is incredibly frustrating and de-motivating in terms of trying to make better individual choices. And I sense there is a need for a kind of Government to more set a precedent, so that is why it is important for us all to be doing.”

Beth shows her frustration at making individual efforts when others in society and the Government are not showing the same levels of commitment. She had previously demonstrated dissonance in her travel choices through a conflict in her identities; that of being someone with a concern for environmental issues, as well as a new wife not wanting to stifle her husband's opportunities. Her identity issues, coupled with the fact that she feels the Government is not playing its part, explains why she is placing responsibility elsewhere. This offers explanation for why it would be very difficult for her to change her travel behaviour. Martin has a conflicting point of view to Beth and Stuart:

“I’m an anti-legislation person. I don’t want somebody, some individual who happens to be in a position of authority, not necessarily through his own or her ability, telling me I cannot fly to Mexico because it creates 1.3 tonnes of CO₂; that’s my decision, give me the information.”

This statement not only suggests that Martin believes responsibility should lie with the individual rather than governments or groups but it also confirms an earlier assessment of Martin as being a rebel against authority. Martin’s willingness to take individual responsibility could also be based on the fact that he demonstrates some scepticism towards climate change. *“I don’t believe it particularly, the world has always gone through cycles of warming and cooling ...”* He makes some efforts that could be considered to be environmentally friendly but admits that these are based on financial motivations rather than concern for the environment. He also feels that he does not travel: *“that much”* so therefore would not need to make any real effort to change behaviour and would not need to ease any guilt.

Information, governments and taxes

Interviewees suggested that more information about climate change and its causes was needed and that the government should be responsible for providing this information. In contrast, they also demonstrated an inherent mistrust of governments. I posed the question about reducing emissions by 80% and the implications this had for households. In doing so, I used the example of a return flight to Mexico producing 1.3 tonnes of CO₂ per person. If an individual were to take this flight, it would leave their household only 0.7 tonnes of CO₂ to keep in line with the recommended 80% reduction. In many cases, this produced an anti-government reaction with more than one person sarcastically mentioning that we currently have: *“the greenest government ever (laughter) sorry”* (Stuart).

Beth echoed this sentiment, noting that she felt disillusioned by a Government which claims to be the greenest ever but makes decisions that go against that claim. Despite her misgivings, she feels that there is a need for the government to set precedents for individual behaviour; this could be a justification technique. She holds quite strong environmental beliefs, yet, by her own admission, the last year has been: *“very flight heavy”*. She could be using the fact that the Government is not leading by example as a way to excuse her recent travel behaviour. Martin thinks it could be possible to make

flying more expensive and that would put people off. At the same time, he is sceptical of taxes and how they are being used:

“You could probably make it more expensive if you wanted, ... I mean, this current air passenger duty, errrrr, again makes me a little bit angry because it’s actually just the government lifting money, where that money actually goes, it goes into the big pot and gets chucked away at the latest fancy scheme; yet, its dressed up as a green thing: ‘oh we’re doing it to save the planet’ rubbish; you’re doing it to get more money.”

Many of the interviewees thought that being green was just simply too expensive; they were interested in being greener and would be if the prices were not so prohibitive. Jill had even looked into getting a Biomass heater installed in her house but had found out that, although it was more environmentally friendly and would be an investment, environmentally and financially, it would cost approximately £10,000 to install, which simply was not feasible. Daniel also feels that it is simply too expensive to make ‘the right choices’: *“too many recycled products are actually dearer than normal products and I think that situation has to change to offer some sort of inducement to individuals to go along that route”*. He feels that it is not just an issue of products being too expensive for consumers; he also believes that companies are financially penalised: *“I think that is an issue to be addressed by governments in terms of weighting of taxation or providing tax benefits to manufacturers of recycled materials which enables them to keep their costs down.”* Stoll-Kleemann et al. (2001, p.107) propose that there are “psychological devices that people select to justify the emotional dissonances they can experience.” The dissonances that Stoll-Kleemann et al. speak of occur when people realise that they need to change their behaviour but that this challenges their preferred consumption patterns or lifestyle choices. They propose that voicing mistrust in governments is one of denial mechanisms.

Lorenzoni et al. (2007) and Hares et al. (2010) also acknowledge that many mechanisms such as placing responsibility with governments, claiming that they should enforce more stringent taxation systems and stating that the cost of being environmentally friendly is prohibitive to action.

Technology will save the day

Many interviewees referred to the idea that technological advances will provide a solution for reducing CO₂ emissions. They had faith that scientists would come up with something that would mean they could continue flying but it would be less damaging. This raises the question as to whether the interviewee actually believed that technology will provide an answer or whether this was another justification strategy. If they could convince themselves that there will be a technological solution, this would permit them to continue their current behaviour. Martin is an extreme example of this:

“I don’t think we’re going to ruin the planet, we might have problems, we’ll always have problems, but technology will come to our aid [said enthusiastically]. Sort out hydrogen powered cars and solar energy and nuclear energy, I’m afraid I’m a believer in nuclear energy.”

Not only does he have faith in technology but he is also demonstrating a denial of the irreversible damage that is happening to the environment. His initial enthusiasm drops off slightly when he acknowledges that: *“because technology costs money to develop, the problem has to be acute before technology will come to the rescue... nobody is going to bother until they can see a financial benefit in doing so.”* There is also a contradictory point in this second quote where he is talking about the need for the problem to be acute before action is taken. Initially he stated that we would not: *“ruin the planet”*. The contrast in these statements shows that there is an element of denial in his beliefs. This denial is also evident in the following example from Penny, who shows why reliance on technology can be seen as a coping mechanism: *“I suppose it’s selfish in a way too; oh, we’d love to have holidays and, at the same time, worrying about the environment. Who knows what might happen in the future with you know, new technology”*. Stuart’s opinion differs to that of both Martin and Penny:

“There is the sort of view that technology will triumph and somebody will come up with something which will mean that we won’t need to burn CO₂ or whatever, but I’m not convinced at the moment. And I don’t think it is a sort of safe solution just to sort of sit back and say ‘don’t worry we will sort ourselves out, technology will triumph in the end’.”

This statement illustrates Stuart’s embedded environmental values. He does not need to rely on the justification techniques that others use because he believes that he is doing everything he can to not cause damage (although he is still flying). This belief may or may not be founded in truth but, for Stuart, there is no dissonance which needs levelling

out. His realism might come from the fact that he has driven electric cars and, while they are a 'technological' solution at the moment, he does not feel that they are an adequate alternative. Stuart's realism that technology will not save the day has been relatively unique in my interviews. However, others have demonstrated the same kind of pessimism by believing that the damage has already been done. Stuart states that: "*if the scenarios that have been considered at the moment come true, then it does seem to me to be a bleak future.*" His non-reliance on technology could be attributed to a lack of dissonance. His 'green identity' is strong both at home and when he travels; there is not any conflict.

Stuart's environmental concern is evidenced in the fact that he was recycling before his local council introduced bins and compulsory recycling. He acknowledges that this comes from his profession:

"I suppose the profession might, the planning professions we sort of, it's one of the things we're charged with doing is to ensure that whatever is built doesn't harm the environment; we're not always successful but there are probably lots of examples of things that have been a disaster but, yes, I suppose that's been our philosophy for some time."

Stuart's presentation of self appeared to be the most consistent out of all of the participants. There is the possibility that consistency and reliability form part of Stuart's identity and that this is one of the reasons why his home and away identities are in harmony.

Summary

This chapter has presented the various strategies that people use to ease the dissonance experienced by conflicting identities. In 2001, Stoll-Kleeman et al. published work that documented the mechanisms that people adopted in instances of dissonance. Their research is twelve years old but proves to still be relevant as my data support many of their assertions. Previous research looking at the gap between environmental attitudes and behaviours has failed to propose a suitable solution to bridge the gap; Stets and Biga (2003) suggest that this is because these studies have not taken into account individuals' identities. This chapter has looked at the methods people have used to explain why the environmental attitudes they have at home do not translate into their travel behaviour. These justification strategies are not dissimilar to those found in other

studies; however, I have taken into account the underlying identity issues which have been presented in previous chapters. Stets and Biga (2003) suggest that multiple identities cannot exist without conflict (dissonance) and, for this reason, identities are arranged hierarchically and there will be some that are more salient than others in any given moment. More often than not, it is the environment-related identity that is pushed into the background.

Justification strategies included casting doubt on current climate change theories. By presenting the facts as uncertain, it allowed for a continuation of previous/current unsustainable travel behaviour. All interviewees demonstrated some degree of environmental commitment at home. It was widely acknowledged that anything that could be done to be environmentally friendly in day-to-day life was only a positive thing. They felt that their 'good behaviour' at home allowed them some leeway to spend CO₂ when they travelled. Other than their home actions, they also had a number of other justifications which potentially eased their guilt at their personal contribution to climate change. Another way of easing guilt was to question their responsibility to change behaviours; some implied that Governments should take the lead and enforce a behavioural change and that they would welcome an increase in taxes. This would either prevent them from travelling so frequently or would mean that money could be spent relieving the problem. Those who demonstrated more commitment to environmentally-friendly activities at home used these defence strategies more because they were the most threatened by the conflict in their identities. In order to explain the conflict in identities and the necessity of these justification strategies, reference was made to various identity perspectives discussed in previous chapters, such as presentation of self, possible self, status through travel and connectedness and family identity.

The next chapter will provide a conclusion to the thesis by presenting the contribution to knowledge. It will also state areas of future research and limitations of the research. Finally, I will present my reflections on the research process.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Introduction

The aim of this research was to enhance the understanding of the role played by personal identity in tourism mobility and the findings presented in the previous chapters begin to fill the gap in knowledge in this area. I have approached the topic from an alternative angle to other authors who have undertaken research into identity and tourism. Existing research demonstrates that tourism can be used as a means of self-discovery (Desforges 2000; Noy 2004a; Cohen 2010); whereas my research approaches from the perspective that existing identities can influence tourism mobility significantly. However, I should state that these are not two separate elements; I view them as two stages of an iterative process.

My findings indicate that identity plays a significant role in people's travel decisions; however, this role is relatively overlooked in tourism and goes some way to explaining why some environmental policies and/or marketing campaigns might fail. This is because identity is a strong force that overrides other potential factors. This chapter summarises my findings and presents a conceptual framework that was developed in order to help demonstrate the significance of the findings and their contribution to knowledge. A review of the objectives follows, making clear how they have been addressed within the research. The chapter continues by presenting the implications of the research and suggests areas of further research. After discussion of the limitations of the research, reflections on the research process are presented from my point of view.

Review of objectives

The ways in which the aim and objectives of the research are met are set out below and this is followed by a full discussion of the findings in the context of their contribution to knowledge:

- (1) To examine travel 'life histories' as mechanisms to explore identity formation and resultant identity markers in a tourism context.
 - Travel life histories allowed the elicitation of narratives containing numerous identity markers and, due to the temporal nature of the life history, the

‘evolving’ person can be identified within the narrative. It is also possible to see the evolving travel patterns. Examination of travel life histories provided the opportunity to understand the role of personal identity in tourism mobility.

- (2) To explore the ways in which identity may influence a person’s evolving tourist travel behaviour.
 - Following analysis of the narratives, it is possible to observe the numerous identity-related issues which directly influenced the interviewees’ tourist travel behavior; for example, fateful moments; possible selves and relationships. Data presented in chapters four, five, and six demonstrate that different identities will be stronger at different times and there is often the need for a negotiation of identities.
- (3) To analyse the manner in which home identities are presented in relation to away identities.
 - I have uncovered instances where home identities were in conflict with away identities. Interviewees dealt with the dissonance resulting from the conflict by negotiating this within the narratives. It is evident that multiple identities existed and there was a need for interviewees to negotiate the identities when home and away differed.
- (4) To analyse how the identities of people embedded in highly mobile lifestyles are constructed or negotiated in the light of current debates on climate change.
 - Participants did not fully acknowledge that they had highly mobile lifestyles – others were always ‘worse’; i.e., others travelled more. They coupled this with other justification strategies, such as the recycling they did at home, to allow for their CO₂ expense. Most people noted that they would not voluntarily give up travel; this would have to be enforced. The fact that they discussed this meant they were aware of the connection between climate change and travel. Identities were negotiated internally, but the negotiation was visible in the narratives and achieved through the use of justification strategies.

Contribution to knowledge

Previous research looking at identities and tourism has suggested that people can undertake travel in order to ‘find themselves’ (e.g., Noy 2004a). This is carried out as a rite of passage that allows an individual to discover or create their ‘real self’ (Crompton 1979). While I do not aim to undermine these theories or the work undertaken by these authors, I propose (and my research supports) that an individual’s identity exists before it is ‘discovered’ through travel experiences. I accept that travel can result in a person ‘finding themselves’, as the trip can act as a fateful moment. Identities are constantly being negotiated and re-negotiated and travel will play a role in this. However, my findings suggest that identities play a significant role in our decisions whether or not to undertake certain forms of travel and holidays. Identities form part of the idiosyncratic characteristics that make us who we are; they are active in all elements of our lives.

The literature states that it is possible to have concurrent multiple identities (e.g., Palmer 1999); however, certain identities will be more dominant at times, depending on many factors, such as the situation we are in, who we are with, and not with, and even the person we think we might become (Morgan 1993). Therefore, identities are multi-faceted and my findings reflect this. It is possible to use consumption choices as a ‘prop’ to help us present our current or future selves (Onkvisit and Shaw 1987; Belk 1988; Horton 2003). Desforges (2000) states that by understanding an individual’s identity, we are better placed to understand their present and future tourism consumption.

Currently, society views high consumption of travel as a positive occurrence, as an indication of status (Gössling and Nilsson 2010; Urry 2012). This is creating a problem for the mitigation of travel-related CO₂ emissions. Concern for the environment has grown over recent years and it is thought that in order to prevent a global temperature increase of 2°C, CO₂ consumption needs to be reduced by 80% of the 1990 levels (DECC 2008). Tourism contributes to roughly 5% of global emissions and air travel accounts for the largest share of the sector’s emissions (UNWTO-UNEP-WMO 2008). Options for reducing tourism-related emissions include technological solutions, which, although promising, will not achieve absolute reduction in line with international efforts (Scott et al. 2010). Behavioural change is thought necessary for achievement of significant reductions (Gössling and Peeters 2007; Scott et al. 2010). However, change

is proving difficult to instigate. Although people are aware of climate change and undertake environmentally-friendly activities at home, they continue with unabated travel behaviours (Giddens 2009). The assumption that individuals who show environmental concern at home will modify other behaviours, such as travel, has not been proven correct (Dickinson and Dickinson 2006; Steg and Vlek 2009; Schwanen and Lucas 2011). It is at this point that we should remind ourselves of Desforges' (2000) statement that understanding identities can lead to a better understanding of tourism consumption.

This study provides an insight into identities and the role they play in tourists' travel decisions. It highlights the existence of multiple identities and their contextual nature, as well as showing that encouraging behavioural change in tourism-related travel will prove difficult unless identities are taken into account. The contribution to knowledge is discussed under three main emergent thematic headings, which are reflected in the previous findings chapters and similarly reflect the objectives of the research.

The narrated self

This study shows that our 'self' consists of multiple identities and they can be presented through narratives of travel. It highlights that identities are created, maintained and reinforced through the telling of stories, either to an audience or to oneself (Smith and Sparkes 2006). The person telling the story chooses what information to present or what role to perform (Goffman 1959) and this relates to the self they wish to present. Identities can be chosen and presented according to the audience (Goffman 1959); therefore, the identities presented will be contextual to the setting the narrator finds themselves in. This makes identity creation and presentation a process of co-creation between the storyteller and the audience. Stories of self can be derived from many topics (Holstein and Gubrium 2000); the narratives about travel life history collected for this research are rich with identity markers and multiple presentations of self. The narrators were able to choose their particular stories, dependent on the self they wanted to present. This study found that, on occasion, it would be clear that people were telling stories in order to present a particular self but the finer details would not match up with the aimed for self.

It is evident from the findings that people undertook travel because of possible selves, the 'self' that an individual imagines they will become in the future, either positive or negative (Markus and Nurius 1986). This occurs when an individual makes an assessment of themselves and the possibilities and opportunities that may befall them. The literature states that possible selves can be catalysts for behaviour change; this is because they motivate the individual to approach or avoid the possible self (Desforges 2000).

This study contains clear examples of people having modified their behaviour, which impacted upon their travel behaviour; more often than not, it was to avoid a negative possible self that created a behaviour change. This has also been found in other areas; for example, people have been motivated to lose weight because of a possible imagined self. They do not imagine a thin possible self, they are acting to avoid being the fat possible self (Grandberg 2006). Hoyle and Sherrill (2006) disagree with the notion that negative possible selves are a stronger motivator for change; however, all my data on this area suggests it was a negative possible self that led to change. This study makes a clear contribution to knowledge by highlighting the significance of identities, particularly possible selves, to tourism-related decisions. This is of particular importance when considering how to instigate behavioural change.

Another major theme evident from the findings is the incidence of fateful moments, which occur when an event in an individual's life challenged their ontological security and caused them to study and re-evaluate themselves. It is at this point that change in behaviour may occur (Giddens 1991). Examples of fateful moments included events such as accidents, the death of a friend or a divorce. I propose that a fateful moment can lead to possible selves through the process of reflexive thought. When a significant event occurs, it causes the individual to imagine possible selves and to take action to avoid or achieve a particular self. This study finds that fateful moments did lead to possible selves and this is shown to have an impact on people's travel behaviour and directly influence their travel choice. I suggest that the concept of possible selves is relatively unexplored in the literature in terms of motivations for travel and it should be taken into future consideration given the evidence presented in this thesis.

Relationships: the effect of significant others

Through the course of the interviews and subsequent analysis, it became apparent that relationships are a major theme of the research. This study highlights that relationships play a key role in shaping identities and influencing ensuing travel decisions. Previous literature suggests links between relationships and identity (e.g., Anderson and Chen 2002) and relationships and travel (e.g., Rickly-Boyd 2010); however, little is documented on the role of identity based upon relationships and how these influence travel decisions.

VFR travel occupies a significant section of tourism literature (e.g., Moscardo et al. 2000) so it was of little surprise that, during the travel life history narratives, there were numerous instances of interviewees undertaking VFR travel. Consequently, I find that VFR travel enables the maintenance of identities. By visiting a significant other, an individual is able to assert their particular identity based upon that relationship. VFR travel can create a home from home, thereby creating the feeling of security when a tourist is, in fact, far from home. This allows desired identities, which may not be prominent at home, to be acted out whilst on holiday.

Holidays also allow people to act out identities in a way that is not possible at home; for example, they can be a 'proper' family (Small 2002). This means that identities which are stifled at home can be fulfilled when away. Holidays bring people closer physically, emotionally and psychologically in a way that modern living does not often allow (Heimtun and Jordan 2011). Daily life is contingent on various commitments and often stops families being together. This research highlights holidays being able to foster a sense of intimacy, which can cement relationships and reinforce identities. My data also demonstrates that tourism can be used to reinforce or create a sense of belonging. Belonging is important to identities because all identities are based upon an understanding of 'me', 'them', and 'us'. As Turner et al. (2006) state, in order to understand a self, there must be an understanding of 'others'. This is also based on group membership and the idea of 'in groups' and 'out groups'. Tourism is used as a mechanism for sharing stories and emotional exchanges; it enables the participant to become involved in and maintain social bonds that may not be available to them at home.

Having discussed positive identity issues, it is pertinent to emphasise that this study also highlights negative experiences, such as conflict whilst on holiday. Holidays do not always go to plan, which is noted by my interviewees, and this is also discussed in literature (e.g., Rapoport 2001). It would therefore be beneficial to look at the reasons why things go wrong and exactly what this means for our identities.

Things can go wrong during our holidays that we cannot control, such as the weather, a car breaking down or the hotel not meeting expectations. These instances alone are enough to raise stress levels and create tension and conflict; however, holidays also add an element of increased physical and emotional contact that is not always present in modern life. Such closer proximity can lead to conflict. Being in unfamiliar surroundings also means changes to routines and territory; issues that have been carefully negotiated at home now have to be re-negotiated (Rosenblatt and Russell 1975). This creates conflict because people have to re-negotiate their place and associated identities. Holidays are 'supposed' to be fun and relaxing and, most importantly, they are supposed to be successful (Gram 2005). A considerable amount of time and money is usually invested in a holiday so it should 'work' (Löfgren 2008). When families experience things going wrong on holiday, their family identity can be threatened, as many people fear that a failed holiday equates to a failed family, friendship, or relationship (Gram 2005).

Some literature suggests that interviewees would be unwilling to discuss such holiday failure for fear of exposure (Deem 1996). However, my findings indicate that people were willing to discuss this issue with me, perhaps because the incident was in the past and had been overcome. None of the interviewees spoke of unresolved conflict during their holidays.

The final section of the relationships chapter involves what I have termed 'the reluctant traveller'. This refers to those individuals who undertook travel for the benefit of their significant other, in order to fulfil identity roles, such as a spouse or parent. This study found that some people see the responsibilities associated with an identity as more important than their own desire for travel. This is linked to the literature on the relational self (e.g.; Anderson and Chen 2002), in which people view themselves in relation to their significant other. This study shows that significant others cause

individuals (perhaps unintentionally) to moderate their behaviour in order to meet perceived expectations (Shah 2006). This is a clear example of how identities influence travel behaviour.

The plane will fly anyway

It was evident from the data that all interviewees were aware of the issue of climate change, but their knowledge levels varied (Dickinson et al. 2010). Many of them found it difficult to articulate their knowledge and reflected upon the complexity of the issue. A number of interviewees talked about the climate change ‘debate’ in some depth; they presented arguments from both sides, indicating their level of knowledge and suggesting that they were well-read on the subject. All interviewees had some level of environmental commitment at home but less so away from home. This research highlights the use of allusion to a debate, which could be seen as self-justification of the conflict between attitude and behaviour. Such a technique is something that has been well documented in previous research on dissonance (e.g., Stoll-Kleeman et al. 2001).

As was the case with their environmental knowledge, all interviewees demonstrated some form of environmentally-friendly behaviour at home but with varying degrees of commitment. Some people acknowledged they had begun to act in an environmentally-friendly manner but they were motivated by financial incentives rather than the environment. However, as acknowledged in the previous chapter, the financial benefits from acting sustainably could be a way of ‘normalising’ their environmentally-motivated behaviour. With the exception of one interviewee who had ceased to travel, interviewees’ away behaviour did not match their environmental commitment at home and this was something they openly acknowledged. They used various strategies to justify this difference in behaviour, which is congruent with other studies (see, for example, Lorenzoni et al. 2007; Barr et al. 2010; Dickinson et al. 2011).

These justification techniques demonstrated a discomfort over their conflicting identities, which was particularly true for those who had a strong ‘green’ identity at home. Strategies were used to explain why it is acceptable to travel despite being environmentally concerned. An explanation for this can be taken from looking at the earlier discussions involving relationships and the self. An individual’s identity, which travel facilitates, is stronger than their green identity; therefore, the motivations to

maintain the green identity are weaker than identity X (e.g., avoidance of a disabled identity or maintenance of an identity based on being a good spouse/parent). This is linked to the thought process where a person might consider undertaking travel in order to perform a certain identity; for example, 'I need to undertake this travel so that I don't become this person' or 'I need to undertake this travel so people will think of me as X'.

The argument that their green behaviour at home allowed them to undertake travel they knew would be environmentally damaging was not the only justification mechanism used. As presented in the previous chapter, there were numerous reasons why flying was 'essential' and why it is still acceptable to travel by air. One such reason was the notion that 'only I' alone would not make much difference. Even those individuals who were very environmentally minded did not think that their efforts would have an impact and many were unwilling to change their current travel behaviour (Barr et al. 2010). Some interviewees blamed others for being worse than them, thereby cancelling out their own good actions. This is a way of passing the blame or relieving guilt; i.e., 'if others are worse than me then my travel is ok'. These justifications are a way of dealing with the dissonance experienced over conflicting home and away behaviour. Horton (2003) suggests that parts of an identity script may be broken as long the general narrative is adhered to. This means that some behaviours of the identity narrative may not be compatible but can be 'allowed' as long as they are made (perhaps through justification techniques) to fit the general script.

The study finds that interviewees suggest the world would be an economically poorer place without travel, as some countries would not be able to survive without the income generated through tourism. It was also considered that the world would be culturally poorer without international travel and that a consequence of this would be less cultural understanding and knowledge, which would, in turn, lead to increased conflict. It is a basic but well-rehearsed argument that tourism brings economic as well as social benefit (UNWTO 2012). Interviewees also considered non-tourism related air travel, such as the import and export of vegetables; those countries relying on the export of goods would suffer if air travel were not permitted or became more highly taxed. The implication is that, by visiting poorer countries, the tourist is 'doing them a favour' and contributing to the development of that country, which overrides the negative impacts of air travel.

In a similar vein, many interviewees consider that developing countries should be allowed to develop, given that our society has had the privilege to do so already; this, in turn, means producing vast amounts of CO₂, as happened in the industrial revolution. I conclude that interviewees believe that developing countries are producing increasing amounts of CO₂; therefore, they regard it fair for them to continue their travel because it is insignificant in comparison with developing countries' emissions. In addition, China and India were singled out as being significant contributors to the production of CO₂, as they are going through considerable development. Interviewees feel that it is inappropriate for other countries to reduce their CO₂ levels whilst India and China are increasing their production of CO₂. This is another case of passing the blame and pointing fingers at others who are 'worse', or asking 'what difference will I make on my own?' This argument is used by people who are well-read on the subject and who make what they consider to be substantial 'green' efforts at home.

Another line of justification that interviewees took was to place responsibility with governments, as found in previous research (Stoll-Kleeman et al. 2001; Hares et al. 2010; Dickinson et al. 2011). This study finds that there is an overwhelming consensus that governments should be providing more information on the issue of climate change and the environment and that it was their responsibility to enforce initiatives, such as raising taxation for travel. However, there is a sense of cynicism amongst interviewees who are doubtful over the motives of initiatives, such as a 'green tax', as they feel that the money raised would not be used for environmental purposes. They also feel that in the wake of 'climategate' (Gill 2010; Nerlich 2010), the information that governments provide cannot be relied upon as being accurate. This strategy appears to be particularly defensive as, by placing the responsibility with others, it allows them to continue with their 'damaging' behaviour until told, or forced, not to.

In contrast, people feel that they would not like any enforcement of a reduction in travel and that the decision has to be theirs. There is some disagreement as to who should take responsibility. Some feel that the government should lead the way, whilst others think that it is for the individual to take action or that society as a whole should take responsibility and work together.

The final focus in this section is on technology saving the day; people will continue with current travel patterns because they anticipate a technological solution to the problem. The assumed ‘solution’ is that scientists will come up with something which means travel would no longer be a major contributor of CO₂. Only one person disagrees with the sentiment that technology is not an appropriate solution. This could be because his home and away green credentials are not in conflict; therefore, justification techniques to reduce dissonance are not needed.

The methods of justification discussed above have been found in other literature (see, for example, Stoll-Kleeman et al. 2001). I propose that justification methods are necessary to reduce the dissonance experienced by those with green identities at home but who put that identity to the back of their mind whilst on holiday, so that other identities can be dominant during travel.

Methodological contribution

An additional contribution can be found in the methodology used for this research. Narrative research is not common in tourism studies; therefore, I have set the scene for future work to consider this method more carefully. Data generated through this study is also innovative as there does not appear to be any studies which map a person’s travel life history. A narrative travel life history could be considered a good alternative to a longitudinal study. I have also learnt valuable lessons about the methodology which contribute to methodological knowledge. I believe that having a sample size of 24 was too high due to the amount of data generated by this type of research. I recommend that future narrative researchers should consider a much smaller sample and have the confidence to realise when they have sufficient data.

Conceptual framework

By considering my research findings, I have devised a conceptual framework to demonstrate the many identity issues at play at any given time which may predominate at different times and influence an individual’s travel (see Figure 7.1). The central, large, purple oval represents the individual and the smaller, blue ovals within it represent the notion that a person has multiple identities (Palmer 1999; Burke 2001; Stets and Biga 2003; Palmer 2005). The blue arrows reflect the external influences that

may impact on identities. These influences can help create or reinforce a particular identity, which may become dominant, depending on the situation (Turner et al. 2006). Individuals will follow particular travel behaviour in order to keep in line with a particular identity (Horton 2003).

My diagram indicates that the consequence will be a behaviour/action (red circles) because I feel there are two outputs which can be generated from an identity. I see an action as an immediate knee-jerk reaction that may be a one-off act, assisting temporary identity performance. Identity-resultant behaviour is something that would be more long term and a significant behaviour change. The external influences highlighted in Figure 7.1 are intended to be illustrative; the list is not viewed to be exhaustive; neither is the number of influences and outputs exhaustive. I include ‘media’ in the diagram despite a lack of discussion in the main body of the thesis; however, I consider it later in this section when talking about the implications of this research.

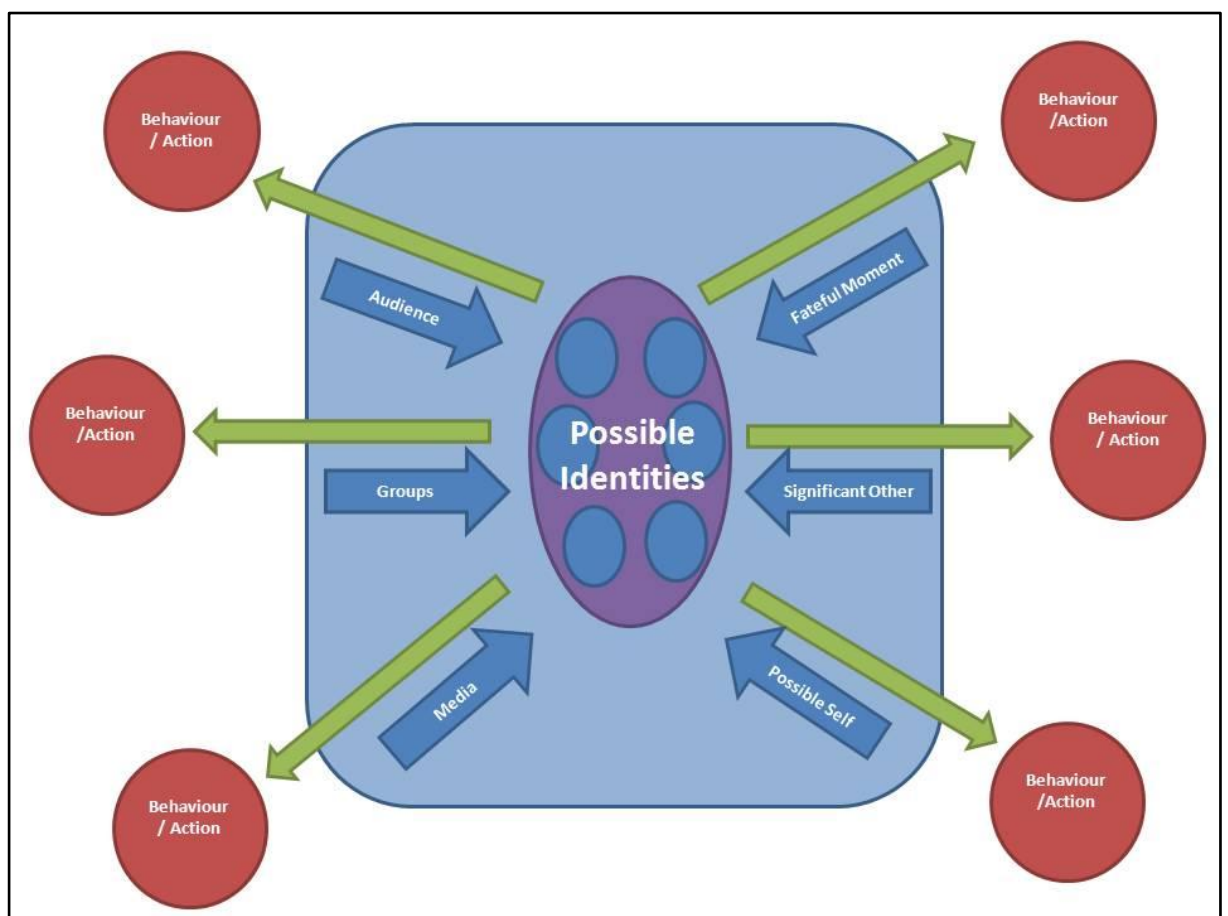


Figure 7.1: Conceptual framework: Travel and identity

Implications of the research

The findings of this thesis help to explain why previous policies promoting more environmentally-sustainable behaviour have not worked. Identities play such a large part in the decision-making process of tourists and override other factors, such as cost, environmental factors and, in some cases, personal choice. This research contributes to knowledge by demonstrating that identities play such a significant role in our behaviour and, therefore, suggesting it is unlikely that current measures to stimulate behavioural change in terms of environmental behaviour will succeed. For this reason, it is important that the role of identities in tourism travel is more fully understood.

Through this study, the role of identity issues, such as possible selves and relationships, is shown to be a significant factor in tourism mobility. This study shows that the role of possible selves in influencing travel decisions is particularly strong and is revealed to be a significant motivating factor in travel, possibly overriding other factors in decision-making processes. This is also true of the influence of relationships on identity. The ways in which we view ourselves in relation to other people and the impact of relationships on our identities play a role in influencing our travel behaviour. The most significant factors in this area are the role of relational selves and the notion of connectedness experienced through travel. The implications from this research's findings are that policy makers/marketers should capitalise on identity issues when creating policy/marketing strategy. They could promote identities, either by promoting positive identities or showcasing negative identities, to play on the possible selves' theory.

This study's findings have been presented at seven conferences (see appendix 8, p. lxvii) in order to communicate with academics in a variety of fields. I currently have one journal article published (see appendix 9, p. lxix) and another under review (see appendix 10, p. lxxxvi). In addition, there is potential for five further publications. A full list of intended publication outputs can be seen in appendix 11 (p. cxii). As an exploratory study the intention of this research was to stimulate debate in an otherwise under-researched area. Given the reaction at conferences, particularly a workshop entitled '*Psychological and behavioural approaches to understanding and governing sustainable tourism mobility*', I believe that my study stimulates thought and generates an interest in an area that has been previously unconsidered. The intention is that that

my findings will serve as a catalyst for further research. When an understanding of travel-related identity issues becomes commonplace, it will feed into appropriate sources to reach those responsible for policy.

Recommendations for further research

- Further research could investigate how people will negotiate new identities if travel should become less common in a more climate change concerned future. For example, status is implied currently by frequent and/or exotic travel but information is needed on how hypermobile travellers would negotiate a new identity if their travel were restricted, either by a fateful moment or by governments imposing restrictions.
- Future research should look at how people would respond to the promotion of positive green identities or negative hypermobile identities. Given the findings presented in this thesis, I believe an understanding of the role played by identities in tourism mobility has a significant part to play in instigating behaviour change in order to reduce tourism-related CO₂ emissions. Once there is a deeper understanding of these issues, there could be scope for policymakers to play on positive or negative identities. Further research would need to be undertaken to understand if tourists would respond better to the promotion of a positive 'green' travel identity or a negative 'environmentally-destructive' identity.
- There is scope for more research on travel life histories given the wealth of data that can be produced through this method. Currently, there are relatively few studies offering a full travel life history because they can be difficult to complete and are very time consuming. Further research that could be undertaken in this area might include the influence of childhood holidays, how peoples' travel evolves over the years and what influences these changes. Some of my interviewees have instances of very unusual travel and it would be interesting to explore this area further.
- Further research could be undertaken in relation to the findings associated with family identity and successful holidays. This finding raises several questions and provides scope for further research. Conflict exists within holidays; this is evident from my findings but not so evident within the literature. As discussed

in chapter 5, this is partly because some people are unwilling to acknowledge it (due to conflicts with the successful family holiday scenario). In addition, it is also partly due to the industry, which obviously does not want to recognise that holidays can go wrong.

- The opportunity for togetherness being experienced while on holiday has scope to be considered further because the desire to experience togetherness is a motivating factor in tourism travel. As acknowledged by June in her interview and also by Dickinson et al. (2011), long journeys and physical proximity give rise to the feeling of togetherness. With further understanding of this area, there is the possibility for industry to play on this in marketing strategies, promoting the idea of connectedness and also of more sustainable travel options or holidays.

Unresolved issues and limitations

The study of identities is a vast and complex area; even within the scope of a PhD thesis, it is not possible to cover everything possible to discuss on the subject. In addition, this study generates a vast amount of data and, again within the confines of a PhD, it is not possible to discuss every idea arising from the interviews. Narrative interviews produce a large amount of data which, in hindsight, could have been reduced by undertaking fewer interviews.

An issue with all identity-related research is the question of whether one knows the 'truth' of the story. People can present false identities for a number of reasons and, because of the multiplicity of identities and the contextual nature in which they are presented; there will never be one 'true' identity. There is no way to manage this but it should be recognised in discussions of identity. In addition, identities are partly based on interpretation; one can only go by the identities presented at any one time. In narrative research, there is also the question of the truth. This only becomes a limitation of the research if one is relying on factually accurate data. Within this research, the truth of the story is not of importance. The primary concern was to enable participants to talk about themselves and to try to elicit various identity markers from their stories.

The sample is gathered from within the local area. Dorset is a relatively affluent area and data generated from these interviews cannot be regarded as representative of the

country as a whole. It should also be noted that the identity issues here are discussed within the context of the western developed world and also have cultural contexts specific to life in the UK. This was one of the reasons for choosing to sample in only one place. Results are culturally-specific and not intended to be comparable. Participants were not asked about profession or income but during the course of the interviews these were revealed, which reinforced the relative affluence of the sample. However, this was, in part, a reflection of the purposeful sampling strategy that sought out people who had engaged in a degree of international travel.

Finally, it should be emphasised once more that the findings represent only one interpretation of the identities presented during the interviews. It is quite probable that if the interviews were repeated, there may be a difference in the identities presented. In addition, if the interviews were undertaken by a different interviewer, the results would be altered again. This is acknowledged in the literature on qualitative research. Identities are part of a co-creation and the person presenting an identity is basing that presentation on who their audience is. Therefore, it could be argued that an element of this study not only looks at how identities influence travel but also at how identities are co-created and interpreted.

Reflections on the research

I am convinced that the focus of this research is appropriate. Previous research hints at the significance of studying identities when linked with behaviour change but does not attempt to bring it into being. I believe that consideration of this topic is relevant for tourism but could be transferred into other areas, in which encouragement of behaviour change is necessary. Relevance has also been indicated by the interest and debate that this research has stimulated when presented at conferences.

I have faith that the most appropriate method for data collection was used. Narratives and identities are so interlinked that the justification can be found in any literature on identities. Identities can be created through narratives and narratives are used to express identities. I feel I have successfully created a dialogue between the data and literature. Furthermore, I believe that this has produced a sense of readability and it helps to illustrate my opinion that there is a clear connection between my data and existing literature. It also serves to highlight gaps in the literature that my findings start to

bridge.

I must acknowledge the part I have played in generating the data; not only by undertaking the research, which has created the narratives, but also through my role as an audience member. The narratives and identities were being presented to me (and only me); although the identities performed in the narratives were for my benefit, they also served a purpose for the narrator in affirming or creating an identity for themselves.

I believe there is benefit from reflecting on the personal implications of this research. Having gained knowledge not previously known about identities, I am now aware of my multiple identities and I am conscious of how I present them to different audiences. I am also aware of the changing identities that I can present throughout the course of the day. In addition, this research has brought to light how my behaviour is influenced by my identity and, particularly, the possible selves that create the motivation for my behaviour.

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Appendix 1: Interview 1 protocol

Interview 1 Protocol

Step 1 – thank them for their time

Step 2 – small talk: journey/surroundings/weather etc.

Step 3 – travel life histories using Q.1-13. Interject Q. a-h to elicit longer responses. Laddering could be used here where possible but is dependent upon the responses given

Step 4 – thank them again for their time and remind about second interview

Step 1

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed today it is very much appreciated.

Step 2

Begin with small talk, e.g. How was your journey, how did you find recalling your trips
...

Step 3

Travel life history questions

Childhood

1. Tell me about your holidays during your childhood
2. How influential have these childhood holiday memories been with regards to later holidays?
3. When you look back on these holidays what is your reflection on them?
4. How did your holidays compare to those of your friends at that the time?

Teens/Growing Up

5. Tell me about your first independent holiday i.e. holiday without your parents
6. In what way did this new found independence impact upon you?
7. Tell me about your holidays during your teens
8. Describe the holidays that you had with your family during this time ... and with friends?

Adulthood

9. Tell me about your holidays as an adult
10. How did your holiday opportunities change as you got older?
11. Tell me about your honeymoon (if applicable)
12. Tell me about your holidays after you had children/after you divorced/after you retired (if applicable)

General

13. Have you ever had to travel for work? Tell me about it ... what/where/why/how ...
14. Tell me about your best holiday ... why?
15. Describe your worst holiday ... why?
16. Talk me through your strongest memory from all of your holidays ... why was this so?
17. What is currently the most important factor for you when making decisions about a holiday? (I realise that this is open ended but to avoid repetition I will keep it as it is but just use the laddering technique if/when presented with short answers)
18. Tell me about your travel plans for the future
19. If you could go anywhere or do anything what would it be and why?
20. If you could go back in time which holiday would you relive? ... why?

General questions that could be added throughout

- a) How would you have done things differently?
- b) How did you get there?
- c) Who did you go with?
- d) How long did you stay for?
- e) What other options did you consider?
- f) How difficult was that decision to make?
- g) Tell me about what prompted that decision
- h) Describe your home/work life at that time
- i) Did you visit any particularly special places (eg when you ask them about childhood – you could then ask them why these places were special (friends, family, meanings of places...))
- j) How did this make you feel?

Step 4

Thank you for your time today it has been really useful. I will be in touch soon regarding the second interview.

END

Appendix 2: Interview 2 protocol

Interview 2 Protocol

- Step 1** – thank them for their time
- Step 2** – small talk: journey/surroundings/weather etc
- Step 3** – follow up questions
- Step 4** – environment related questions
- Step 5** – thank them again for their time

Step 1

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed today it is very much appreciated.

Step 2

Begin with small talk, e.g. How was your journey, how did you find recalling your trips

...

Step 3

Follow up questions (each interview will be different)

E.g.

a.	I see that you used to travel frequently with work, how did you feel about such frequent travel?
b.	How did that affect your personal travel at the time?
c.	You made many different networks through your business travel, how important was it to you to maintain these connections through physical travel?

How do you feel about having/those that have a highly mobile lifestyle?

What does being able to travel freely where you want when you want mean to you?

Step 4

Environment related questions

1. Tell me what you know/ understand about climate change?
2. There is a link between holiday travel and climate change, how do you see this link? What do you feel about this? Do you see yourself playing a role in the future (e.g. by travelling less or flying less)?
3. Do you see a relationship between your holiday travel and climate change? Does this affect your decision making about holiday travel at all?
4. What do you do in your everyday life that could be considered environmentally friendly?
5. How important is it to you to be environmentally friendly?

Explain gov. policy - from 10-2 tonnes and implications of their holiday for climate change (return flight to Mexico =1.3 tonnes per person)

6. Given this knowledge would this make you think about your decisions differently? Explain?
7. Do you measure your carbon footprint and what this means – ie equate to day to day activities

Step5

Thank you for your time today it has been really useful.

END

Appendix 3: Email to environmental groups

Dear [insert name of group/membership secretary],

My name is Julia Hibbert and I am a PhD student at Bournemouth University. I am writing to you in the hope that you might be able to assist me in finding people willing to take part in my research.

I am investigating the extent that personal identity influences tourism mobility; basically, how who we are affects our holiday choices. I am looking to interview members of your organisation as I would like to find out whether those with a potential interest in conservation and the environment demonstrate that interest through their various holiday-related choices.

I realise that the constraint of data protection means you are unable to provide me with contact details of members; therefore, I am hoping you would be prepared to pass on my details to those who might be interested in taking part.

The research process would involve two interviews. The first is based around a travel life history where interviewees simply recall their 'travel life history'; this interview is likely to last about an hour. The second interview is much shorter, about half an hour, and involves questions related to climate change, the environment and tourism.

I would be very grateful if you feel able to assist me in any way that you can and I am happy to provide more details of my study if you feel that is necessary.

I would appreciate a response at your earliest convenience in order to maintain the momentum of my study.

Kind Regards,

Julia Hibbert

PhD Student

School of Tourism, Dorset House, Bournemouth University

Talbot Campus, Fern Barrow, Poole, BH12 5BB, United Kingdom

Appendix 4: Interview one sample transcript – Tom

So to start with could you tell me about your childhood holidays, what do remember about those? (pause) where you went, what you did?

From the earliest age sort of thing?

Yeah

Errrrmm. [name], just so you know who it is. I am from Dorset, so I lived in Dorset and errrrmm, mother from the Isle of Wight, father from the West Country, sort of Yeovil and Devon. So earliest holidays were isle of Wight, Tynemouth in Devon and basically staying with family, going by car, with brother and sister, at that time, I've actually got another sister sort of years later. So generally driving down to stay with gran, granddad, aunt uncle and then camping holidays, in a tent, car, tent and probably for the first 10 years of my life that was it. The odd sort of more local holiday, so west bay in Bridport, we are talking 20 or 30 miles away we would go Whitsun week, but the big summer holidays was two weeks in Cornwall, or a couple of weeks in the isle of Wight where my mother's mother my Nan still lives. And that was great I suppose, you've got a young family that is, having a young family myself now I know it's a lot easier to look after them if you're in a home than it is in a tent. Yeah so that was our family holidays until about 10 and then we started going to France and errrrmm, travelling, always camping, first of all in Brittany and Normandy and then eventually down to the south of France which was driving. So cross channel, so living in Wool it was either Weymouth or Poole, going on the ferry to Cherbourg, St. Malo and then just basically driving, and then by then my little sister came along as well so we had four kids, down to the south of France and probably until the age of about, I can remember starting to drink, you know drinking bottles of wine, so 13 14 and then errrrmm. And that was it, so family holiday wise, we never got on the plane, having said that. My parents started going on planes then and my sisters even my younger sister, because she was the younger sister my parents would, my mum would go to Holland and she would take her with her so from a very early age she used to fly. And I guess the last family holiday I had was errrrmm when I was probably 14 15 because then actually I had a summer job from that age so in the summer parents would away two or three weeks and I would have a summer job working at Durdle Door in the caravan park, selling ice creams or in the fish and chip shop in Lulworth or anything like that, so yeah stopped having summer holidays, for a couple of years probably and then started actually travelling independently, quite extensively, the odd weekend away with the girlfriend in

the UK sort of driving, you know camping or b and b but generally it was over in Europe and then that was sort of hitchhiking on the train, eurorail and did about 5 or 6 trips like that down to Greece you know island hopping but never flying always down there round to Vendis and Cote d'Azure errrrmm yeah and trains. I think the whole interrail pass was great and we did that 3 times but then ended up sort of sticking to generally some hitchhiking on either end of it and then the first, is this alright, is this the right order?

Yeah yeah carry on.

And then the first time I got on a plane was 21, fly to Canada where I had a job there for the summer and spent that in Vancouver Island and yeah, are you talking about how you got there and how you got back again?

Yeah and what you did and perhaps why you chose ...

Ok, so that again was a family connection. I had an aunt who lived in British Columbia, had a job, travelled round quite a lot when we were there, mostly in cars, you know, camper vans. So did the west coast, up the coast down the coast in land and just round the Rockies and down to LA and stuff. Errrrmm and then that was sort of 20 21 and then subsequently, then I went to college and did a course at errrrmm, Southampton institute of higher education and then basically every summer I would kind of go away but it was generally, earn some money and then go away for 6 weeks at the end of the summer. And went back to Canada 3 more times not for, the first one was four months but then I went back for a month at a time and whilst I was there, if you fly with American airlines you generally got a free stop off at a hub you know Chicago, Charlotte or Dallas or somewhere. So I generally always used that stop over and went to places like Seattle or Boston and New York, just trying to explore those places a bit. And then that sort of takes us through really to errrrrr when I was about 26 27. Yeah I had a motorcycle accident which meant I was I'm a bit cr..... well you know a bit sort of a bit injured so I had to have a hip replacement and stuff and I did my last overland significant trip in the UK in Europe, was I went, I hitchhiked to Prague then overland to through kind of Serbia and sort of down in the end to Istanbul and in to southern turkey, I hitchhiked literally from my mum's front door to Prague and then caught the Balkan express which goes through Budapest or Bucharest I can't remember, but I basically trained it as far as Istanbul, went through Slovenia, Slovakia, Czech republic, Serbia,

Bulgaria and then in to Istanbul and then it was, I got a couple of rides, it wasn't like hitchhiking I met a couple of people and got a couple of lifts and then, a couple of buses but then ultimately ended up in southern turkey. That was about 10 weeks we were away but then flew back, got a flight back to Manchester, getting in at two in the morning and then hitchhiking back from Manchester back to my mum's front door again. At the time I was actually on a walking stick with a lot of, as I say I was quite badly injured, had a sort of leg shortening and a sort of fused hip and blah blah blah so it was a bit of a personal errrrrrrr after having done lots of trips to then going off again with a backpack and a gammy leg, you know because your independence you have built up this invincibility to then have that shattered in a split second by someone pulling out in front of you, I'm on a motor bike, they're in a car. So that was probably the last decent overland sort of independent trip like that.

Why did you do those kind of trips, what appealed?

Well I had a tendency to work and earn money so I could be away and I just wanted to see stuff so I could have just flown I to southern Spain and sat on a beach for two weeks, I like sitting on beaches but not for that length of time so and I really enjoy the sense of actually really getting somewhere, you know as you move across, you know I cycled from kinds end to John O Groats one but actually doing it on a bike when you look on a map and think oh yeah and then one day you find you're in Edinburgh on your push bike and I've cycled here from Cornwall, that's and amazing things. So even just travelling over land has that sense of just you know, going from country to country you see the climate change and the vegetation changes and the culture change, the language the coffees you get on the train platform, everything, you know that's just enriching. To me that's what I enjoy. And a bit of the hostility sometimes but you know, sleeping on the station in Frankfurt and you know, druggies and prostitutes and you know, you coming from a little village in Dorset you are not exposed to that sort of stuff I think I had a bit of a chip on my shoulder about being a carrot cruncher from a village because even when you went to Bovington or Purbeck school you had people from Swanage who seem really worldly wise and street (I laugh) you know compared to wool they were so I fancied I quite like that type of travelling, yeah great fun, love it, so fundamental to that was the means of getting there, how I got there wasn't just the means of getting there it was the process and the experience that became part of the fabric of the trip was spending time on buses and trains and then talking to people, you

know you get lots of opportunity on a 12hr train ride to open a bottle of wine and share with someone, you know you chuck in some bread and someone else has got the tomatoes, you just have a chat and you know and yeah, just errrrmm and people from other countries who errrrmm, my languages are terrible but I remember hitchhiking in Italy and these Italian truck drivers are bloody terrible at speaking English but actually quite a few of them spoke French, albeit badly, so you are having a stilted conversation in French between an Italian truck driver and a young British lad, quite good fun, challenging and you know, having slightly pigeon conversations about the same old shite but errrrrr, it's a good laugh and that's fine, because you learn from people, the world over is generally quite similar and you have the same pressures and challenges and you have a laugh about the same sort of things and yeah so that was ... am I carrying on?

Yeah yeah that's good

I'm trying to think of the order of it all really. I then went to, I finished college and then errrrrr, I started working for oracle, which is a big US corporate software company, and then pretty much for the next four years probably, I just didn't do very much, well I went to Thailand, went to India but didn't do any European, no sorry, I went around Europe but more flying I actually went to a conference in Nice and caught the train there, which threw the company completely because they said, we'll buy you a first class plane ticket but we can't possibly buy you a train ticket, where do you buy them from? They just weren't used to that type of thing. It was quite nice, I managed to go first class, from Wool to Nice and back again for half the price of an airfare and travel on the TGV and, I quite like, you know from running a bus company now, there is an interest in transport, not in a train spotter writing down numbers way, but actually admiring the TGV going 150 miles an hour going through the French countryside, it's amazing. But all the trips I did with them were sort of European Dublin, Amsterdam, Paris, Sofia Antilles which is down in the south of France with a client we had down there. And Not really any, I'm trying to think, India, Thailand, did a few kind of UK camping trips errrrmm with friends, lads and girlfriend who is now my wife, and also did, did my padi diving course in Devon, did a sailing day skipper course sailing a boat from Plymouth up to Poole. Tried to do things, probably because I was working in an office in reading in London a lot on the train, so it is quite good to go out and do stuff. I worked up in York, oh sorry Yorkshire for about 6 months, spent a lot of time in

York and during that time I went to the lake district and went to the Pennines, tried to get out and about a bit but not really started going, had the first ever package holiday, to errrrrr, to Portugal that was the same sort of time, fine, to have a week in the sun, you know, easy, started trying to use Ryanair, not how do I get to so and so but where can I go for the weekend which is kind of cheap, ok I can go to Amsterdam, let's go there for the weekend and I started to get a few stag dos, you know that sort of age so the early starters decided to get married so that was always a good excuse to go somewhere, wherever it was you know, Torquay, Blackpool, London, so yeah I started to go to London more socially as well then, because I didn't really as a student. I had friends up there who were students but, a lot of my friends from school went straight to university and I didn't I had to work for a few years so by the time I actually went to university, most of my friends weren't at college then. Errrrrrrm and then went to, ok yeah so the I was with oracle for about four years, but then I left because I'd always wanted to do a big trip, after having done all these tastes, all these bits, so I then wanted to see the world and I'd done four years, and also because I'd had this hip replacement, the prognosis was by the time you are 40-50 you will have had to have had another one and then you might not be that mobile and blah blah blah so I thought yeah if I'm gonna do this I'm gonna do this now while I'm young enough. But I also, because I had gone to college late I had friends who had their good jobs and buying houses and I hadn't so I, that was enough time with oracle to actually have a bmw and a salary and a house and all the stuff which wasn't all that important to me but I guess, if the truth is it was important to me to have achieved it to a certain degree, and then say right, I've proved it to myself or anyone else. Not that anyone else was interested but it doesn't matter anymore because I'm free to do what I want to do but oracle was one of the big US corporate, I'll just tell you the background to these choices really.

Yeah yeah that's perfect.

I wanted to, you know, got to a stage where I suppose, having an accident like when people lose somebody very close through illness or whatever has a profound effect on your life, if you experience it yourself or somebody close to you and I think that was, that makes you re-evaluate yourself and what's important and actually the world that I was entering in to and getting more and more, not sucked in to but kind of you know absorbed by because that's the nature of my work was you know, a big fat pin stripes, rah rah rah in London, you know splish splash splosh you know, how big's your beemer

how big's your wad well it's like that doesn't turn me on at all, you know so actually career wise I'd got to the point where I'm not sure where I'm gonna go with this, I can't really take it much further because I don't want to be, I'm not massively, I had a computer science sort of degree but errrrmm well it was computer science at Bournemouth University but it was, but I'm not that technical so errrrrr I could either go down the very technical route or the commercial route and the commercial stuff is very very hard nosed, commercial you know you have to be real cut throat salesman which I'm not, so I thought it was time to get out and do something different and so I got an opportunity to take part in the tall ships race which is across the Atlantic with the jubilee sailing trust, which is, I don't know if you are familiar with it?

Yeah yeah.

And oddly enough my wife who is a sign language interpreter she wasn't my wife then but she is now she through working with deaf people had, I think she was asked but she had a place on this sailing ship because they had deaf people on there, so I. it was only about 6 weeks, I don't know if she had just finished college or going to college or what stage she was at but she had the opportunity to do this and then I sort of thought could I, is there room for me and I was actually judged by them to be disabled because I'd had my hip done and there were like, a bit short of disabled people who were willing to go across the Atlantic. You know a lot of disabled people would find that quite intimidating, which is half the reason they exist but I was actually on there kind of as a disabled person (laughing but in a kind of show offy way) not that I was, well what's disabled, that's quite interesting because there were, from a travelling point of view, having done my trip how people treated you as a sort of disabled person with a very obvious visible disability walking stick, built up shoe, that sort of stuff errrrrr was in some places, it was, well, to then go in a place like the lord nelson, there were some people who were diabetic, who needed their different things, which may not have been visually obvious, but actually that would preclude them from normally participating in transatlantic voyage like that but because the ship was set up with the expertise and the doctors to deal with that, that enable them to do this other trip so that was brilliant, there was blind people, people in wheel chairs and amputees and you know whatever it didn't matter, and that's the thing it doesn't matter (animated) obviously. So we've got a place on this trip but actually it was time to head off anyway, made a few quid, and my background had been building so I'd errrrmm bought a house and done it up and sold it

so basically errmmm had a few quid in the bank so we then used that as our launch pad to then go off and do our round the world trip which we, sailed to Bermuda, we then went to new York and then spent about a month in the states bit of flying but with an rv travelling around and then, went to, do you want this line and verse?

Yeah ok

Ok. From there to Quito because I'd always wanted to go to the Galapagos islands so went, didn't even know where it was, no idea but anyway, oh it's in Ecuador, so went to Ecuador and the Galapagos islands, spent some time in Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia just travelling over land, flew back over to the states, so about three months in south America, back up to states, then over to Fiji, Fiji to new Zealand, spent about errmmm a month in new Zealand, rented a van a travelled around. Then over to Australia, inevitably went to Melbourne, bought a van there 10 weeks in Australia, drove round up the coast, saw some friends, had quite a few friends who had gone over there, either travelling or living there (deep breath) spending some time there for a while so errrrm and actually stayed with a couple who I had met on one of my trips to south of France sort of ten years before hand and hadn't been in touch with them for many many years and sort of phoned them, you know looked the up through directory enquires and phoned them up and said "how the hell are ya" (in Aussie accent) and then stayed there for about a fortnight, god bless em and then left there so now my flight we had a ticket which took us basically form san Francisco which, because we knew we were sailing across from Bermuda and we had rather than a round the world ticket we had a ticket that went from san Francisco, sorry from LA, did all the south America bit then ended up leaving us in Singapore so and the last leg was Darwin to Singapore we then travelled back across land, to Stockholm actually, so Singapore to Malaysia, to Thailand to (interrupted by colleague for 3 mins) so basically went over Cambodia Vietnam china Mongolia, and that was all over land, sorry had a couple of short flights in china to kind of get over mountain ranges type of thing but a lot of, it was great I kept a journal, it was 121 or 131 boat rides we had on this trip, it's amazing you know just a little ferry a little this a little that and, it's quite an expensive way of doing it in some ways but if you tot it all up, but fantastic going from one island to another, even just crossing a river, you know a guy with a punt. An then so jhjghfghcf in Mongolia and then jhhghfhgf in Siberia, over to Moscow, St. Petersburg and the as I say I ended up in Finland, Helsinki going up to Nordcap, Norway on the hertyguten, which is the kind of ship that goes

round round the errrrr, the coastal ferry service which goes round Norway down to Trondheim in to Oslo and then actually we were going to go to Oslo and then to Bergen and then Bergen to Newcastle ferry and then down to back down to England so to have travelled all the way back from Singapore but it was so cheap to go Ryanair to Stansted, like 30 quid and it was going to be 230 quid to go over land on the buses so we just flew back to Stansted and then you get the bus or the train in to Tottenham hale and just thinking, oh we have just spent this time in Scandinavia where it was just beautiful to this the biggest shit hole imaginable, just full of squalor, bleugggrh it was the arsehole of London but anyway. So that was good to be home, that was about 15 months got back, spent a load of money, with my girlfriend, partner so we then decided to get married, did we then, yeah because we came back and got married. And then errrrrm, we bought a house, yeah still had a few quid left so we bought a house and then, yeah so we got married and we were having a baby but she had a miscarriage and errrrmm, it was a case of she had a job which she didn't particularly like, I was, what was I doing, I had a job, again I went back to another job in London but I was commuting from here to London and it was just straight back in to where I had been before which again was something to prove to myself that I could do that type of thing, or sorry that I could go away for a year and not have forfeited my career. So anyway I started with this firm, and they got in to financial difficulty so I got laid off, again quite quickly with a bunch of other people, and got oddly, because they were a very wealthy American firm, they just closed down the branch, they paid everyone off, so I got redundancy money and I was only there about three, two months or something, it was 100 grand a year job, it was a well-paid IT consultancy presales consultancy job I walked away with about 13 grand in cash after about 2 months it wasn't even that. It was that post dot commy bubble ridiculous, because I was like oh thank god for that because I didn't want to do it anyway. So anyway, we then bought this property here, it was actually the flat downstairs and we did it up, it was actually while we were doing it up my wife and I were at either end of the flat listening to a play on radio four which was something about Nepal and we sort of got together at coffee time or whatever, we were basically renovating the property which we had done before and made some money so we were doing that and said oh shame we never got to Nepal and we just sort of though oh why, why don't we go again, so we then decided to do another trip, so we were back for about a year and then we, no probably back for about 14 months and then we just went off again, this time it was shorter, only about 8 months but we went to errrrmm, went

to the states again, because we had family in Vegas and they were great fun, good fun place to go and have a laugh and did some trips around Yosemite, then we went to back to LA and then we went to panama city over land so we did a three month trip, through Mexico, Guatemala Belize, Honduras, el Salvador, Nicaragua , Costa Rica and panama (just reels these off quickly in a list) then we flew back up to the states again, did all our washing at Emma's cousins place emptied their fridge, cooked a big roast dinner, stopped eating rice and chicken. And then we went to rota rua not not roata rua to errrrrrrr, to the cook islands, Rarotonga.

My friends have just been on honey moon there

Oh really oh beautiful lovely. Oh sorry, before that, thinking of honeymoon places, we went to Bora Bora which is French Polynesia, which is full of honeymooning couples, you know there was us who are a couple of hairy arsed back packers, who just happen to have a few quid so places like that just don't have back packers there, but we had the means to get there but when we got there we were still cooking on the beach and looking to do things really cheaply so, did they have a good time?

Yeah they loved it.

Yeah it's pretty exotic, right round the other side of the world in the Pacific Ocean, amazing lovely, I'd love to be there now. And then we went to new Zealand, had another month in new Zealand, just doing different place we hadn't been to before, went to Australia had another months there, yeah about a month, not very long, same sort of places, again we bought a vehicle, sorry we rented a vehicle, just drove around we sort of tended to fly into one place and fly out of another and just say well somehow we'll get from one end to another. Errrrrr but had no (emphasis) for the environmental consequences of all this travelling at all really you know, then went to, flew from, Sydney I guess, yes flew from Sydney to Calcutta, then overland from Calcutta to Nepal, yeah so up through India and up through the hills to Kathmandu in Nepal and the overland to Lassa in Tibet and had a fantastic Himalayan adventure, which was absolutely amazing and then, from there went back to Singapore and over to Johannesburg and spent 10 weeks in south ameri... sorry south Africa and Namibia and we did 10,000, we hired a car and we did 10,000 miles in this rental car, it was absolutely bugged by the end of it, you know shredded all the tyres, dents scrapes covered in, you most people hire a car for like a day or two from the airport we sort of

turned up with this car we thought we would try and hide it somewhere you know (laughs) so errrrmm, yeah again that was an overland trip so we got in to Johannesburg and basically went down to the southern coast up near St. Lucia Mozambique and then just went all the way down to cape town and then all the way up the coast to Namibia then right up to you know sort of Ludriz, Withindtook, Atosha, which is right on the Angolan border, so right on the top of it then we went back down again, and round, then cross the northern part of south Africa, near sort of Botswana to errrrmm back up to Johannesburg and then flew home from Johannesburg, was it errrrmm, the first, I can't think if it was the first trip or the second trip but I, that's when I thought about doing this lands' end to John O Groats bike trip because whilst I was away, I think it was the first trip actually, I really wanted to do that, had always wanted to do that and it was a case of oh well when you get back you're going to have babies and you're never be able to have three weeks off to go and do this sort of thing, so literally I got back I think after the first trip, then about three days after I got back, I got the bike out the shed and pumped my tyres up, went o lands' end and cycled up to John O Groats and then back again, and then on the last trip when we came back, my wife was then pregnant with our lad Sam, who is now 8 and we got back in June time, kicked around in the summer and then went for a little trip over to Ireland, and had a sort of last, it's funny I was talking about this in the last few days, we just went and had a drive round, it was the whole thing about having a baby, do you have children?

No.

Well you know, your life changes the minute they arrive so right up until that point you are grabbing every moment of it just being the two of you, because then there will be three of you and your life changes for the rest of your life, so yeah so that was like a driving holiday, well I say it was a driving holiday, it was like a couple of weeks you know little sports car driving around Ireland and southwest Ireland, so then that was the conclusion of that and then basically it fundamentally changes because the child arrives and then since then, and also simultaneously I started [company], which is this tourism business that we run today, which was 8 summers ago and since then really haven't done very much at all, apart from, you know like, just got back last week or this week, Monday, two weeks in Tunisia last year a week in Ibiza, year before that week in Majorca, before that week in turkey and before that two weeks in Fuerteventura, yeah basically just having a (emphasis) week or two weeks in the sun, low tech, you know,

just a holiday (said funny) not a travelling type thing and then errrrm, we quite often go, like we are going this half term to Devon or sorry to Cornwall, to Poleseth and rent a cottage for a week, errmmm but beyond that I have just been to Greece earlier in the summer for a conference for the city sightseeing, I guess it's like a franchise so we have a worldwide conference, but we have taken the kids to Barcelona for the weekend or Amsterdam for the weekend, we did Dublin for the weekend, we've been to Edinburgh for a couple of days, as a couple we just left the kids for a couple of days, but all the mass type of trips you know the overland adventures have been parked up for the last 8 years, but having said that what I do do is we take out hundreds of people every week on day trips, and that's really inspired from having done travelling and seeing the riches that places offer and try to give, most of our passengers are internationals so a lot of them are international students but about ¾ of our passengers are internationals on our day tours and that compares to about 8 or 10 % of visitors to Bournemouth are international but 75% of our customers are international you know we are providing them with the kind of services you know like, going fossil hunting this sort of stuff which if I was on holiday on the other side of the world I would think oh yeah I'd love that, someone was going to pick me up from the hotel take me out to see a tiger in Rathumbal national park and show me the stuff I'm never going to find on my own, and that is generally the kind of stuff we try and do with our day tours and then with the bike hire and the open top its less sort of prescriptive but it still tries to provide the kind of facilities for people, you know, here's a bike go to Hengistbury Head, here's a bike go to old harry, get on the open top bus and you know walk round to Hengisbury Head and get on a boat and we tie in with the boat people and stuff like that.

Your business was inspired by your travel?

Yeah totally totally. I mean I wanted to start a business when I came back and I looked at lots of different things, but I had previously looked at thinking about it but basically running buses is quite, it's not difficult but there are lots of laws and regulations, it's quite complicated if you've never done it before so errrrmm, to start a bus company, I looked at it and thought ooh no its too complicated but of course eventually that is a really good reason to start it because if you can overcome the complications it means that its less likely that someone else is going to start competing with you and there are, Bournemouth there is yellow buses and wilts and Dorset but there aren't many other bus companies so there are coach companies like excelsior and Laguna but actually what

we do there is no competition, where as if you open a hotel in Bournemouth there is lots of competition, it's quite easy for us so if you Google up Bournemouth tours or day tours from Bournemouth or day trips from Bournemouth or you know anything to do with Bournemouth or Dorset we come up quite high whereas if you were trying to flog a hotel room in Bournemouth it's a constant bloody battle. Yeah so definitely inspired it and also when we came back we, you know the world heritage, UNESCO world heritage status, we have definitely used that as we have travelled around, if it said that this sort of Mayan ruin was a world heritage site we thought of yeah that's definitely worth a look, we'll give that a go, well not just because of that but it's kind of like a kite mark and then when we came back in 2001 it was the Jurassic coast was given the status as a world heritage site England's only natural world heritage site, so I thought well, there's got to be some opportunities around that, it's hard to get to when you there, what are you looking at, its open to interpretation and errrrmm. So I bought a mini bus, got my driving license you know psv driving licence got my operators driving licence got matt the guy who is sat down the end there to build us a website and he built a booking system and got someone to do a brochure, year one, me, one minis bus, took some passengers, great and then built it up form there but with that of idea of trying to yeah just trying to give people, you know when you finish a tour and people say, that was brilliant amazing I've had a great day out, that's what you want. That's what you're doing it for. It doesn't always happen, some people moan, oh it's too cold or you know, we have problems because we do take out hundreds of people every week, that sometimes the driver or guide doesn't meet the expectations, or the bus doesn't, or the bus breaks down or other passengers are late and that therefore they get annoyed that you waited for that person but you know, well. So I'm like a professional tourist or I came back as, well I don't feel like I've been much of a tourist in the last few years apart from just sitting in a hotel by a pool drinking, generally I go all inclusive for the gin and tonics, but I think I definite have indelibly printed on my mind or thought the essence of, for me, what travel is all about and what people are, what a certain, well everyone is looking for certain things and we try and, you know it's easy to get a MacDonald's, some people are looking to buy a copy of the sun, somewhere to get their tits out, somewhere to buy a packet of fags and if there had been a MacDonald's they would have gone there, really really not interested in any sort of cultural awakening at all, but equally there was quite a few people there, us included who wanted to catch the local buses and go to the local souk and just generally hang out. And the same with

Bournemouth, there is lots of people that during a wet day will go and look round the shops but then that's the last thing they want to do, but if you say come with me we'll take you for a hike over the Purbeck hills they just think that's fantastic. And the challenge for us is trying to convey to people that those things are actually here and the way that we did that is and the most effective way is word of mouth and people knowing about it and us being the people, you take one lot of people who then tell their friends, that very powerful for us, lots of people come to us. The brochures you got there, they cost a lot of money and we will distribute them far and wide and the website etc etc so we have to do it all but it definite works.

Great, well I'm incredibly jealous

Yeah sorry for banging on a bit but that's sort of my travel history, but not much in the ways of influence form environmental factors (colleague interrupts again).

What would you say has been the best moment of all those experiences?

In what context, you know best way in what, most memorable, or most profound, most ...

Your favourite moment, for moment, for whatever reason, because it was the most profound or most luxurious, what did you enjoy the most?

Errrrmmmm (long pause) I can give you a few (with a 'will that do tone') it's things like, probably the kind of natural ones, like diving the Galapagos island very early one morning and just being, you know, surrounded by you know I've done lots of diving all round the world but to be in a place where there is like a school of 100 hammerhead sharks there and with a squadron of eagle rays all going passed in formation above you head, then you know iguanas in the water and sea lions and just, that was, we were both very spell bound by that. But in a we went to a koko which is right out in the middle of its basically in the Amazon, there was a tribe called the rawani tribe, it's a tourist trip (said matter of factly) it was a tour, but it was actually run by a woman from Suffolk, strangely who had a travel business called safari travel, maybe that's what inspired my safari buses in Quito, and she set this thing up almost like a project, to try and help this community and there was this guy called namu who stayed in this village and errrrmmmm and spent about three or four days, so in a dugout canoe went out to their village, then three or four days going 'g round, just with actually a French/Columbian guide, who

was a botanist, that was just incredible, spending that sort of time actually just swimming, and catching fish, this guy catching fish by hand, out of the stream and then using that as bait to go fishing for piranhas in a river which we were swimming in errrrmm, because it's a fallacy about piranhas eating you alive, if they're dead they'll eat you but if you're alive they'll leave you alone, so swimming in a river full of piranhas, you know Cayman at night and then actually, one thing that was amazing, stating fires by hand, you know doing all of this (demonstrates rubbing hands together and blowing) and actually doing it properly and starting fire, a very fundamental, you know we are with a guy, ok so he's wearing wellies because he can and he loves it when this group turns up and they always bring a big two litre bottle of coke because, you know if you give a horse a polo, hooray I eat grass all day, here's a polo, it rots his teeth but that's for him to, because this guide had this thing "oh hey it will rot your teeth" "just give me my coke" (funny voice) but yeah and the pinnacle of that was starting the fire in the middle of the jungle with this guys. Yeah lots of (stumble of words) lots of stuff around the Tibetan plateau, you know in, if you are way up in the Himalaya you come across these villages, some aren't even villages it's like a hut or a yurt with a couple of yak with a person there and you might just drive on past and you see this person sat there, you know there will be there now, today as we sit here. That is the thing, a lot of stuff you see in Europe and certainly America its quite transient, it's quite errrrrr people are, you know they live in Ferndown or Wool but you could go to Poole or I could go to Southampton or I could move to France, I could do this I could do that, lots and lots of choices, because where you are, well we are probably more middle England, you know if you are doing a PhD at university and I run a business but even so if you are on the dole in Liverpool you could hitch hike round to Bournemouth and sign on the dole here, or get a job selling ice creams, there is a lot more mobility, where as if you born in to a family who are yak herdsman in the Himalaya, and they've got an old gram who lives in the back of the tent and they've got mum and dad and you're the eldest son, then you are probably going to be doing that as well, you know, that's it, full stop and you seeing actually young, it was the same in Vietnam and some of the hill tribes, seeing they young men who in Bournemouth would have, everything, the careers office says what do you want to do, you know anything you want to do, and these people who would with much much reduced expectations and thinking about how that's whether they are aware of those reduced expectations or whether they actually are very happy, so you just come away thinking about the life that, and we were quite a young

couple and people were saying how can you afford to come to our country for like a week or for two weeks away from, you know, we didn't actually tell them we had been away for a year, you know it's embarrassing really (said with strange not – not embarrassed) and in actual fact we spent about 60,000 quid in two, over a three year period we were away for two years but because of (phone rings and he answers) I had no financial, no money from parents, I literally had good fortune and a good job and blah blah blah and when we came back we actually, because of prices and property going up and share prices, we actually had the same money that we started with so the trip was free basically (answers phone again) yeah and that's the whole, why do you go anywhere. As I say I've just been two weeks in Tunisia I have a very busy, quite a small business, we turnover about ½ million pound a year 20-30 people employed some very part time some full time, but it's absolutely full on so by the middle of august you just basically at the end of your tethered so those two weeks are just going away, chilling out and doing nothing and that's really really important. I wouldn't have had the mental bandwidth to go off and do a you know to go off and go hiking for two weeks, I just want to chill out and think of very little really.

Kind of recharge,

Yes kind of, it's like a physical, you know I was talking about it eating and drinking for two weeks you get fat as a butchers dog. But then a lot of these other trips I'm talking about doing they are full on and actually very often you go to bed at 8 or 9 at night because you are up at four or five and you are out doing stuff, full on Inca trail and up the yellow mountain. We did this other trip in kung Ming in the Szechuan province in china, in a place called jghjhfgd, it was a three day trip and one of the days was a sort of 35 mile hike through, we did sorry 35km so about 25 miles but it was just through lots of, it was all inhabited but there wasn't a road in sight, there was just villages and agriculture and countryside, it was just incredible (animated) you were walking in the middle, in the depths of you know in the countryside, the nearest road was 20 miles away or whatever and there is no mechanisation at all, it was all horse and ox and plough (answers phone again) – I turn off recorder so as not to disturb

New recording

Yeah so I can't, two years of travels, lots of amazing, I suppose its anthropological kind of just seeing how people live in different places and different stages in where they are at, where their countries are at in their, you know, that's sort of, you read national geographic and it's all about the terrorism, the terrible things, the fact that the three gorges dam is going to flood all these vallies and all these you know incredibly rare monkeys are going to lose their habitat but then you realise that actually there is a billion people over there and at the moment only 10% have got fridges and actually if that goes up to 15% then that's another 500 million people so that's another 100 million fridge and you think, to power that you need to build another 20 power stations or you build a damn, we have the luxury in the UK and in the modern developed world to, we've done all our belching of the smog and the stuff and we can now say oh you can't, we have the economic luxury of saying that you have got to pick up your waste from here and not do this and not do that, have fiscal policies to try and reduce emissions but actually, there is a county there sort of 50 years behind or in some ways 50 years ahead of us who understandably, whose people want what they can see, of course they all have the mobile phone, and it's funny because 10 years ago there wasn't the world of the mobile phone, there was a bit of email and internet and stuff but errrrmm, its very different now, I know my sister is off to Australia in a few weeks' time and shell be you know, she'll have her phone with her and as long as she's got Wi-Fi, she'll have Facebook and be uploading photos, its different and that a shame in some ways because it used to be good when you've been out of contact for about 6 weeks to the com back and make a phone call and say yeah we're ok, you lose that.

And send postcards, you don't get many postcards these days.

No you don't (said seriously) yeah so that would be, yeah so how do you, I know people are searching for more and more remote places, but even then, it doesn't matter how remote you are there are always, you can probably get on the internet somewhere. That's sort of changed things, but having said that, you can still a lot of it is up to you how you do it and how you spend your time there, but you sometimes go to places, we went somewhere in Ana Perna and it was, it must have been, it wasn't Afghanistan, it might have been actually, just thinking about it its almost 9.11 and we went on our honeymoon, it was my wedding anniversary yesterday,

Congratulations

10 years, thank you yeah, so that was in between our two trips so we went on our second trip, I think the US went in to Afghanistan pretty quickly within 6 months chasing al quida and Osama bin laden and we had been on this trip round from although we had been in Kathmandu for a day or two, so we had been out of the loop largely for 4 or 5 weeks and ended up in this sort of tea, like a little guest house but very primitive generally out in Nepal and this one had a telly and the guy had this great big satellite dish and a big generator and he obviously liked having a telly so I remember I was watching this bbc news and it was fantastic and I was desperately trying to just sort of sucking up this, I do like my news and current affairs and errrrr there were some guys there from an independent production company who were doing a film about paragliding and filming it. And my wife was must have been up in the canteen or something and this errrrr bloke said “oh there is some dickhead down there who has been glued to the TV, you’d think in this beautiful area that he would be you know out looking at the country side not just sat there watching some bloody telly “ you know and my wife is quite stroppy in that sort of thing, so she just told him to wind his neck in and do one, you know he had been in London three days before hand whereas I had a beard down to my knees and you know. Things like that, you know talking about phones and communication, you know that was being out of touch for quite some time, not just telling family where you are but finding out about, you know you would come back and say anyone died? And mum would say, well actually after both times coming back, there was old Ned or someone from the village who you would see, and people have come and gone and the other thing is you come back and people say oh I haven’t seen you for a while and how are you everything alright and you say yeah I’ve been away for a bit and they say did you have a good time and you say yeah fine. And you think, I’ve just been away for 15 months travelled to you know 50 countries or something and been on 130 boats and this many thing and this and you just say, “yeah I’ve had a great time” but actually yeah let’s just leave it there because, you know you’ve stayed here as I’ve stayed here for this last year it’s your trip, it’s a very personal thing, it’s important that, I actually had one friend who I almost lost, well I did lose in some ways. Who was really bitter about the errrrr, well it was quite interesting because it’s about your willingness to do it, I mean my brother he’s actually done a few trips himself but the whole big overseas trip he has always been like, it just doesn’t appeal to him at all, you know he actually lived in Canada which is why we went over there for a

bit and errmmm he's been on a kibbutz in Israel and you know he actually worked on a tall ship in the Caribbean for a year and went to Iceland for 6 months or something but a big overland trip he's like it just doesn't appeal to me at all, but this other friend he got a bit arsey and just kind of bitter and twisted that I had done this trip and he could have done, he had the money, but that was worse for him because he could have done, has got piles of money but errmmm, he isn't brave enough, or it's not that he's not brave enough maybe that's his sort of point that I think he's not brave enough to do it, where as he actually doesn't want to do it, but he doesn't want to admit that he's not brave enough or ambitious enough to do that but actually that suggests that there is a pre sort of thing that you should do that, now if you went to new Zealand or something they talk about the big OE the big overseas experience as being actually part of every young person's thing is they come to Europe, because they can. They come to London, they live in shepherds bush and whilst their here they got o the running of the bull in Pamplona they got the Oktoberfest and they got to the lake district and Scotland and Edinburgh and they go island hopping in Greece and they'll do it for a year or two and then some of them will actually get really well paid jobs in London and make a bit of money and then go back and buy a house and get a job as a solicitor in London for 5 or 10 years and then go back to new Zealand and you can buy yourself a nice property, other will kind of do it just as a because they have to and the first opportunity they go back again and others don't even do that but I know talking to kiwis that if you don't go, if you don't do your OE, you are seen as absolutely bloody backward and actually aussies consider kiwis to be backward so some of them go from new Zealand just to Australia but then the people who just stay in new Zealand are just seen as Hicksville. And young people travelling and errrrrr, when my, mum and dad, no when my grandparents, even when I was younger, you've got to get a job, get a trade or get a profession and work hard and save your money, you know, you know so jacking a job in it was like "what" what do you mean?? Oh I'll just get another job when I get back, because you have saved some money, you have saved 2,000 quid and you are just going to throw your job in and go off travelling for sort of three months around Europe, errrrrr yep! To them from post war period it's like well no, they are grateful for having a job, and a roof over their head and a husband at home, not in the trenches sort of thing, but I guess some of that rubbed off on my parents, but my dad is quite adventurous in as much as he is very much off you go there you go, actually myself, my brother and my two sisters, he bought us all our first ticket to Canada because it is his sister who lives

over there so they always said when you want to go we'll buy you your ticket to Canada so you can go see your auntie, which is great, because he was kinda like out you go and errrrmm I think the first time I actually went off on my own was actually I got a lift with them to the south of France and then sort of said have a week with them, they were staying in a gite or something and then left there and then went off to Italy and met a guy from Weymouth on the beach then met a girl from somewhere, Walsall so followed her to Italy, foolishly yeah so they were very encouraging to go off and do stuff and I guess because they took us off to the south of France, and normally when going to the south of France you would drive sometimes through, in this case straight there but sometimes through Luxemburg, Strasburg, I've been to Switzerland and of course down through the alps or something just trying to look for stuff, do something different even as a nipper I remember if you bought washing powder you would get these vouchers where you had kids go for a pound, it's probably the sort of thing they do now actually I guess when I was at school as a teenager, my dad used to working London quite a lot and used to go up for a monthly meeting and maybe a dozen times I was allowed to bunk off school to go out with him for the day because it was only a quid he would pay my pound and give me a fiver and would leave me at Waterloo in the morning and I would have a day wondering around London, I was a 13/14 year old, because he thought a day in London was better for me than just another day in the classroom, which is true, I would go to the science museum or the British museum and I would walk down the river and be propositioned by dirty old men and errrrrr, yeah but literally that sort of thing, coming from a village was interesting.

That has been fascinating thank you.

I am just looking at you big long list of questions or is that not a big long list of questions?

Well, it is but I haven't needed to ask any, some people find it quite difficult

Was that the right kind of thing, sort of why and how and where. I look forward to getting to returning to those types of choices again, I've got a one year old a two year old a six year old and a seven year old, and the one and two year old certainly slow you down, actually having four rather than three is actually, like taxis because you can get taxis for five but not for six, so we usually have to get two taxis to places they are titchy time and we are looking forward to the point where they don't need their arses

wiping and we can, and actually what I think we'll do is we'll revert back to what my parents used to do, which is we'll chuck them in the car and we'll drive to the south of France I say we go down to Devon to Poleseth quite a bit because we've got friends who have a place down there which we rent off them, which is great because it's like a home from home and you can just chuck them in the car and go down there and tend to get up early in the morning about 6 and we have loaded up the car the night before, so put them in there in their jim jams and we're down there by 10 am ready for a late breakfast and we're on the beach for the rest of the day. So I look forward to doing more of those type of trips, and hopefully inspiring them to see stuff and do stuff, but I mean I say that, will they ummmmmmm, there is so much inspiration around anyway, you know, media and you see and you read and you know what really inspires you is when you go somewhere and you're just there, the inspiration is the experience that you have and errrrr yeah and what's lovely is (sounds dreamy) I'll stop talking ain a second, that's the thing this is very self-indulgent, travelling is a very self-indulgent pursuit, absolutely and then talking about it with a victim really is and you can see people going oh he going on again and I'm really consciously not well actually this is what I've been doing for the last year and a half so yeah and actually I have got a view on this because I was in Tibet or yes I was in so and so but what's really nice is having gone with my wife we, I really don't think there is a day goes passed where we don't think about or talk or mention something about do you remember so and so and so the other day we were reading somewhere about, I'll tell you what it was about Genghis khan or was it Alexander, no Marco polo, first ever travel writer, supposedly and he was supposed to have gone over to the orient and found out all this amazing stuff and brought all these stories back about the wonders of the east and then some academic who has been studying his writings and saying actually, they think that he, he was a bit like Billy Connolly was with his comedy in he picked up all the little detail which was quite funny and Marco polo in his writing he did that and talked about this and that, but apparently he went to china but he never mentioned the fact that they use chopsticks, bound feet and you know a list of half a dozen things, it was an academic paper but this guy said that all he did was get as far as, I don't know Kazakhstan or somewhere and then he met other traders who had come from the east who then, they had their tales about what they had seen and experienced and he just digested them and came back and regurgitate them as being his own sort of experiences and errrrmm there are some quite specific things like about Japan and the year he travelled there was a great big storm but

actually the year that storm happened was a different year to the year he travelled, so it was all blimey, people do research in this sort of stuff. But anyway, the bit I'm getting to was the fact that he was saying about bound feet and when we went to first got in to china we went to the city called kung Ming and there was a big kind of mountain that overlooks the city and there is a very narrow path round the edge of this mountain very pretty, and I just said because it reminded me of this old couple that came down and they were really old, like in their 80s and she had bound feet and she looked like she was disabled, they were all bound and she was hobbling along when I say hobbling she was very agile but she has these bizarre looking and her husband was this wizened old fella with a beard and the stereotype caricature, anyway I just said to my wife, do you remember when we went to kung Ming and we walked up the mountain and there was that little, bearing in mind we were away from 700 days and she said what that little old couple, the ones with the bound feet and I was like yeah yeah and we hadn't discussed that probably for two or three years or something but everything that you saw, because you saw it together, you've errrrmm its indelibly printed on your mind that to have actually shared that with someone is great. When I first went travelling I was like oh I'll do it on my own and errrrmm actually it's much more fun doing it with someone else if they are a good travelling companion because I have travelled with other people who haven't been good travelling companions and that's been fine because generally you can just go your separate ways but I have also travelled with people who have been semi dependent on, not necessarily because it's you but because its someone they are dependent on you so you are tied to them, whereas s you would be very happy to say I'll see you later, you know you can't leave them, even though you know they will be fine but they don't think they will be fine. Anyway I'll shut up,

Thanks for your time

Well thanks that's been interesting I would like to read your thoughts on the matter I'll assume you will publish it.

###

Small talk about when I will finish, will I publish papers, second interviews,

Talk about growth of business year on year, international customers.

(Phone again)

... we were just saying the other day you know you can go in to anything but actually tourism is generally speaking you punters are happy and on holiday and you are delivering fun and smiles to people and that what we try and do and its actually quite easy to do because where we are, it's so nice that people come down and say oh you're so lucky living down here it's amazing and it is, it's beautiful and all er do is facilitate their time and help them to, you know you can walk to Boscome but if we give you a bike you can actually walk to Hengistbury head, so it would be interesting to see where we are in another 5 or 10 years, still here hopefully but maybe doing other things as well, maybe running a hotel, we have an office down at the station and we have our bike rig on the seafront, although it's a mobile station we have planning permission and the plan is to have a travel office at the station, one on the seafront, and probably have a hotel or accommodation because we have access to all these people who are coming to Bournemouth and we can just say oh come and stay here. We have access to quite a big market which we can leverage quite well, also the student market.

Appendix 5: Interview two sample transcript – Tom

OK, just to start, there are a few things I picked up on from last time. You mentioned, sort of coming from Dorset and Dorset a lot within the interview. What does that mean to you, sort of being from Dorset, is that a big part of your identity?

Yes, yes, I think it is. It's um, this is a rural county, a small county, a lot of people don't, that are from outside the county don't necessarily know much about it and don't talk very highly of it maybe, it's not like Devon and Cornwall which are much more significant up west actually but I think I sort of love the area and think that it has a huge amount to offer and I have a company, [company], and yes, I am very proud to have come from this area and yes, if you like, I'm a Dorset man, and I have worked and lived on farms and that sort of thing, and looking back to sort of Thomas Hardy's Wessex and a rural farming community, and I have worked on farms and I sort of identify with that side of it. Less so, I mean Bournemouth is in Dorset but I think think of this as being Dorset, when I say Dorset I mean the county Dorset and the history of the county, what it all seems, how it's evolved, how it's changed. Yes, I would say that is part of my identity. You know, people say, where are you from, I sort of make a point of saying Dorset, well I live in Bournemouth but I am from Dorset.

Yes, thank you. What, could you identify what first prompted your interest in transport?

I don't know really, well maybe again, I came from a little village, the first thing you get, you know when you can get a bike so you can go anywhere because there are no buses or anything and then again as soon as you are 16 you get a moped and most of people in those days did and then the thing is you are 17 is learning to drive, so you sort of, so yes from an early age, well I have got friends who come from cities and who still can't drive and they are in their 40's, so, and then also we used to have a boat and then, so I used to go sailing, canoeing, so all these things are means of getting out, and it was a great sense of, I remember doing the Dorset Coastal Paddle, which was when I was sort of 16, I just canoed from Portland or Chesil Beach, to Wareham and it was a great sense of you were getting somewhere and under your own steam. And I have actually done the Lands' End to John O'Groats Bike Road and that again had a sense of, blimey I have done something under my own steam, so yes, I have sort of travelled quite a lot with family, so and ideal for getting around so that was, I think what you, in terms of what you are talking about of transport, you think about, you know we are very lucky

with buses and I can actually show you this, our new toy, which is why I am very excited, it is almost like show you a picture, this is us yesterday, our first ever train. This is a kid's railway, it has carriages on the back and you go choo, choo, and take them around shopping centres and stuff. Then again, it reinforces my interest in transport. Yes, I think that gives you an idea of, I suppose, the whole kind of engineering, you know I have quite a bit of background in construction, so road, railway, buses, lorries, you know, I'm not a massive anorak in any way, you know, if a bus drove passed you down the road, I would have no idea what it is or anything but I just like the idea of people moving around and the tube in London or the metro is fantastic, I do think the original thing probably comes from that. Reliance from transport and sorting your own transport out has never, I mean the skateboarder, you know roller blades and just getting around.

OK, thank you. What does it mean to you to have visited so many different places throughout the world?

I feel very fortunate, both in my, in the context of my peers and you know, people who I am with now, who live their life in England, but I also feel very privileged in the sense of the people whose worlds I have seen, I feel very privileged to have that opportunity to see their world because they very often wouldn't have the opportunity to see my world. And to have done that many times over, because you see I feel very humbled and feel quite, so I don't take that for granted, and I think that has given me a broad, I would like to think of, a very broad prospective on things. In some ways it a sort of a danger, you know when my kids leave their plates of food, I say you know there are people starving in the world, or even in the pub if someone mentions something about a country and you know you will have a boring guy who has probably got a tale to tell about it or you know, he might do, so you have to sometimes temper it by, you might have been to all these places but not everyone wants to hear about them all, but you can be a quite enthusiastic person so you have to make sure that you don't get too enthused all the time about all the stuff you have done. I don't think I do particularly, but there's nothing worse than someone going Oh yes you know, the rest of the world is great but you are all saddos for staying here and never seeing it, I've never been that at all, you know different people have different levels of sort of aspiration and different interests really, like some people like to go and sit on a beach for a holiday and some people don't, I actually did want to sit on a beach one holiday but so I think it is, I definitely

think I have got a good rounded, you know I am very interested in world events, you know I was watching the news, I'm a bit of a news junkie really, and it is very interesting when you see something about a part of a country, not even a country you know, but part of a country, you know you feel you are more qualified in understanding because you understand what it is like in that country, albeit to a limited degree but certainly you know a whole lot more than if you hadn't been there. So yes, it means a lot to me and I am very glad that it is almost like that film, The ???, it's not something like one day I would like to do so and so, I have done that and I would love to do it again and do some more and do it 10 times over, but if circumstances or you know early death or whatever, ??/ but financial circumstances you know, a wonderful opportunity certainly to do that for some time, and I feel good that I have done that, I would hate to think, oh yes I have always wanted to go to so and so and never made it, you know I have always wanted to do and you do, you say oh yes I wish I had done that. I have some German friends who I just made friends with last year so they are living in Bournemouth with their three kids and their inspiration for coming over here was they were having a break in their career anyway, so they wanted to do something and they moved to England for two years with their three children, but because they said they didn't, sort of younger people go off travelling, friends travel the world but they never did and they didn't think it was realistic to do that with the three children, but they thought they would go and live in another country and give the kids a chance to improve their English and actually be grownups as well, as it's good that they recognised that they felt there was something missing that they didn't want to regret it so they had taken the plunge and spent two years living in Bournemouth, so I think that is definitely, they were glad of it, you know they are pleased to have and having done it and forever, always, just almost daily you know, just think about something, something just reminds me that I had a text from my sister, who is on a boat from Northern, a boat from Northern Thailand going to Laos, she is, just lost her bank card and this little note, having stuff nicked, and almost, initially you go oh yes, what about when I was on this trip and there's just these thoughts and references because having spent two years away, 700 days in places other than the UK, it's a lot of experiences to sort of call on.

Yes, so it is something that, you know, little things trigger, that every day. It's not a memory that's kind of packaged away, it's always.

No No, it's always there. Yes, lots of touch points, yes, oh yes, oh I think about that trip yes, lots of , I mean you say, you read, some woman last night was talking on the radio and she said something about Africa, or coming from Africa, and I was just thinking about, when you to start, I forgot what it was, ??? last night, the woman was saying, oh I come from Africa, she sounded American and I thought I wonder what she means by that and when she said Africa I said, yes would you say you come from Asia or would you say you come from Europe or would you actually say I come from France or Germany. You know, then I was thinking, if you were in Africa which, because she said it in a way, like just a ?????? you got the impression, oh yes I'm from Africa like with some kind of pride but actually if you came from say Libya or South Africa or Congo, you know there are lots of little parts of than Continent, and it's quite a broad term to say from Africa, in what context, so it's things like that I am thinking about my own trip there, I am thinking about my knowledge of having been to South Africa, where it actually is if someone said I'm from Africa so this is because of having been there, that makes you think, oh what identity is she trying to portray or how does she see herself when she says she is an African. She didn't sound, I don't know, I really, are there any countries in Africa where English is the first language, there are lots of parts of South Africa, where you know, there are huge numbers of other native, you know indigenous languages. Yes, I was just using that as an example, but it's not just, oh yes I remember when we were sat on the beach on Thailand or when we went diving in this place, it's about other people's experiences and then you sort, and then what their thoughts are and yes people come back from holidays or travels and trips and when you are talking to them they tell you it was amazing, it was the best thing I have ever done or it was the scariest thing I have ever done and again, you don't necessarily converse about it but in your head, my head, it's ccch ccch ccch, thinking, oh yes it was the best thing I've done or it was the worst, scariest thing, you know. ??? Well you know.

Thank you. This next question might be a bit of a personal question so please, if you don't feel comfortable answering it, don't. But you mentioned about your accident where you have the hip replacement. Does that play much of a part in your everyday life now?

Er, No. I mean it does in as much as I don't have any ill effects from it, but you know, so fortunately, although as far as, actually I was at home last night baking a cake, a little unusual, a mate came round and I didn't have my shoes on and when I don't have my built up shoe on, so sometimes I wear just one shoe, rather than wear my big boot I just wear like a sandal, Birkenstock thing on one foot on my shorter leg I wear that and he sort of walks in the door and he's like what are you doing walking around with one shoe on sort of thing, so I said, well ??? so it does have a small affect but it doesn't have a, it doesn't slow me down from doing things, it doesn't have that effect but it still, I wasn't sure you know, very much, if its the driver, that gave me the impetus to go and do stuff and watch the fly-wheel turning, you know, I am sure some of it, I'm not sure whether it's your sort of psyche or whatever approach to life anyway, but probably would still keep you conscious, but again when one has that training with a lorry, and er, you have to basically jump up into the back of this lorry, you know it's about four or five foot up in the air, the lorry driver was a young Dutch guy and he sort of hopped up, I was just conscious of not being able to hop up on the dodgy hip sort of thing, so in a sense it's what provides inspiration for

Yes, well that was the next part of the question really, but it was just, you know, if it prevents you doing anything that you wanted to do, but the next part was how important was it for you to make that first trip after the accident, when you said you were still with a walking stick

Oh yes, really important. The whole kind of, yes, you know self-esteem and that sort of, you know, sense of independence you get from travelling on your own particularly to then do that you know from a state of quite steep physical vulnerability to then, I am not over colouring it, but just get on with it, in spite of it, yes, you know, I was just bouncing, I can remember when I came back from there, just. I remember also, because, you know, you are meeting lots of strange people who would either take the piss or be quite sort of almost sympathetic but it was all quite interesting, you know, what's this young guy doing travelling around with a walking stick and built up shoe and hobbling around, what's your story kind of thing. So in some ways, it was a door opener, I can remember somewhere where I had a run in with a couple of guys in a hostel, in Budapest was it maybe, I was with this other guy, called Walter Knox, a really old guy, similarly very different to the conventional backpacker and he was retired at a young age from the Navy, American Forces, and he and I went to travel together, we

were at the same hostel and we would, sort of, hang out together and he was in his seventies or something, he had lost his wife, retired, he was travelling, I was travelling, and I can remember someone taking the piss, and say hey old man, and sort of, who's your cripple friend or something like that, and he was just sort of, oh fuck off, because you are still pretty ??? of getting abuse and some Aussie bloke took my walking stick off me when we were in Turkey and I felt really, you know, because obviously it was my only thing to get around, and that really, I could have, yes, you know, you feel very, like you know if I had been in a wheelchair, like if someone takes the wheelchair off you, it's like, I'm really stuffed now, they were having a laugh and having a couple of beers and you were just being a young dickhead but yes, that, but coming back to sort of finishing the trip, well actually, during the trip, just being there and just feeling you know, you are there independently and you know, it happens and makes you realise that it is not a problem. I mean it might be a consideration but it is not going to stop me doing everything particularly, you know you might not be able to do the water skiing, you might have done, but so, you know.

So, does it still have that same kind of motivating factor to still do more things?

Yes, it probably does to, yes, to try and do as much of it as possible, I suppose. Yes, sort of a, I tell you one thing, it's so good, it's such a good hip replacement that I almost don't, whereas at that time I hadn't had a hip replacement I had just had a smash up here, so I was really quite disabled so it was much more profound than it is now. You know, it is so good that I really don't feel, you know I have been, I suppose more conscious when I first had it done, I thought well it will only last sort of 10 years or you know you might need another one and you can only have two, you know that's why I wanted to delay it for so long so but that was 16 years I had my hip replacement. Yes, sixteen years ago so, eighteen years ago so it's almost like you know, it's still feels better now than it did say sort of 10 years ago, it's sort of, the first year when I had my hip done, when I spent two years really quite crippled, I suppose it then took a few years for me to put my muscles and back and everything to kind of find a new equilibrium so but no, I used to take sort of pain killers and that sort of stuff and now I never, I don't take any painkillers, I don't have any problems with it, which is incredible really. Because I am in a fortunate, well situations someone could be in, you know much, you know, I could have been really, I could have been in a different country and been much more affected by it. The guy who did it, I am seeing him on, no sorry not the guy who

had the accident, the guy who gave me, who did the original surgery to fix me up and then the hip replacement, I am seeing him on Monday for a beer.

Oh, brilliant.

Yes, he and I have kept in touch, because I have done some talks and stuff with him, where he is trying to show off to medical students about the fact that hip replacements aren't just given to old people but to young people as well, so I'm, and I was doing this programme last year which you know, the hotel inspector, I don't know if you have seen it, but the sort of show, well they did one on a hotel in Bournemouth with the public and I was sort of in the background and I had a text from this surgeon, saying, hey what do you know, I'm famous on TV, and loads of texting and tried to get together for a beer and didn't, so I am seeing him on Monday for a beer and a catch up, and that was quite interesting because to talk to him, just in awe of this guy and the fact that for the last 16 years of my life was made vastly better than it would have been if he hadn't got his hammer and saw and stuff out and done some decent carpentry on my leg. You know, and he has done it to thousands of people, what an incredible thing to have done with your life, you have made lots of people better and improved the lot of a lot of people. Amazing, so, sorry a little bit side tracked there, but. I feel sort of conscious of it but not really physically conscious of it.

Yes. OK, this is a follow up one. Now we go off at a slightly different angle. Could you tell me what you know or understand about climate change, please?

Yes, I would say my understanding of climate change is that the world has an equilibrium between the all different elements and whether the ground, in the water or in the air, and it's an evolving changing soup of chemistry really and different things on their whether it's plants or animals or it might be even the rocks themselves have, you know volcanoes going off, and suddenly it does change, there are different influences in that and it has changed over the millennia and you know the Thames used to freeze, just within, well not living memory but within modern memory so there has always been these kind of changes that, my understanding of climates change is that we, in the rapidly, increasingly industrial kind of world are influences getting greater and greater and through our activities the CO₂, the greenhouse gases that we emit mean that the whole world, the climate is changing, you know filling the ozone layer, melting the ice cap, raising the sea levels, having said that I do, I am not sort of saying I'm a sceptic, I

am still, because it's not a question of ways we can live, I am sure the way we live has some effect on it but whether there are greater effects and I think there are two sides, one is that I think we shouldn't just be using up all the natural resources, the non-renewable stuff just because they are finite and you know might down billions and trillions of gallons or barrels of oil, well we have and only time, when you are driving on the motorway and you see the streams of cars and you think all this is unsustainable, all this is just burning through the fossil fuels they finally exhaust, which in itself is so fundamentally a thing, you know, it is just, yes, it's like if you had, someone said, here's a, you know, you were bored so here's a million quid, spending like hundreds of pounds every day but actually if you had a million quid and every day you spent a hundred less than you had got then you would realise that you had nothing left, so I think that's the same with fossil fuel, but I do question sometimes the how much the effect when you do go around the world how incredibly vast it is you know, just massive, massive, and you sail across the ocean and you just think it's so big, so can 6 billion people all producing these greenhouse gases, what effect can we have? We can have an effect that has how big is it, and you know and I think it is an area which we need to know much more about, I am sure we will know much more about but how, what is our, say the world is changing anyway and let's say it's going sort of in one direction and our changes are also pushing in that direction what proportion are the changes that we introduce contributing towards it and what is the changes simply because of the cycles of the earth and equally if it's going, if the earth is going, let's just say into another little mini ice-age of going the other way, what effect would our changes have and this is also we are, it's history, what's history, well history is today, what we do today is tomorrow's history so I think we should preserve resources where we have them but that's not to say we shouldn't use resources and that's how it alters the, it is a like with things it's a funnel, like it's a bubble round the earth and all the stuff in the earth is pretty much always there it's just the form it takes whether the oxygen is in CO₂ or whether it's in water, it is still part of its patterns, so I am not completely sold on the fact that we should be, and also I think I am very conscious of the development, the developing world and their right to what we take for granted and our, we can't just say to them, oh no you can't do this, you can't do that because of what, we've had all that and we managed to sort of smoggy, you know crappy environment for many, many years which allowed us to get ahead of the game to where we are now, if you'd industrialised England, we would still have something left from

bath and whereas people would escape to Bath if only because of the smog of the city, so you know, we had our life, and again in Beijing, they are having a clean-up, the smog there, because they have got the whole area surrounded by factories just busy belching out stuff and they are trying to make stuff to try and to develop and prosper. You know they have got a right to do that and I think, yes, we must tread very carefully if you start dictating to these countries how they should, well their environmental sort of standard will create, you know I think you should, particularly like America, which is just like well you know, we will carve our own thing and that's very difficult to dictate to somewhere like China or India, you know you must toe the line, so I think climate change is, you know, it's kind of inevitable, it's changes which are our contribution to how we knit together, but yes I think if I knew that little train I have just shown you, I mean one of the reasons for going for that is for economic reasons, you know, we spent £87,000 on diesel last year, in the company, it's horrific, you know we carry like 40-50,000 passengers and we did you know, how I would like to think, if you work out the cost per passenger per mile environmentally and find you are better and cheaper than you were if they were in a car for example, but that's still £87,000, well probably about 87,000 litres of, well what does that work out at in gallons or barrels of oil which we have just burnt as a business, and you know, there's all that, just you know this little train's electric so, and they cost £1.50 a day to charge up and they will run for 15 hours ??? well actually that's just fantastic, that's so better obviously, economically it's much better but actually environmentally it's fantastic. ??? electricity doesn't grow on trees, so now you have, you produce the electricity, now you can say I'm going to buy the electricity from a green supplier and that's ??? you can do that, or you can say I'm going to choose to buy it from a wind farm or buy it from wherever, and paying a bill to a green source, maybe you pay a little bit of a premium for it, that's good, a good thing to do that. Is that what you wanted? What was your question about again?

Tell me about climate change, so yes.

Is that the sort of...

Yes.

Yes, that's my sort of, OK just to broaden it a little bit. What I know about it and also the fact that there are different views and there isn't a, I guess a global view of it being you know, there's not a definitive view of the science, there opposing views and there

are conflicting views and then you get into the whole, because it's such a massive, massive deal, you know, who is paying for the study, you know, who is sponsoring your PhD, you know, who is, who is paying your

Oh, um

BP?

It comes from the University in Sweden and Bournemouth University.

Right. Well say yours was done by BP or the Green Energy or something, you know, would the findings be different? Well, it could be yes, not that it affects your kind of credibility or due diligence or authenticity, but you know the way the question can be posed and therefore be answered, you could have the same area and you could have, and that's the thing, so whoever is sort of funding you and I think places like, we are talking about the Eden Project, a place like that is, it doesn't give you the answers necessarily but it sort of chucks up the questions and gets people to think about it and presumably a kind of you know this bit of consumer sort of thing comes from this tree or we have to cut down 10 of those trees to make one tyre or whatever it is, you know, well I like that, I think that's really important because people are very detached from it. I think about what I should try and recycle stuff, you know we have our big bin, little bin, and the big bin there's always absolutely masses, you know full to the brim, but the little bin is full as well and that's going to landfill, there's nappies and food waste and there's all the other stuff in there, well you know, I could probably be even more diligent and stuff, it gets to the point where, you know, you do your bit but I wouldn't sort of stop travelling if I thought I wanted to go to see a, I don't know, this train was in Holland, so I just jumped on a train and went to Holland, I felt I needed to go to see it, if you were going to spend £50 grand on it, sort of thing, so I went there and came back again and drove up to the airport and drove back again, you know, so I am not sort of, it's not holding me back from travelling.

Touching on the recycling thing, what else do you do in your everyday life that could be considered sort of environmentally friendly?

Um, I will try and have a, you know share lifts and you know, I cycle quite a lot, catch a bus, I know, I sort of think twice about jumping in your car, yes, definitely and there is an environmental effect to that, you know if I bought in, I went to this Drive to the

Coast Conference, where this guy from the Institute was talking about, it was great, down in Lyme Regis in the Marine Theatre there, and I actually said to the Drive to the Coast Team, how about laying on a bus, you know, people were driving from all over the place and he said a great idea and then ????? these were all people who were working for local government, getting paid 45/50p a mile and they are driving from all over the place but I just made my own way, and you know, these were all the people who were supposed to be environmentally kind of, well you would think they would be fairly tuned in, but there was no appetite, know know. I said, well I will lay on the bus, and we will charge them a fiver each or something but maybe they couldn't claim that back, but if they could claim 50 quid from the County and get their petrol paid and make £30 out of it, so, and that was, I didn't hear back, and I said, well you know we will do it at cost, all these people going from Dorchester to Lyme Regis and Swanage and wherever, and you pick up from here and pick up from there, ooh a bit complicated, you know, I have asked round and no-one's really that interested so I thought put that back in my box. So we had, we made little attempts like that. Oh yes, we have our bike card business on the seafront, that's one of our ways, and that's you know, sort of last year, this year unless we get a green light to go forward. I was chucking that at Bournemouth Tourism last week, just saying look you know, this is environmentally friendly, it is good for house, it's good for well-being all that sort of stuff particularly, should be do this, yeah, yeah, we should but they said but we need you to pay us a lot of money for us to run a bike hire business on the sea front. So I said, well what about the environmental stuff, oh well, you know that doesn't pay the wages. And I said to Mark, the Head of Tourism, that's the conversation I had with him, that's all very well but if we can earn x amount of money from the amount of footprint, from beach huts or burger van or whatever, then if you can't make it viable running a bike hire then sort of tough. So I said well, what, but his job is to make the books balance and so provide people with the services which are in demand from the public purse and he has to make the decision. ????? fiscal measure you know you do provide tax breaks or business rates relief all those things but there could be more of that for small entrepreneurial people, because once you get it going it is quite hard to make those decisions where what you really want is sort of young businesses that are in their infancy to start from the beginning and you think right this is what we are going to do and actually if we do it in an environmental way on an environmentally sustainable foundation then the only

reason we would do that would be because in terms of a tax break then that would be the basis and once you do that you have lost the chance so we will stick to it.

Yes, there needs to be some kind of incentive because generally with greener things, it costs more so you need

Absolutely, yes, I mean if you get plans and you get grants to buy electric cars but I think you should, yes, ??? I think there should be a real, I would be very happy as a tax payer to pay, you know, if they said right, your tax bill is going to go up by 50 quid a year or a 100 quid a year overall but that money should gross maybe hundreds and hundreds of million pounds but if that went into supporting environmental, you know an environmentally positive scheme I would be all for that, and I think that a load of people would be very happy, would rather spend it on that than, I know it's a bit of a cliché, but propping up banks and stuff which is actually not necessarily, you know it's a bit like Capability Brown, if you remember, who was a great gardener and yes, they built these gardens like Stourhead and places, they planted them two or three hundred years ago, and you know, it was never for them to enjoy in their lifetime, big oak trees and beech trees, these big avenues and stuff and you know when they died they would still have been quite small but now, 300 years later, there are these incredible rich valleys full of beautiful colours and magnificent trees and stuff because the folks then who would commission and had a lot of vision were looking at not today but at 300 years, but it's from one Parliament to the next, isn't it. And if you well it's today's modern, well you would know the answer to this, ???? it is very very ??? always trying to say, well you know, we want to do this for our children, but it is going to cost us more now, not going to happen is it? You know stringent time, and all that, you know or if maybe times are a bit better, people recognise when they are skint but when times are good people still don't really recognise that and think things are easier, but yes well, you know, I normally go to Florida but I go twice a year but I can only afford to go once this year and people, you know, buying stuff which is actually well, you know, yes because you are still going on holiday and so what was the question, sorry.

It was about what you do in your everyday life

Oh yes. It is, personal, oh yes, we sort of try and recycling, ???? I go to their bins rather than ???? not because I am having a search through their bins but if I do find paper in there I put it in the recycling, I mean it's not going to save the planet is it but we always

do things like sending the toners somewhere. Oh, yes, this morning when I was up at the yard and actually one of the guys who works for me and I was just clearing out the yard a bit and I was putting the rubbish bags and stuff and there was some rubbish in the corner and I said, oh, he said, oh no that's not ours, and I thought, it doesn't matter if it's ours or not it's clearly a load of rubbish, it was from the old previous tenants, it's someone else's rubbish, and I said what's wrong with that, but that's the kind of attitude I have, you know, I am not saying that every time I walk passed a crisp packet I pick it up but quite often I will, especially if there's a bin within the sight, I don't want to talk along carrying somebody's dirty old crisp packet for the rest of the day but if there's a bin close by and it's something that has blown out, then I will definitely pick it up and put it in there so what we don't do, when we were the Green Energy sorry a bit of Green Toys of Business Scheme, they had things about, there was stuff on their like a green tariff and I asked what that was about, you know, how many wattage is your kettle, and how many, do you use the environmentally, buy the available washing up liquid and stuff and we don't, we have got a kettle, it goes on about 20 times a day because everyone is sitting there drinking tea and we don't worry, we just use whatever cleaning fluids like we always have, but I don't have an actual problem, I don't know I probably should, I technically could do more to be sort of, I suppose you assume nowadays, the government I suppose or the European legislation even for, you know, the stuff that you are pouring down the drain, you know the washing up liquid, is probably not too bad anyway, you know whereas it was no good 20 years ago, you know there's more scope for making choices now, generally and the stuff we use for washing the buses, there is an environmental term for it, or there was on one of the forms, it was quite expensive, you know biodegradable, whereas now we use some standard industrial cleaning stuff, it's not massively, it's not toxic at all but it's not, I don't know, it probably is still oil based rather than completely water based or something. So yes, stuff like that. I can't really claim much credit for making big environmentally, you know recycling or, and so we should, as I say we must get the old electricity on to, have you ever, you must use electricity, it's just like linking your computer to a site, Power plant, and ??? last year we used a lot of fuel on that, running that, we really didn't make any money from it. So we are redesigning the route to make it shorter, so we burn less fuel, and we ??? less people and we obviously failed to make some money, in fact we were losing money but certainly part of that, it breaks my heart to see a bus running around with just a bus driver on it and no passengers because it's not the right route or it's not the time. We

tried to ??? but an equal driver if not probably more, I missed the financial element to that, trying to, already try to ???

Yes, research has shown that there is a link between climate change and holiday travel. Have you ever considered this link before?

Erm, just expand on research has shown.

For example, the tourism contributes to 5% of global CO₂ emissions and from that 5%, of tourism's overall contribution air travel contributes to 95% of emissions so have you ever considered the emissions through tourism?

As a tourist or as a business?

As a tourist.

No, not really, no I think ???? like CO₂ and things like that, again this Jurassic Coast Conference thing you know, I was talking to a lot of people about this whole idea of about the Jurassic Visitors aside and tourism to the Jurassic Coast, and they said, oh it will bring us thousands and thousands of people every year and show them the coast and the question was asked "is that a good thing" you know with bringing in extra people just the footprint of those people, you know yes we are very enthusiastic to get them there but not much per person ??? but if we were taking loads and loads more people there and there was more and more travelling around, the net effect is more CO₂ emissions so is that a good think? I think it's probably not environmentally but I would hope that just like 100 years ago there wasn't the internal combustion engine or they had just sort of started, so the year before that we had the steam, donkeys and I have no doubt that in 50 years' time, if not before, the buses taking people around will be electric buses via renewable energy so do we just stop everything and wait for that day to come and then start everything again? I don't know that we could do that but I think the start which funds those things it's all before, very well Toyota and Nissan and Ford having electric cars, but actually you need Mercedes and Iveco and Ford, the commercial manufacturers say actually there is a demand for environmentally sourced sustainable method of transport and we know that because we have got the tour companies saying they are going to the Jurassic Coast and they would love to have an electric minibus, and ???? and I am conscious, you know, when I went to Tunisia and the caves and Majorca, Palma, there's a plane, this is made all this income coming and

going, do I see that as being, yes I feel there are so many, you can pillory, you can pillory air travel because it is so seen as a more discretionary activity, does that mean it is only less valid or less justified, you know I mean if you have got a factory over there pumping out load of CO₂ making widgets, then you have got a plane over there pumping out CO₂ taking people on holiday is that more important, can you say one is more important than the other and you know, does a week in the sun once a year make me feel better and enjoy my life more, absolutely, absolutely. Is that important to me, absolutely and so the per person bit on there is, you know I am sure your numbers are bang-on, you know you jump on a jet plane and you whoooooor, but again the actual contribution per person of that trip is it what proportion, let's just say I'm a person and I produce x amount of CO₂ a year just by breathing, you know, are you telling me that I should have all my life's activities kind of if I want to go for a holiday and the CO₂ for that holiday, not just the domestic and not the kind of eating and drinking, but the actual additional CO₂ that I will contribute if I was at home, what proportion of that is it by comparison, that would be interesting to know, wouldn't it. Because I bet it's like 1 or 2% or something, so I would rather say change to green electricity to get a more fuel efficient car to save 10% of my footprint than have four holidays.

I have a question that kind of follows on. The government have made a pledge to commit to reducing emissions by 80% by the year 2050, I think it was, so for a household that means going from producing 10 tonnes of CO₂ a year down to 2 tonnes but currently a return flight to Mexico is 1.3 tonnes per person. So if you were given more information on that would it make you think about things differently if, you know, your household guideline was 2 tonnes and your, just your flight

Yes, I just wanted to remember what the numbers were. Erm, Mexico is a long way. No, it's ??? The house is like 10 tonnes to bring it down to 2 it would be 1.48 to Mexico, I want that qualified is that based on the fuel inefficiency or an old banger of an airline.

That figure is from TUI. They have quite a sort of good environmental policy or they promote their good environmental policy.

So, it's 1.83

1.3 tonnes, it's a return flight to Mexico.

OK. 1.3 tonnes, so, six and a half, what's the average size of the, I just think that, I find that, how many on the plane? 500 people?

Yes, I guess so, I don't know actually.

Well let's say, I don't know, let's say there's 300 people on the plane, let's say that, let's see if ??? numbers, going there and coming back again we are using 650, we are producing 650 tonnes of CO₂, now what relationship does the amount of ??? have to the fuel, let's say, let's be creative from the carbons in the fuel, combined with the oxygen that is coming in, I don't know what the weight is but does a plane really carry 300, let's say the fuel weight because I see a CO₂ weight, does the fuel, does a plane carry 300 tonnes of fuel, I am sure it doesn't because it is ??? it carries a lot but it still seems like a, yes, so, I'll have to narrow these under, I think that is, that will be the exact sort of thing I would respond to and I would respond to in a way or we are planning with some friends, we are looking at going to Croatia and there's, we have got 6 people in our family and they have got 6 in their family, so there's 12 people to Croatia and back, quite a lot of people really and we were going to look at flying and if we book up soon, we can fly relatively cheaply but the other alternative is that we go by minibus, we have got minibuses and both myself and the other Dad would really fancy the old road trip and the wives with the 8 children between them are not so keen. And we are thinking that we just drive, we either drive at night, they will have a day in Paris and he and I will share the driving, so we will drive overnight and have a day maybe in Prague and then drive overnight and have a day somewhere else and then get there and have a week there and do the same coming back. So basically giving the kids a day in Paris, a day maybe in Munich as well, and it would be interesting to do that sort of thing. What would be interesting to do with that sort of thing would be to say, well this will be the CO₂ emissions of us taking these flights, the 12 of us, or this would be the CO₂ emissions of us getting in the minibus and you know, factoring in the ferry and the Channel Tunnel as well, and it would be good to have a tool to allow you to do that. You know, the Carbon Trust or something and put your car in and ??? making a contribution, I think it is all buying the carbon credit, to me that's a nonsense that's a sort of we'll plant some trees for you, that's not how I think it should be done. I guess if you are a big business and you are producing stuff, it gives you an opportunity to offset some to mitigate it, but it got to be worth not to put yourself in it in the first place,

I guess. Yes, I think, ??? some mileage if the Government, having said that, I have got a vested interest in the tourism industry and I'm wouldn't want people to stop. I mean if some of it were proved on both counts, you know if the airport shut and if we get more flights, we in Bournemouth would win in a way, but if people stayed at home, we assume people still want to have holidays and can afford it, then if they have holidays in Bournemouth as a UK destination, you know, that is good for us too. If you are setting somebody ??? in a foreign parts, you know, we live on an island so if you get off the island you have got to get on a boat or a plane and if you are going somewhere up north so it is probably going to be a plane. If only for time, you know, we used to have summer holidays and we've had like three weeks, three and a half weeks, and we would get in the car and we would drive, so I think, I can't imagine us having, you know, I can't more than two weeks off due to just working. If you work for the University or you have got a government job you have got a, my sister and a friend of mine both have, one works at the University and one works at the hospital, but they accrue so much time off in lieu with their jobs because they only have to work a 37 hour week so, and often they work like a normal person that works more than that, but in a commercial line you don't get paid and you don't get time off in lieu, you just expect to do it, you are on a salary and that's what you do as part of your job whereas they say they have got all this thirty days or twenty days' time off, I have got to use it up, you know, and that's the public sector for you. And they will have like 6 weeks off in the summer, they have this massive holiday to use up all their time, blimey so you are probably more likely to do a road trip, I am talking about what is actually a fortnight, you don't want to spend half of it in a minibus or a car driving there or do you want to get on at Bournemouth Airport and you know, when we went to Barcelona from Bournemouth, you know literally from our, sort of, front door to the hotel was like 4 hours or 5 hours. You get to the airport, get on a plane over there on to the bus into Barcelona from Gerona, schwps, blimey that was quick, you know, I was home at lunch time and that was tea time, massively convenient isn't it. Electric planes, some way off!!

Have you ever thought about measuring your carbon footprint? You mentioned, you know, the Carbon Trust and typing in things, have you ever considered doing it?

No, ??? is the Carbon Trust, or is it Climate care? Carbon Climate care, I can't remember. ??? You know you get on a flight and you say how many miles you are

doing, look at the thing, and then you pay them and they will ??? Well we did that for the business, like four years ago or something and we had all our logo and our ??? set up and, I thought no, this is bollocks really. I just don't think, as I say, nobody has done anything on a personal, no because as I say, I might have told you this story before, stop me if I did, about a mate, well he's a friend of a friend really, who was working for the World Wildlife Fund, I think it was. Did I tell you the story about fridges in China.

Oh it sounds familiar but no.

Well, I'll tell you again. He was basically saying, because he was working in the World Wildlife Fund or Trust, whatever it is, they used to have a panda for their log and he was out in, doing stuff in China and while he was there they were trying to convince British manufacturers to make fridges more efficient because they said, roughly speaking that there were a billion people in China and this was 10 years ago or so, and something like 20% of the Chinese people had access to a fridge. IN the UK, yes, 100% have access to a fridge so assuming they are going to be developing 800 million who in the next twenty years will have access to a fridge, and if the average fridge deals say 5 people, or I'll say 4 people, it comes down to, so it's going to be 200 million fridges are going to be needed and if the life expectancy of a fridge is 10 years, then that's 20 million fridges being output and the efficiency of those fridges is, to power those fridges you need make up a number, say 10 power stations, coal burning power stations, there's lots of coal in China, if we could make those fridges, fridge manufacturers to make those fridges sort of 50% more efficient, we can save building 5 coal fired power stations, and obviously the coal they are producing is seriously reducing. And I thought, Oh brilliant, that's going to make such a difference, that's the stuff that to say that, because you can do things efficiently, more efficiently, just make sure you are only allowed to do it efficiently and ??? that was what 10 million a year, that's why the stuff I think is great when they say that little car has no road tax and this one is, you know, £500 road tax and that's exactly how it should be and I think that should be, there should be laws and legislation which stops people producing stuff that is, especially little, jerry-built consumers, you know if you have got a really nice old Rolls Royce which is 50 years old you should still be allowed to drive it down the road even though it might be, only do 2 miles to the gallon, you can't just, you know, dismantle the whole fabric and bloody culture but kind of new technology and new things going forward there should be every incentive and every reason why people, as I

say, it sounds a bit weird but you don't go from, you know, sort of, to Utopia from where we are, there's a road to go, so as long as you are going down that road and things have to be commercially viable to, you know, you have got to talk to the crowd all the time. Yes. What was the question, I was daydreaming away.

Erm, measuring your carbon footprint.

Yes, I don't. Again, if there was a tool, an easy tool to do that, there probably is, I don't know, on a government website somewhere.

Yes, there's some kind of thing where you can enter you know the amount you sort of from all your bills and things the energy you are using and different things, and it comes out on a page.

Then that totally seems like an arbitrary figure then, doesn't it? It says, but if it said for example, OK you put in what you are doing now, if you you know, drove, you know, 10 miles a week and if you I don't know turned all your lights off and der der der di der, that would save you this much as far as CO₂ and this much money, then that would probably be, you know if you could be bothered to go on it and look at it. I don't know, I mean it's a bit like religion in as much as you can get these sort of things, thou should do this and thou should do that, you can either live under a Christian framework or a, you know, Muslim framework or whatever, you know, a different, they are all fundamentally kind of the same, same sort of approach to life, and so that sort of thing about ????? government, particularly, I try and give me your messages and give me an idea of what's going on, what's, oh, yes, this is ??? and I didn't know that, you are virtually told when things are good or bad for you and if you can manage it. But then you know, I personally don't mind being fiscally kind of influenced by certain people, not by certain things, but ultimately, I want the freedom to make the majority of those decisions myself, I don't want someone saying you know, like fags, you know, they might be £7 a pack and if I chose to smoke cigarettes and pay £7 then that would be my right to do that, and I think we can't, I don't like the idea when you cannot, you are not allowed to do that, but it is a good incentive to do things the right way. Yes, it's funny it's the big things I feel about, like the Arctic, Christ if the whole Arctic ice cap melted how ?????, you know that's a real profound change to the planet in the, you know on our tours we often talk about how the sea level rises and that has made quite a big difference to our coastline around here, and the effects of it. And you think, if over a period of

say, you know they are talking about 50 years or 100 years there is going to be a really dramatic change, what's it going to be like in 500 years or 1000 years, you know the world will be a very, very different place. But yes, I think that the science of it is so, is really not very well understood at all.

No. no.

You know the people are starting to, the part people are trying to understand what they really should be looking at but the actually really getting any detailed stuff they are looking at it is, and again, ??? if you start experimenting, the validity of them really having ??? over time, if you start now in the last decade, it might be in 50 years, oh no it's actually nothing to do with that, it's just fact the moon has had a little wobble and it does that every three and a half thousand years, that's why it's called a hot, you know, it's going to get cold again, you know, it always does that after a hot bit, and then the whole of the climate has changed and oh this is a nonsense and I am that unconvinced. I'll still do everything just generally so that ??? waste but I am not convinced, you know, I think that mother earth needs looking after, and be respectful and protected, you know, I hate, it's hideous just thinking about contamination, you know, I remember watching the laying of the oil pipeline in Dorset, you know Wych Farm, and they are incredibly careful with the, you know, protecting the environment. I remember going to places in Ecuador where there was an oil field, and there was this bloody mess, you know, and there were all these pipes running from the forest and stuff, where there were leaks and barrels at exchange points and whatever, it was just black, shitty, just straight into the earth and I thought, Christ, this is awful, you know, it was such a natural environment that everything was organic, everything was just you know, you might put your rubbish on the floor but the rubbish issue is like a banana skin or a in the worst case, ???, there was oil spouting out and that really kind of grates and you see, but having said that, you just go to the Beach near Durdle Door, if they didn't clean the beach once a month, it's disgusting because it is south-westerly facing and all the flotsam and jetsam comes up on the beach and. Sorry I keep losing track.

No, that's alright. I've actually asked or we have covered all my questions. So thank you.

I think it is good, all that stuff and the work you are doing, is valid, trying to understand why people do things. No, the travel, well fundamentally, I am in the tourism business

and I think as science and technology develops, and as the economic prosperity of the globe develops, because it is, it's inevitable really, to what point I don't know, because things aren't, things can't go on forever sort of thing, they will stabilise at a certain point but as the world continues to prosper and people's lifestyles and aspirations and as they see Bali or whatever, what they could be aspiring to, so their eyes are opened to new opportunities, then people will want to experience them. People will want to travel, people will want to you know, get out there and smell it and live and breathe everything and do something different and people will have, in theory, work less, you know will have more leisure time, will want to have that leisure time doing different things. They might be playing tennis every afternoon after work but they will also be saying they want to have a weekend here and a weekend there, have a holiday, have three holidays and but again, probably the bigger thing will be when 1% of the Chinese population want to leave the country every year. You know, how many people in the UK as a percentage leave the UK every year? Probably, 30% or something, no it's probably more than that, most people I know leave the country once a year. So if you had half a billion people from China wanting to leave the country to visit overseas places every year, that will make a difference but why shouldn't that happen, if they, give China another 100 years, unless there's some sort of catastrophic, cataclysmic sort of thing which changes the whole world order they will want to experience it and that kind of fall out scares the life out of me. You think about it, if you had just loads and loads and loads of Chinese, I love Chinese people, there's nothing wrong with them, I'm just using them as an example, it's the biggest, most populous country, if you had you know about 20 million visitors to the UK every year, it's something like that broadly, say you had, and the Chinese love the UK, if you suddenly had another 20 million came, all Chinese and all wanted to see Stonehenge, Bath, Oxford, you know would that corrupt it? Yes, it would. It wouldn't matter what nationality they were, with that massive influx of visitors, interesting a bit of an aside, most businesses, tourism businesses they kind of nibble away and they grow, Paulton's Park, introduced a Pepper Pig World in the last year or so, you might have seen it on the roadside, sort of advertising stuff, my little kid, you know Pepper Pig, you know a TV character, they used to have half a million visitors a year there, they spent 5 million quid apparently on this Pepper Pig World and I am not sure if it's a theme park around this character, but their visitor numbers have gone from half a million to a million, so they have taken, so it's taken them, it must be about a year, their 23rd year, to get up to half a million

visitors a year, so this is a very, very good solid, sort of local, regional tourist attraction and by introducing one promotional thing, they have just doubled their visitors, which is incredible, you know 5 million quid, they had a, they put in a new ride and the ride cost us a million or two million and that might get a few more visitors but to do this thing, it is just interesting how dynamic the market is and you know, you create something and the means to get there and the attractive price, good value and stuff and just like, bloody hell, so they have doubled their market in a year and actually doubling our market for overseas visitors just from China, if you, you know that is totally realistic in say over a 20 year period, maybe and then how that affects us on the ground, and how would that affect just that pressure on our infrastructure let alone the cultural differences you know, where the language, where we were, yes, so I say, we are small cogs in the wheel but there are a lot of other, and this is serious, it's a big old world, but that could have a bigger effect on us, I don't know in the Western World you have one, if you are lucky, maybe two holidays a year, you are probably, you are not going to be doubling it to four or five, partly you haven't got the time, you have got other commitments, other things but a couple of times a year is nice and most people probably would aspire to much more than that if they had the extra ???? but to go through the current currency with the vast majority of Chinese people as I say, not having a holiday at all and often working seven days a week, to suddenly to go to, no we go for a fortnight every, and it might be a two stages to it, so the first is they go to Szechuan Province or they go to Hong Kong or they go local and then they think why don't we all go to Europe. We are noticing, certainly in the last 8 years, with [company], I know that we are seeing a lot more Chinese people. Yes, we've had a load of Chinese groups wanting to book up a load of trips. Great. Bring em on, you know. So in the industry that's what I want to see, you know, I've got a payroll to pay and people to think about actually what we generally do, the overall pack, puts on activities, is a pretty solid, good offer, you know we are not selling fags to kids outside school gates or nuclear warheads to Iran or anything, it's all fun, it's positive and it's a kind of growing, industry or will continue to grow so it's a good fun thing to be a part of. So I don't know whether in the future, say in 10 years' time whether the environmental stuff will all just, you know, you obviously have a dramatic things to keep in people's minds, you know like a big ice shelf to break off and come floating into the Atlantic and bump into Ireland or something, your crisis is really happening now, if people just, sort of, it's been like this for the last 10 years and 20 or thirty years later, yes we recycle and we have wind farms, and we have, but you know, a

its academic or something, it's very, very profound, you know people will die in massive populations being wiped out and kids being orphaned it's very strong and powerful, climate change is so hard to get hold of and to really be, you know, especially with an opposing, you know a bit like the Holocaust, you know, it happened, everyone knows that but people can't imagine it, it was horrific and stuff, but it did happen so people did something tangible there and that's why that will never happen again because of x, y, z. You get the odd loony saying it didn't happen but, yes, you know and things like that people will, you know, governments will get together and people will agree, people will know what flying values are as a reference point, but climate change, you know, you only need like a winter like last winter, cor, crunch, bloody hell, you know, all nice in the summer, you know, climate change, bring it on, we love it, because does it matter? Plus the other thing is actually is does it matter, what is the end going to be for climate change? Climate does change, whereas the climate here, when the white chalk cliffs of the cretaceous chalk cliffs of Old Harry were laid down, this bit of land, which was under water, it was all sea bed, was much closer to the Equator, more like the Caribbean is now. That's what it was like, you know and when all the, you know, the Jurassic bed laid down and then the Triassic beds were laid down, the Triassic was more like Namibia probably, you know if you go down to Devon and Cornwall, all the red sandy rock and you go to the Namib Desert it's all red, with the iron in the sand, it rusts a little bit that's why it's red, it's all this change because the climate has changed, so how bad would it be if the world warmed up by sort of 2 degrees on average, yes it would, low lying, if you lived in East Anglia, you know, say Holland, I was talking to this guy and he had shown on the map where all the reclaimed land in Holland, you know and they just, that wasn't managing climate change, that was just managing the fact that in quite a small country, they put a wall, a dyke through there and there, and they increased their country by about a third again or something. You know. A massive amount, it's a huge area, as far as you can see, all around is reclaimed land, this was all on the sea bed once, this was just, they just drained it, put a dyke in a drained it and that, you know, so could you manage the environmental consequences of global, I'm getting mixed up, you know with global warming. ????? being the most profound effect of climate change, yes, how bad would that be, you know? I don't know, what are the worst, what's the worst case scenario? You know, you can freeze, again that would, would probably be a deeper pressure than ???? you could say well with climate change you wouldn't be able to grow, the bread baskets of

India or whatever, like the rice, well maybe not, but actually you probably would be able to do it, given a different strain, you know genetically modify the stuff all around, well not even GM stuff, just generally, they would find things that do perform as they always have done, that's why we all eat starch, today whether it's rice, pasta, spuds, we all eat starch as part of our diet, proteins we can get our hands on and then vitamins from fresh fruit and vegetables but you know, they have the Sami people of Lapland eat lots of reindeer meat and not much in the way of green vegetables but you know,

They survive

Yes, they might have weird livers or something and stuff and there's other people who have a vegetarian diet and eat berries and nuts, and shit, and we are incredibly versatile creatures, as animals, as human beings are animals, so we can cope with a lot of things. I guess it's the, you know it's the feelings of the effect on other creatures and flora and fauna and what will those affects be and yes, I suppose, do you try in all ways to prevent any type of change or do you accept that change is inevitable and you know try and record what's gone before and not, yes, I don't know, you feel like a species, do you say you know there's an island over there, which has got this one unique animal and basically if the sea levels rise that island is going to be, is going to disappear so that thing will be extinct and we can, and they say you can't keep it in a zoo for whatever reason, there's some sort of weird thing about that island, it has to live on that island. Do you then put a fence around the island, with a dyke, and then if the sea level rises by 10 metres, then there's this little concrete thing with an island down below it which is sort of, I don't know, or do you just say well actually this is because every day there is hundreds of species becoming extinct and maybe view it on the scale of evolving, I don't know.

This research just seems to be bringing up more questions than answers.

Yes, well that's just frustrating, as long as you have got something sort of solid to hand in to something definitive, some yes a bit of meat to it so that your supervisor or whatever can say, fine bit of work there, yes it is a bit woolly and people, like I say have different views, it's not even like polarising, the thing when you would say I believe it or I don't believe it, whereas now people can derive different flavours, you know, I often used to have arguments with people in the pub about some stuff and on some hand you would think I was being really, I was an environmental activist and other times you

know I'm some sort of gung-ho petrol head but it is just different, but today it depends on which angle, which sort of side you are looking at. So, when are you hoping to get this finished; by the end of year? ... (Talk about PhD process)

Appendix 6: Ethics checklist

Initial Research Ethics Checklist



Note: All researchers should complete this brief checklist to identify any ethical issues associated with their research. Before completing this, please refer to the BU *Research Ethics Code of Practice* which can be found www.bournemouth.ac.uk/researchethics.
School Research Ethics Representatives (or Supervisors in the case of students) can

1 RESEARCHER DETAILS						
Name	Julia Hibbert					
Email	jhibbert@bournemouth.ac.uk					
Status	<input type="checkbox"/> Undergraduate		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Postgraduate		<input type="checkbox"/> Staff	
School	<input type="checkbox"/> BS	<input type="checkbox"/> CS	<input type="checkbox"/> DEC	<input type="checkbox"/> HSC	<input type="checkbox"/> MS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SM
Degree Framework & Degree Programme	PhD					
2 PROJECT DETAILS						
Project Title	Tourism Travel and Identity					
Project Summary <i>Sufficient detail is needed in order to make judgements on ethical concerns/ risks; include methodology, sample, outcomes etc</i>	<p>Aim: To enhance the understanding of the role played by personal identity in tourism mobility.</p> <p>Methodology: Qualitative method of narrative inquiry with a 'pre-interview' written travel biography. The only sample criteria is that the person has to be over 25 years of age. The interview will be recorded and transcribed and will last approximately 1 hour.</p> <p>Depending on the outcome of the interviews a second interview may be required.</p>					
Proposed Start and End	March 2010 – July 2011					

Dates of Data Collection			
Project Supervisor	Janet Dickinson		
Framework Project Co-ordinator	N/A		
3 ETHICS REVIEW CHECKLIST – PART A			
I	Has a health & safety evaluation / risk assessment been conducted?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
II	Is approval from an external Research Ethics Committee (e.g. Local Research Ethics Committee (REC), NHS REC) required/being sought?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
III	Is the research solely literature-based?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
IV	Does the research involve the use of any dangerous substances, including radioactive materials?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
V	Does the research involve the use of any potentially dangerous equipment?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
VI	Could conflicts of interest arise between the source of funding and the potential outcomes of the research? (see section 8 of BU Research Ethics Code of Practice).	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
VII	Is it likely that the research will put any of the following at risk:	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
	Living creatures?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
	Stakeholders?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No

	The environment?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
	The economy?		
VIII	Does the research involve experimentation on any of the following:	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
	Animals?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
	Animal tissues?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
	Human tissues (including blood, fluid, skin, cell lines)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
	Genetically modified organisms?		
IX	Will the research involve prolonged or repetitive testing, or the collection of audio, photographic or video materials?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
X	Could the research induce psychological stress or anxiety, cause harm or have negative consequences for the participants or researcher (beyond the risks encountered in normal life)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
XI	Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics (e.g. sexual activity, drug use, criminal activity)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
XII	Will financial inducements be offered (other than reasonable expenses/ compensation for time)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
XIII	Will it be necessary for the participants to take part in the study without their knowledge / consent at the time?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
XIV	Are there problems with the participant's right to remain anonymous?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No

XV	Does the research <i>specifically</i> involve participants who may be vulnerable?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
XVI	Might the research involve participants who may lack the capacity to decide or to give informed consent to their involvement?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
4 ETHICS REVIEW CHECKLIST – PART B			
Please give a summary of the ethical issues and any action that will be taken to address these. If you believe there to be no ethical issues please enter “NONE” into the box.			
Ethical Issue		Action	
NONE			
5 STATEMENT – to be signed by Researcher			
I believe that the information I have given in this form is correct. I have read and understood the BU Research Ethics Code of Practice, evaluated relevant insurance issues, performed a health & safety evaluation/ risk assessment and discussed any issues/ concerns with a School Ethics Representative/ Supervisor.			
Signed		Date	
6 RECOMMENDATION ON THE RESEARCH PROJECT'S ETHICAL STATUS – to be signed by School Research Ethics Representative/ Supervisor			
Satisfied with the accuracy of the research project ethical statement, I believe that the appropriate action is:			
The research project proceeds in its present form		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
The research project proposal needs further assessment under		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No

the School Ethics procedure*			
The research project needs to be returned to the research student for modification prior to further action*		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
<p><i>* The School is reminded that it is their responsibility to ensure that no project proceeds without appropriate assessment of ethical issues. In extreme cases, this can require processing by the School or University's Research Ethics Committee or by relevant external bodies.</i></p>			
<p>7 AFFIRMATION BY SCHOOL RESEARCH ETHICS REPRESENTATIVE/ SUPERVISOR</p>			
<p>I have read this Ethical Review Checklist and the BU Code of Practice and I can confirm that, to the best of my understanding, the information presented is correct and appropriate to allow an informed judgement on whether further ethical approval is required.</p>			
Applicant Signature		Date	16/03/10
Reviewer Signature			

Appendix 7: Risk assessment

General Risk Assessment Form

Before completing this form, please read the associated guidance on 'I: Health & Safety/Public/Risk Assessment/[Guidance](#).

Use this form for all risks except from hazardous substances, manual handling & Display Screen Equipment (specific forms are available for these).

If the risk is deemed to be 'trivial' there is no need to formally risk assess.

All completed forms must give details of the person completing the assessment.

Risk assess the activity with its present controls (if any) -then re-assess if action is to be taken and after further controls are put in place.

The completed form should be kept within the School/Service/Department.

1. Describe the Activity being Risk Assessed:					
Interviews					
2. Location(s):					
In participant's home, office, café or Bournemouth University campus					
3. Persons at potential Risk (e.g. Specific Staff only, General Staff, Students, Public etc.):					
Julia Hibbert					
4. Potential Hazards i.e. <u>What Could Happen?</u> (NB: List hazards without considering any existing controls):					
Fieldwork – interviewing participants – risk to personal safety.					
5. Control Measures Already In Place:					
A record will be maintained of the date, time and location of interviews and the participants' contact details. This will be left with a friend or colleague who will be informed on return. A mobile phone will be carried at all times.					
6. Standards to be Achieved: (ACOPs, Qualifications, Regulations, Industry Guides, Suppliers instructions etc)					
7. Are the risks adequately controlled (bearing in mind 4. & 5.)? Write 'Yes' or 'No': YES					
If Yes , Step 8: <u>Ensure that those affected are informed of the Risks and Controls:</u> Confirm how you have done this (e.g. written instructions):					
Then, complete boxes below and the assessment is finished until the review date(s):					
9. Person(s) Who did Assessment:	Julia Hibbert	10. Date :	16/03/10	11. Review Date:	
12. Checked By:	Janet Dickinson	13. Date :	16/03/10	14. Review Date:	
If No (to Q7) go to next section and estimate 'Residual Risk'.					

<p>Estimating the Residual Risk: 15. Choose a category that best describes the degree of harm which could result from the hazard, then choose a category indicating what the likelihood is that a person(s) could be harmed. Check only ONE box within the table which matches both of your choices.</p>			
Degree of harm	Slightly Harmful (e.g. minor injuries such as minor cuts/bruises not always requiring first aid)	Harmful (e.g. serious but short-term injuries such as broken bones or curable disease)	Extremely Harmful (e.g. would cause fatality, major long-term injuries or incurable disease)
likelihood			
Highly Unlikely	Trivial Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Tolerable Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Moderate Risk <input type="checkbox"/>
Unlikely	Tolerable Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Moderate Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Substantial Risk <input type="checkbox"/>
Likely	Moderate Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Substantial Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Intolerable Risk <input type="checkbox"/>
16. Then note the advice below on suggested action and timescale			
Residual Risk Level	Action and Timescale		
Trivial Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	No action is required and no documentary records need to be kept.		
Tolerable Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	No additional controls are required. Consideration may be given to a more cost-effective solution or improvement that imposes no additional cost burden. Monitoring is required to ensure that the controls are maintained		
Moderate Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Efforts should be made to reduce the risk, but the costs of prevention should be carefully measured and limited. Risks reduction measures should be implemented within a defined period. Where the moderate risk is associated with extremely harmful consequences, further assessment may be necessary to establish more precisely the likelihood of harm as a basis for determining the need for improved control measures.		
Substantial Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Work should not be started until the risk has been reduced. Considerable resources may have to be allocated to reduce the risk. Where the risk involves work in progress, urgent action should be taken.		
Intolerable Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Work should not be started or continued until the risk has been reduced. If it is not possible to reduce the risk even with unlimited resources, work has to remain prohibited.		
17. If 'Moderate' 'Substantial' or 'Intolerable': What New Control Measures are to be Considered to reduce risk?		18. Referred to:	19. On Date:
20. Ensure those affected are informed of the Risks & Controls Confirm how you have done this e.g. written instructions:			
21. Person(s) Who did Assessment:		22. Date:	23. Review Date:
24. Checked By:		25. Date:	26. Review Date:

Appendix 8: List of conference presentations

Conference Presentations

- **3-6/07/12 – Psychological and behavioural approaches to understanding and governing sustainable tourism mobility, Freiburg, Germany –**
Paper/Presentation: Identity and tourism mobility: an exploration of the attitude-behaviour gap – a conceptual framework paper
- **28/06/12 – 4th Annual PGR Conference, Bournemouth, UK –**
Poster: Tourism, Travel and Identity – outline of my PhD research including results
- **15/05/12 – School of Tourism PhD Poster Conference, Bournemouth, UK –**
Poster: Tourism, Travel and Identity – outline of my PhD research including results
- **24-29/04/12– 6th World Graduate Conference for Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure, Fethiye, Turkey –**
Presentation: Understanding the influence of interpersonal relationships on Tourism Mobility.
- **12/01/11 – 3rd Annual PGR Conference, Bournemouth, UK –**
Poster: Tourism Travel and Identity – Outlining research to date with preliminary findings
- **28-30/09/11 – People, Places, Stories, Kalmar, Sweden. Presentation:** Tourism Travel and Identity - a paper based on two themes from my PhD study
- **1-3/09/10 – IBG-RGS Annual Conference, London UK –**
Presentation: Tourism, Travel and Identity – my research methodology and findings from pilot studies.

Appendix 9: Anatolia paper

Hibbert, J.F., Dickinson, J.E. & Curtin, S. (2013). Understanding the influence of interpersonal relationships on identity and tourism travel, *Anatolia: An International Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research*, DOI:10.1080/13032917.2012.762313

Understanding the influence of interpersonal relationships on identity and tourism travel

Travel plays a part in shaping the perception of self through experiences of other people and places. 'Finding yourself' through travel has been widely discussed in the tourism literature, however, relatively little has been documented about how identity can influence an individual's travel choices. This paper investigates the role of interpersonal relationships in shaping identity and influencing tourism mobility. In order to gain insight in to identity there must be an understanding of the narratives used to create and affirm identities. A narrative interview method was used with 22 participants. The findings demonstrate how interpersonal relationships shape the self and identity which can have an impact on a tourist's travel behaviour. The analysis explores the role played by visiting friends and relatives and the impact on identity and travel. It also addresses how travel is used to enhance relationships through physical and emotional connectedness. This can lead to people undertaking travel they do not desire.

Keywords: tourism travel; interpersonal relationships; identity; tourist behaviour

Introduction

It is thought that identity issues lie at the heart of our desire for greater tourism travel (Desforges, 2000). While it is widely accepted that travel can play a part in shaping the self (e.g. Noy, 2004), less is understood about how the self can shape tourism travel. According to Anderson and Chen (2002) our 'self' is dependent on the significant others in our lives and is therefore, relational, i.e. it can change depending on the relationships with others. This would indicate that interpersonal relationships can and do shape the self. The aim of this paper is to enhance the understanding the role interpersonal relationships played in shaping identity and tourism mobility. It explores the way in which visiting friends and relatives (VFR) enables identity maintenance or creation. It will examine how holidays are used as a 'stage' for acting out a family identity and strengthening relationships, and also investigate why some people undertake travel that they would be happy to forgo. The findings indicate that relationships and identity play a significant part in travel motivations, an area where there is a dearth of literature, opening the door for further research.

Mobility, sociability and tourism

Urry (2000) argues that mobility is the defining factor of contemporary society. The interactions resulting from the possibility of movement produce the “development and cementation of friendships, social networks and local communities” (Pooley et al., 2005, p. 120). Accordingly, we assume that tourism travel helps to strengthen family relationships, both through the physical ‘connectedness’ of being in the same place at the same time and also through a psychological connection. In addition, Pooley et al., (2005) suggest that mobility can assist in the construction of personal identity, through an individual’s travel choices, in the same way that choice of clothing can aid identity (e.g. Curtin, 2010).

Urry (2007) suggests that modern wide reaching networks require occasional face-to-face meetings in order to sustain the relationships within that network, however, elsewhere it is argued that communication technologies can maintain strong relationships without the need for physical proximity (Larsen et al., 2006). On this basis, Urry (2003) suggests that transport is seen as the facilitator to carry out social interactions rather than the motivation for the activities. Haldrup (2004), however, takes a different view by stating “tourists’ movements in space are not incidental but ways of encountering landscapes and places through the deployment of various styles of movement”. In addition, Dickinson et al. (2011) suggest that tourists travel represents a social opportunity, they provide an example of a mother who talks about using a long train journey in order to enjoy more time with her family, not just as the mode of transportation. Thus it is assumed that physical mobility is not just about enjoying the place or mode of transport but also the company that you are in.

Rickley-Boyd’s (2010) research undertaken at a tourist attraction in America indicated that for most visitors the outing was very much a family experience confirming the notion that the major benefit of the activity was the social interaction experienced. The importance of shared experiences within tourism can be noted through the theories of Urry (1990) who refers to the ‘collective gaze’ and Haldrup & Larsen (2003) who discuss the ‘family gaze’. Trauer & Ryan (2005) thus argue that the holiday is not the purchase of ‘place’ but of ‘time’ in which to create an intimacy with significant others. Haldrup & Larsen (2003) argue that tourists’ photographs are about the production of a

social exchange rather than related to the consumption of place. This would suggest that they view the actual setting of the holiday to be secondary and that family interaction is the most important thing to come from the holiday and photographs taken whilst on holiday. However, this is not the case, the destination acts as the 'scene' for the family performance. They go on to propose that "much family tourism is fuelled by the desire to find a home where families imagine themselves as being a real loving family; doing various mundane social activities together as a tightknit affectionate unit: going for hikes, playing games, barbequing and so on" (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003, p. 26). These authors suggest the purpose of the holiday is not the search for 'other' but an endeavour to make sense of their own relationships through the shared experience of the holiday. They believe that in modern society such negation is necessary because the values and institutions that once fused families are losing power therefore modern families require acts, such as holidays and the resulting narratives, to create meaning, constancy and even love in their relationships. Larsen et al. (2006, p. 45) suggest tourism is not just about experiencing the other but is about having the experience with a significant other; "families are most at home when away from home". These authors all argue that holidays are a means of bringing families together, however there are other perspectives. For example, Rosenblatt and Russell (1975) propose that holidays are the perfect opportunity for conflict through increased proximity, change of routines and the removal of agreed territories and boundaries, for example who sits where at the dinner table or choice of bedroom.

Crompton (1979) produced one of the earliest studies indicating that holidays could be used as ways to demonstrate, refine or modify identities. He found that holidays could be used as a way of strengthening family relations as members were brought closer together. This was particularly true when families had to take long car journeys together and were 'forced' in to close proximity with each other. Later research on tourism and identities has suggested that travel is used as a way of finding oneself (e.g. Noy, 2004). The approach used in this paper leans towards Crompton's line of thought, i.e. that the self is influencing travel. In contrast to Noy's (2004) concept of finding oneself, we suggest that the 'self' is already in existence and travel is a means of demonstrating, confirming or at times avoiding that self. Similarly, Haldrup & Larsen (2003, p. 24) "view tourism as a 'cultural laboratory' in which people derive pleasure from performing and narrating alternative identities and ways of being together in other

places.” This moves on from using tourism as a way of ‘finding yourself’, to tourism as a platform to display and create new identities, even if only for the duration of the holiday.

The self and significant others

Psychology provides much insight into the study of identity. Finkel and Vohs (2006) state that research in to ‘self’ and ‘relationships’ has increased in recent times with a growing number of researchers stating that their area of interest is ‘self-in-relationships’ and ‘relational self’. Given the suggestion that identity issues lie at the heart of our desire for greater tourism travel (e.g. Desforages, 2000), it is pertinent to look at all aspects that may shape our identity and tourism travel. Historically, social psychology has been concerned with the effect of others on the self (Shah, 2006). The influence of significant others (which could be family, family friends, work colleagues or wider reference groups) is not just through their physical presence. It is thought that significant others also have power through ‘psychological presence’ i.e. the ways in which we ‘mentally represent’ them (Shah, 2006). Anderson & Chen (2002, p. 619) state that “the self is relational – often entangled – with significant others and this has implications for self-definition, self-evaluation, self-regulation and most broadly for personality functioning, expressed in relation to others”. They also suggest that that the self is essentially interpersonal, this is because it is possible to have many different selves, even during the course of one day, depending on the interpersonal enactments and experiences that we encounter. They propose that significant others are those who have been deeply influential in a person’s life or people to whom someone has given a significant emotional investment. This definition is adopted for the purpose of this paper. According to Anderson & Chen (2002) a significant other may be able to influence the sense of self of an individual which includes how they think and feel and their motivations and strategies for self-regulation. Thus other people drive our motives, set standards and regulate our behaviour.

Methodology

Data presented in this paper are derived from a research project which focuses on the influence of personal identity on tourism travel. Narrative interviews were undertaken with 22 participants. A narrative approach was chosen for its ability to elicit how the interviewee understands the world, themselves and their role in society (Rickly-Boyd, 2010). Holloway & Wheeler (2010) and Kraus (2006) suggest that narratives are fundamental to understanding identities. Kraus (2006) even goes as far as saying that storytelling is the representation of an identity. Wengraf (2001, p. 111) provides a definition of a narrative interview used as the foundation for this research “[a]n interview design that focuses on the elicitation and provocation of storytelling, of narration ...”. Given these viewpoints, it is fair to suggest that using an interview method which elicits narratives is a sound way of gathering data regarding the identity of the interviewee.

The interviews took the form of a ‘travel life history’ where participants were encouraged to talk about all the holidays they had been on throughout their life course. This allowed for insight in to the evolving travel patterns of the interviewees. It was possible to gain information about their identities through what they talked about and also the manner in which they told their stories. A second, more structured interview was undertaken in order to probe more deeply and address some related questions on environmental issues not covered in this paper. Data presented in this paper come from both stages of the interview process. Participants were recruited through purposeful sampling, their profile can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Participant profile.

An interview protocol was at hand if interviewees struggled during the interview. This was designed to guide them through the interview in a chronological manner using the structure of childhood, teenage years/growing up and adulthood. The interviews ended with some general questions such as “tell me about your best holiday” or “if you could go anywhere and do anything where would go and why?” The use of a protocol deviates away from a traditional narrative interview, however, Reissman (1993) and Bryman & Bell (2011) recommend that novice researchers take this approach. Rickly-

Boyd (2010) is another author who, while using a narrative approach, ended up producing more of a narrative exchange in the interview technique. The protocol had an extensive list of questions but these were only used on an ad hoc basis and in many cases the interviewee covered the question before it was asked (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). A challenge of using the narrative interview is the reliance on the interviewee to talk openly and at length. In some cases this was a problem but the protocol eased this. In addition, questions that began with ‘tell me about’ were useful in eliciting narratives, as were ‘why’ and ‘how did that make you feel?’ Using these types of questions also avoided leading the interviewee into giving a particular answer. Another significant challenge was that because the interviewees were allowed to talk freely, at times this led them to go at a tangent. In some cases this could be dealt with by using the chronological order of the discussion. At other times the interviewee was simply left to talk as this gave insight in to identities.

Interviews were recorded, transcribed and data familiarisation took place. Analysis was undertaken to identify themes and the way the narrative was presented. We were particularly concerned with not just what was said but how it was said. This is because insight can be gained by looking at how the narratives are constructed not just through the content. For example, the use of parenthetical phrases such as ‘to be honest’ can indicate that what follows is a dispreferred answer (Edwards & Fasulo, 2006). Each participant’s narrative was analysed in its own right prior to cross-case analysis.

Findings

VFR and possible influences on Self

It was evident from the data collected during the interviews that many people had family and friends living abroad. This resulted in travel patterns being shaped by the desire to visit loved ones.

... his dad lived in Milan so we went to Italy and we went to Holland to see my aunt and we went to Spain to see my uncle, funny how it was always family ... (Susie)

Susie demonstrates the significance that visiting friends and family have in shaping tourism travel. We live in an increasingly globalised world and people move to other locations for (amongst other things) work, education, leisure and residence. This has

resulted in increased global networks meaning that it is possible to have friends and family spread across thousands of miles (Axhausen, 2002). Hannam et al. (2006, p. 2) acknowledge that even when staying still it is possible to be part of a global network as “such multiple and intersecting mobilities seem to produce a more networked patterning of economic and social life, even for those who have not moved.” Even with networks involving great distances, face to face contact has remained important for maintaining relationships and trust (Axhausen, 2002; Urry, 2003). Due to social networks being spread over large distances, Larsen et al. (2007) assert that there will be a need for physical travel for the foreseeable future. The significance of visiting friends and relatives (VFR) in shaping tourism travel was evident from the interviews.

The notion of VFR related travel has existed in tourism and mobility literature for a number of years now. Whilst the frequency of VFR travel is not a surprising finding, it would be pertinent to ask why this is such an important form of mobility. One explanation lies in identity related factors. Penny demonstrates the importance of family and significant others to her identity by referring to them constantly throughout both of her interviews and often answering from a “we” perspective. In addition, she also frequently refers to her family by name.

We would look now at further destinations, we would look now at Canada and maybe Australia, who knows we might be going back there errrm just the fact that we can go where we like and whatever time of year we want to go ... I think we've got to think about how much it costs as well and I think we're just so lucky to be able to do deals that we're not paying top price, yeah enjoying the freedom of being able to choose AND to go for as long as we like whereas we were always restricted before when we were teaching (emphasis added by author)

There are also instances where she gives an answer to the question from her husband's perspective before she answers with her own opinion:

Errmmm well living with a scientist for 32 years (laughs) I often get varying sort of ideas from my husband about whether he really thinks what they're saying is true ... Hubby surprisingly is not as worried but I really feel if we don't look after the resources we have now you know I think it is important that we think about recycling if only for the future of younger people.

One particular example of the strength of Penny's family identity is demonstrated when she talks about her best holiday:

(Long pause) I really loved Disney with the family but my South African experience has to be the best ... it was a very special time anyway, 25 years married and it really was just breath-taking. The whole experience ... Everything we did was just magical. ... I suppose the second best was the time in Disney with the children ... Umm, Disney because it was a family experience and that was magical with the girls and I wouldn't have missed that ... That had to be my best one [the South Africa holiday]. Although I love the girls dearly it was that one.

Penny considers her South Africa holiday as her 'best' one, but throughout that particularly lengthy narrative she kept referring back to another holiday with her daughters. The interviews show that Penny's identity as a wife and mother play an important part in the make-up of who she is. VFR travel performs an important role in enabling Penny to maintain and reinforce this identity. It is not just her husband or her daughters who are important to Penny, she often talks about friends or other relations indicating that relationships with others is of significance to her. Penny's eldest daughter Sally has travelled extensively and Penny shows a pride when talking about this. Sally's travels and subsequent stories and photographs of her travel have opened Penny's eyes and created a desire for travel. It is possible that Sally may emigrate in the future and this will play a part in Penny's future tourism related decisions:

so yeah, Australia, if Sally and Kirk ever decide to go back ... I would only go if they went back there, it's not a destination I particularly want to see but obviously if they were there I would make the effort to go, because it is such a long way.

Claire uses VFR travel as a way of enabling her to undertake travel that she would not do without the security of friends or family in the destination. Undertaking this travel allows her to present an identity that she would not otherwise be able to show. She presents her trips as exotic, dangerous and adventurous. However a thread runs through her stories of seeking a 'home away from home' a place where she feels just as comfortable and safe as if she were at home. This indicates a need for security and safety. Claire often uses VFR travel as the starting point for a bigger trip. The relative has been in the area for some time so knows where to go, where to avoid and provide other sound advice:

We got out there about mid-November, you are just getting in to their summer and north Australia is the last place you would want to be because it's the hottest bit so that's why **we were recommended to go up to that bit first get it out the way**, then as temperature starting going up you would be going south so that's the reason we did it that way round.

Knowing ‘a local’ also provides a base to return to if things should go wrong – as things sometimes do when on holiday (e.g. Löfgren, 2008). During these trips the relative met her at the airport, providing an extra security measure “So we got in to Australia and Justin’s uncle picked us up and we actually stayed with him for two weeks and then he set us up with a car, bought us a car and got us sorted.” Here the relative helps her to get settled and equipped for the trip before venturing out alone. Claire’s strongest memory from her travel life history was from the Australia trip:

We were staying there three months and sometimes I would get a bit homesick but we stayed in this, on the sunshine coast for a week out of our trip and we were travelling back down the coast, and it was **to be honest** it probably wasn’t the most exciting, ... when you’ve got a stationary caravan and you’ve got your little kitchen area and everything else you’ve got a chance to make it feel like a home for a week and I think that’s a part of it. To be honest for some reason, even though it was probably the quietest part of the three months I was out there, it was probably the best one and one of my strongest memories because I think I just felt so at home in this one little area.

This admission causes Claire some conflict in her identity. She wants to be (or at least be seen as) adventurous but the reality is more pedestrian. We felt that Claire did not truly believe in the adventurous self that she was presenting. During the 65 minute interview she used the phrases ‘to be honest’ and ‘honestly’ 21 times. Edwards and Fasulo (2006, p. 344) suggest that over emphasis on honesty sounds “defensive or even untrustworthy, as if for them, truth telling were not to be presumed”. Honesty phrases are used to frame a dispreferred answer or an initial assessment of a topic of conversation. In the quote from Claire (above) she uses an honesty phrase to precede what could be considered a dispreferred answer because it is in conflict with her presentation of an adventurous self.

We can summarise that whilst there is nothing new in the notion of an individual’s tourism travel being influenced by the desire to visit friends and relatives. The possibility that this travel is fuelled by the need to reinforce an identity is another angle to the concept.

Holidays as a catalyst for togetherness

Following on from VFR travel comes another significant finding, that of holidays cementing interpersonal relationships. Throughout both her interviews June referred to

the idea of togetherness as being central to her holidays, with her family as a whole or just with her husband:

I do remember the idea of being away as a family as being something nice and certainly that did probably influence the holidays we took when I had a young family, things like caravan holidays, holidays where we were all **together** in the same place. It didn't have to be grand. We did have some holidays abroad but even when we were abroad, it was all about being **together** and swimming **together** and walking out **together** so I think they are influential but you don't know it at the time. (Emphasis added by author)

June is suggesting that it did not matter where they were or what they were doing, just as long as they were together, an idea considered by Haldrup (2004, p. 433): "family based vacationing is more concerned with the extra ordinary ordinariness of personal social relations than with the documenting and gazing at spectacular sights." June also acknowledges the importance of the journey in assisting the feeling of 'togetherness': "first of all there is the travel down, travelling down in the car, wherever we're going". This is similar to the example in Dickinson et al. (2011). June recognises that the idea of togetherness is not just about being physically together:

It is both physical and psychological I think, in the sense that the house is big, I was chatting to you before, the house is quite big, errrrmm one can get lost in it the children have all left home. I sometimes go and watch TV in my lounge and Maurice goes in his lounge. Having a wonderful time but still, getting on with our lives and whatever. But when you go on holiday together you are often in one hotel room.

The psychological connection that she is referring to is demonstrated in the following passage:

You know, you'll chat about things that you wouldn't chat about at home. You'll chat about the place you're in, for example that Rome trip. We both, liked, loved Rome for different sort of reasons but just going in to a beautiful building and seeing it together and looking it up and seeing the history of the building and saying we must go over to a different place nearby or, the whole thing was just a bonding experience.

Shaw (2001) suggests that holidays can provide an opportunity for a family to create a sense of unity. It is not just the physical co-presence that creates the unity for June, but it is also the conversations that follow which underpin the physical presence. Being in a different place is important and Heimtum & Jordan (2011, p. 272) suggest the holiday is "a special site of leisure that transports people (literally and emotionally) away from

their everyday environments”. June’s description of the unity and connectedness with her family whilst on holiday presents a powerful reason for continuing to travel. It reinforces the security of a ‘family identity’.

Stephanie provided further insight in to the importance of family togetherness over place:

We’d be going somewhere in a tent but they went on a tour of the west coast of the states so you know as far as I was concerned there was no comparison, but you know I didn’t think ‘oh no that’s not fair I wish I was doing that’ because I actually knew I would rather be with my family than with her family so it wasn’t necessarily where she was going yeah sure I might have like to have tried it but I wouldn’t want to swap it for what I was doing so looking back I certainly wouldn’t have swapped it.

Trauer & Ryan (2005) suggest that importance of place is created through the meaningful relationships that take place in the location and also the enduring memories from the experiences as evidenced through the statement from Stephanie.

The reluctant traveller

We have demonstrated above how travel can be shaped by the need to construct a ‘family based identity’ and also by the sense of self that can develop from the unity experienced by going on holiday with the family. Here we will reveal another element to these ideas – people undertake travel that they do not particularly want to do in order to please their significant other.

Martin’s job as an RAF pilot provided him with numerous opportunities to travel and satisfied his ‘travelling needs’. He states that in his personal life he would have been happy not to travel but he did not (or could not) do that because he had a young family:

I didn’t really have a great deal of interest in holidays because I was getting around the world selfishly quite well enough thank you ... we took holidays because the rest of the family wanted it. I would have been quite happy to sit around at home but that’s just a selfish point of view and we didn’t do that. We went on and did things.

Shah (2006) suggests that significant others can guide our behaviour and experiences through our own views of the goals and expectations that the significant other holds for us. This suggests that these relationships can hold considerable power in influencing

our behaviour. Shah (2006) proposes a two-way model which demonstrates the interdependence between, self, significant others and goal (behaviour). The first route is from 'self' through 'significant other' to 'goal' and occurs when the relationship with significant other is stronger than the relationship with the goal. The alternative route is from 'self' through 'goal' ending at 'significant other'. This is when the goal drives behaviour and is stronger than the relationship with the significant other. Both routes depend on the nature and strength of the relationship with either the significant other or the goal. Martin was not the only the interviewee to indicate that they undertook travel for the sake of their significant other. Beth holds strong opinions regarding environmental behaviour and would like to give up flying, however she has recently got married and her husband does not have the same strength of feeling that she does:

I feel really bad because this year I have taken flights to Ibiza and Marrakech ... especially because there's my husband, although he kind of supports and understands that, I suppose has less of a personal commitment and he sees it as being a bigger society issue, so it's always tricky.

Both Martin and Beth are taking the significant other – goal path, i.e. their relationship with the significant other(s) is stronger than their relationship with the goal, therefore the significant other is driving their behaviour. As stated earlier significant others and interpersonal relationships can have an impact on the self and identity (Anderson & Chen, 2002). This discussion has demonstrated that interpersonal relationships are driving tourism travel through the identity of the tourist.

Conclusion and Implications

This paper aimed to enhance the understanding of the role played by interpersonal relationships in shaping identity and tourism mobility. From the data presented it is clear that interpersonal relationships can have an impact on identity and tourism travel and these factors can underlie mobility decisions. Identity is relative to the people around us and this is a strong driving force to undertake travel in order to sustain our self in relation to and because of significant others. This can be regardless of an individual's personal desire for travel, particularly when coupled with the notion that social networks need intermittent face to face contact in order to be maintained. VFR is used as one method of creating and maintaining relationships and identity but goes

further than simply the proximity to significant others. Identity also comes in to play with feelings of connectedness which are generated through tourism travel with significant others. Often, the development and maintenance of relationships that occurs within a destination is more important than experiencing the destination itself. In addition to this is the idea of negotiated travel, where one member of the relationship is forfeiting their travel desires for those of their significant other. It is clear that the self and identity play a role in this. This shows that identity can be a facilitator for tourism travel decisions. The strength of the influence that identity has on tourism based decisions has not been fully considered in previous literature. Given that these decisions are deeply rooted in identity issues, this is a vital force to consider in tourist travel behaviour. A better understanding of this will give insight in to the difficulties experienced when policy makers try to change or influence tourist travel behaviour. This paper has provided an initial insight in to the area but further research is required for a more comprehensive understanding. This paper has several limitations. The research area is so vast that it is not possible to cover every aspect of the topic within this paper. In addition, this study generated a vast amount of data and consequently only an overview of the issues could be presented here. When conducting research in to identities there is the question of whether you can be sure that the interpretation of the identity was the one desired by the person presenting the identity. In narrative research there is also the question of the 'truth' of what you are being told. This only becomes a significant limitation if you are relying on factually accurate data. In this case the stories were a way to elicit identity markers which could be linked to relationships and evolving travel behaviour.

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Table 1. Participant profile.

Name	Gender	Age	Occupation
Martin	M	66	Retired RAF pilot
Trisha	F	42	Hair salon owner
Penny	F	63	Retired teacher
June	F	57	Retired lecturer
James	M	59	Retired IT consultant
Stephanie	F	42	University admin assistant
Jill	F	62	Semi-retired teacher
Claire	F	28	Building surveyor
Heather	F	65	Retired teacher
Paul	M	65	Retired from IT
Susie	F	31	Unemployed teacher
Mark	M	29	Medical goods driver
Katherine	F	66	Retired teacher
Simon	M	33	Journalist
Dennis	M	59	Civil servant
Stuart	M	58	Retired transport planner
Tom	M	47	Tourism bus owner
Michael	M	64	Retired schools inspector
Beth	F	31	Researcher
Richard	M	63	Environmental officer
Samantha	F	34	Journalist/writer
Reece	M	46	Town transport planner

Appendix 10: JOST manuscript

Hibbert, J.F., Dickinson, J.E., Gössling, S. & Curtin, S. (In review) Identity and tourism mobility: An exploration of the attitude-behaviour gap, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*

Identity and tourism mobility: an exploration of the attitude-behaviour gap

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Tourism is continuing to grow with tourists making more frequent trips and travelling greater distances. At the same time, concern for the environmental consequences of tourism is also growing. The vast majority of tourism related CO₂ emissions stems from transport. One of the solutions regarded as being the most effective at reducing these impacts is that of behaviour change. However, there is considerable research which indicates that instigating a behavioural change within tourism is problematic. This is because of what is known as ‘the attitude-behaviour gap’. Tourists who act sustainably at home do not carry that sustainable behaviour with them in to their travel. Using data from narrative interviews with 22 participants, this paper explores the ways in which identity can influence travel behaviour. The paper presents data which suggests that identity plays such a significant role in our decisions to undertake travel that, unless this is taken into account, achieving behavioural change will be unfeasible. Keywords: Identity, environmental awareness, behaviour change, tourism mobility

Introduction

Tourists are becoming increasingly mobile. As physical tourism mobility is largely based on the use of fossil fuels, tourism has become a significant sector contributing to global climate change (UNWTO-UNEP-WMO, 2008). Options to reduce emissions from the sector through technology are promising, but unlikely to be sufficient to achieve absolute emission reductions in line with international efforts (Scott et al., 2010). It has consequently been argued that climatically sustainable tourism mobility demands behavioural change, which appears difficult to achieve (McKercher et al., 2010). Why is it that we continue to participate in environmentally harmful activities, even though consumers are aware of these interlinkages (Giddens, 2009)?

From a sociological point of view, it has been suggested that identity issues lie at the heart of our desire for greater tourism mobility (e.g. Desforges, 2000). For example, it is

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relatively well documented that travel plays an important part in shaping the perception of self through experiences of other people and places (Bruner, 1991; Crompton, 1979; Desforges, 2000; Noy, 2004, Urry 2000). However, very little has been written about how the perception of self influences the travel choices we make and drives our desire for travel. To discuss the role played by identity in tourist mobility is the major objective of this paper.

At present, society views highly mobile lifestyles in a positive light. As outlined by Urry (2011), high mobility is associated with a high degree of 'meetingness', i.e., an individual's standing in society is reflected in mobility patterns, ultimately necessitating air travel. This is also demonstrated through Airlines' use of frequent flyer programmes which "reward and thus increase interest in mobility." (Gössling & Nilsson, 2010, p. 242). It could be argued that such marketing strategies hold some responsibility for the status implied in highly mobile lifestyles through their inclusion of VIP lounges for members and added status attached to long-haul travel and exotic international tourism, a positive identity marker for most people (Gössling & Nilsson, 2010). Through tourism choices people seek to reinforce or develop particular identity markers and therefore a desired identity appears to affect decisions and behaviour (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Given the assumption that individuals can be persuaded to choose low carbon tourism products, it is vital to examine the underlying identity processes at work. There is a general assumption that individuals predisposed to environmental concern will modify their behaviour accordingly, however, this has not proved to be a potent force in other areas of life, such as car use (Dickinson & Dickinson, 2006; Schwanen & Lucas, 2011; Steg & Vlek, 2009).

Steg and Vlek (2009) suggest that to change behaviour, it is necessary to understand the factors underlying the behaviour. Factors determining behaviour include i) perceived costs and benefits, ii) moral and normative concerns, iii) affect, iv) contextual factors and v) habits. For instance, with regard to costs and benefits, travel mode choice is dependent on variables such as money, effort and the perceived benefits of tourism (Hares et al., 2010). While higher moral and normative concern for the environment is associated with more pro-environmental behaviour, in tourism, climate change awareness appears to have little effect on tourism consumption (e.g. Anable et al., 2006; Dickinson et al., 2009; Eijgelaar et al., 2010; Hares et al., 2010; McKercher et al.,

2010). Here contextual factors, such as lack of alternatives to air travel, and habitual travel choices, seem to steer people with environmental concern to unsustainable choices (Hares et al., 2010).

This paper focuses on the gap between environmental awareness and (lack of) behavioural change. As an addition to the factors outlined above, it argues that identity plays a significant role in explaining the attitude-behaviour gap (Stets & Biga, 2003). This paper therefore questions the assumption that behaviour change can be effectively managed given individuals' needs to manage a variety of identity interests. Therefore, the aim of the paper is to analyse the assumption that behaviour can change, based on an identity perspective.

Identity, tourism and environmental behaviours

While there is a large body of knowledge on identity based in psychology and sociology, this paper draws predominantly on the social psychology literature and some strands within sociology. This analysis therefore focuses predominantly on the individual and the construction of 'self' relative to others. 'Self concept' is how individuals see and describe themselves with reference to others in society. It is defined through group membership and the acknowledgement of necessary characteristics to belong (Hogg & Terry 2000; Onkvisit & Shaw, 1987). The human need for connectedness is deeply enrooted in our social evolution (e.g. Cacioppo & Patrick 2008; Miller, 2007). Self image is hard to distinguish from self concept; in fact, Graeff (1996) uses the terms interchangeably and self image is generally used in more recent studies (Fein & Spencer, 1997). Hogg and Abrams (1988) propose that self conception could be placed on continuum ranging from exclusively social to exclusively personal identity and that the social setting in which the individual is placed in at a certain moment in time will dictate which self conception is the most prominent. Self concept is therefore multi-faceted (Gergen, 1971). Individuals may also define themselves through who they aspire to be: such 'possible selves' act as "incentives toward future behaviours, representing the individual's significant hopes, fears, aspiration and fantasies ... possible selves may be seen as acting in the role of a powerful motivational force" (Morgan, 1993, p. 430). Crucially for this paper, Morgan acknowledges that "certain disposition behaviours, such as environmentally friendly activities, may be motivated by a desire to avoid or approach possible selves, rather than being motivated by

perceptions of the current self” (ibid: p. 431). Self concepts can also conflict, resulting in dissonance or an identity crisis where an individual is uncomfortable with contrasting self concepts (Hogg & Abrams, 1988) and seeks to justify their behaviour to themselves. Studies have found evidence of conflicts between sustainable ‘at home’ and tourist lifestyles with individuals using sustainable practices at home to justify unsustainable flying (Randles & Mander, 2009) and indicating a willingness to pay higher taxes as a ‘penance’ (Barr et al., 2009).

Self concept evolves through the process of self categorisation which involves making comparisons between self and others. The theory suggests that through categorisation of ‘in-groups’ and ‘out-groups’ and the normative behaviour necessary for membership of said groups, it is possible to replicate the norms or to avoid them in order to associate or disassociate with a particular group (Hogg & Terry, 2000). For instance, a tourist may choose a particular style of holiday to reflect the norms of a group they seek association with. Self presentation is related to how others may influence an individual’s behaviour (Ellemers et al., 1999). When a person is aware of an ‘audience’ they can choose to accentuate or subdue certain elements of their identity in order to present the identity that they feel most appropriate for this group or audience (Goffman, 1959).

Social identity more explicitly relates to the various groups to which an individual belongs. It is not simply about the relationships with other members of that group but it also involves the relationships and distinctions to those not in the group (Hogg & Terry, 2000). Social identity is constructed through various self descriptions that relate to the individual’s membership in various social categories. These categories are wide ranging and include enforced categories, such as nationality, sex and race and chosen ones, such as occupation and membership of sports teams (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Within sociology, Giddens (1991) refers to ‘self identity’ as a reflexive project involving appraisal of others and oneself. “A person’s identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor – important though this is – in the reactions of others, but in the capacity *to keep a particular narrative going*” (Giddens, 1991, p. 54). In contemporary society an individual has identity choices, these are “not only about how to act but who to be” (Giddens, 1991, p. 81).

Tourism provides a site of consumption in which we can perform our identity choices. It provides a platform to accentuate chosen elements of identity and avoid or develop possible selves. At present, literature relating to identity and tourism tends to focus on identity issues such as ‘finding yourself’ through tourism (cf. Bruner 1991; Fullagar, 2002; Noy, 2004). For example, Noy’s (2004) study of Israeli backpackers’ narratives demonstrates how these travellers used tourism to construct their identity. They returned from their trips ‘changed’ people. Bruner (1991) suggests that this is used as a selling point in tourist brochures but that it is inevitably the host populations in non-western cultures that emerge ‘changed’. Tourism is also described as affirming identity with Thurlow and Jaworski (2006, p. 100) discussing how frequent flyer programmes create or reinforce status and desire to travel and as a ‘reward’ for travelling: “regular customers are declared ‘elite’ and ... this status is then fabricated and regulated.” Identity is therefore thought to be important to tourism research. In contrast, research undertaken by Cohen (2010) proposes that it might be unrealistic to use travel to ‘find yourself’ because the self is constantly evolving and changing. In this way, the lifestyle travellers of Cohen’s research are simply acting out the expected discourse of finding themselves.

For many, holidays play an important part of who they are; the memories are not always just stored away, they can shape the future self of the traveller (Bruner, 1991; Desforges, 2000; Fullagar, 2002; Noy, 2004; Thurlow & Jaworski, 2006). Desforges (2000) suggests that understanding identity can give insight into tourism consumption because, by understanding the person and their needs and desires, it could be possible to predict their future travel patterns. If the tourism identity process an individual goes through could be understood, it might be possible to influence desired identities and consequently travel behaviour.

Given that identities are an intrinsic part of who we are they are linked to every part of our lives. This means that identity issues are at play when it comes to environmental concern. Becoming ‘green’ can be a lifestyle choice and green identities are presented through behaviour and consumption choices (e.g. clothes, food, travel). According to Horton (2003), in order for identities to be performed there needs to be a stage and props. The stage can be various social settings and props consumption choices. The gap in environmental attitudes and behaviours comes about when people have multiple

identities requiring differing performances. Identities are contextual and at times some will lie dormant while others will come to the fore. In situations, where actions do not meet the requirements of the identity ‘script’, the individual will need to reason with themselves as to why their behaviour is acceptable. For instance, a long-haul flight may break some green cultural code, however, a tourist may draw on other identity resources to justify this, such as the need to maintain close family bonds.

There is a considerable amount of literature concerned with the gap between attitude and behaviour when it comes to environmental awareness, but at present there is little success in bridging this gap. Stets and Biga (2003) suggest that this could be due to a missing link in previous research which takes into account the role of identity. They argue that psychology based attitude theory demonstrates how individuals make choices based specifically on the object or situation they are in. On the other hand, identity theory rooted in sociology and social psychology is based on how choices are embedded in wider social settings and, given that individuals operate in wide ranging social settings, there are multiple identities which then make choices multi-faceted. They summarise the deficiency by stating that “identity theory links individuals to the larger social structure in ways that attitude theory neglects” (Stets & Biga 2003, p. 399). Given that the self is considered to be a significant factor in behaviour, there is a need to close this research gap. This paper goes some way to stimulating debate and opens the door for further research.

Method

The above discussion has demonstrated the complexity and fluid nature of identity. The multiplicity of identity and the role of context in identity presentation calls for an exploratory research approach. Given the focus on the individual, rather than a group identity, interviews were considered the primary means to generate data. A narrative interview approach was chosen for its capacity to enable participants to give an account of historic events. This enabled participants to reflect on their tourist travel by recounting a story to the interviewer. Narrative accounts are closely allied to identity research (Holloway & Wheeler, 2010; Kraus, 2006; Smith & Sparkes, 2006; Van De Meiroop, 2009) since participants choose to tell a story in a certain way and hence present a particular identity to the other party, in this instance the researcher. This raises various issues about the identity presented. For example, is this the participant’s ‘real’

identity or one formulated in response to the interview context? This question, though vexing, is largely irrelevant since all our accounts of past events are, to some extent, managed for the audience (Chase, 2005). It would be unrealistic to think you could capture a ‘real’ identity and the act of presenting a story reveals many identity markers (McAdams, 1993) that are useful to understand the role of identity in tourist travel.

The narrative interviews were undertaken as a two-stage process. This involved a first interview in which participants recounted their tourist travel history from childhood to present day. A true narrative approach engages participants with one main question, in this case, “tell me about all the holidays you have been on throughout your life course”. However, it is unrealistic and difficult to expect participants to talk at length without some researcher intervention (Bryman & Bell 2011; Reissman, 1993). Therefore, to aid the flow of the interview, participants were encouraged to recount their travel history chronologically from childhood, through teens, early adulthood and adult life. The interviewer supported the participants by providing relevant prompts to capture the required detail. Following analysis of the first interview, a second interview was conducted. This returned to key themes from the first interview and also asked the participants to reflect on climate change issues in the context of their travel.

Participants were selected to reflect adults who had achieved a degree of stability in both their identity and their adult travel behaviour. Therefore all participants were aged over 27. The participants were initially selected using a snowballing technique to find a range of people willing to talk about their travel history. However, it was rapidly clear that this strategy was leading to a relatively homogenous sample with little variability with respect to key research themes. Therefore sampling became more purposeful and sought out individuals who would bring new knowledge to the study, particularly in relation to the theme of identity with respect to tourism impacts on climate change. In total, 22 participants took part in two interviews which ranged in length from approximately 30 minutes up to 2 hours.

All interviews were recorded following participant consent and transcribed. Data analysis followed a narrative analysis approach initially employing thematic analysis followed by dialogic/performance analysis (Reissman, 2008). In dialogic/performance analysis meaning is created through the interaction of the participant with the interviewer with a recognition that the interviewee is ‘performing’ for the interviewer.

While thematic analysis focuses on ‘what’ is said, dialogic/performance analysis focuses on ‘how’ it is said and pays close attention to the use of phrases, repetition, pauses and use of tense (Reissman, 2008). In this sense, attention is paid to how the participant attempts to persuade the listener through their story (Reissman, 2008). Initially each participant was treated as an individual case, with interviews analysed as a whole. Subsequent analysis sought to identify commonalities and discordances across cases.

Findings

The data reinforced existing studies (see, for example, Moscado et al., 2000; Seaton & Palmer, 1997) demonstrating mobility patterns being shaped by the desire to visit loved ones. For example, Susie talks about the holiday with her (now ex) husband:

“... his dad lived in Milan so we went to Italy and we went to Holland to see my aunt and we went to Spain to see my uncle, funny how it was always family ...” (Susie).

An increasingly globalised world has resulted in increased global networks meaning it is possible to have friends and family spread across thousands of miles (Axhausen, 2002), and visiting friends and relatives is now the second most important motive for travel after leisure and before business travel (UNWTO, 2012). While global networks can evolve without travel (Hannam et al., 2006, p.2), face to face contact has remained important for maintaining relationships and trust (Axhausen, 2002; Urry, 2003). Whilst the frequency of VFR travel is not a surprising finding in itself, it would be pertinent to ask why this is such an important form of mobility. One way of explaining this would be to look at identity related factors. Arguably, the strongest bonds in our social networks consist of family. Visiting family is consequently an important motive for travel and we will usually strive to have social standing in these family networks. Physical meetings with family may thus be a precondition for presenting specific identities, and to receive re-affirmation of our role and standing within these networks (Cacioppo & Patrick 2008).

Social identity performance and tourism decisions

Holidays are a way of performing certain selves and allow us to nurture or maintain relationships which are important to self. For example, Penny’s eldest daughter Sally

has travelled extensively and Penny shows a pride when talking about this. Being well travelled is a signifier of success and hence status (Urry, 2011), which parents would deem desirable for their children, this in turn signals that they have succeeded as parents by providing a positive identity. This would be particularly important for Penny whose identity is heavily influenced by relationships with significant others. Sally's travels and subsequent stories and photos of her travel have opened Penny's eyes and created a desire for travel. It is quite possible that Sally may emigrate at some point in the future and this will play a part in Penny's future tourism mobility. Whilst there is nothing new in the notion of an individual's tourism mobility being influenced by the desire to visit friends and relatives, the possibility that this travel is fuelled by the need to reinforce an identity is another angle to the concept. By using Stets and Biga's (2003, p. 401) definition of identity as being "a set of meanings attached to the self that serves as a standard or reference that guides behaviour" we can suggest that Penny, and many of the other interviewees are creating meaning which is related to relationships. Their identities stem from being connected physically and emotionally to significant others and, as demonstrated through their narrative, this inevitably involves travel.

VFR travel also provides a framework for identity performance. Claire has undertaken many holidays to visit family and friends, even spending three weeks in Malaysia visiting an ex-boyfriend who was away travelling for a year. Claire presents her trips as exotic, dangerous and adventurous. However a thread that runs through her stories is one of seeking a 'home away from home' that is, a place where she feels just as comfortable and safe as if she were at home. For instance, her explanation for visiting Australia was: "I think because Justin had an uncle out there, that was a good starting block to go and do somewhere like that". Claire was going to be a long way from home and it was important for her to have a security blanket should things go wrong. For Claire, friends and relatives were often a seed for a bigger trip. The relative has been in the area for some time so knows where to go, where to avoid and provides other sound advice. Knowing 'a local' also provides a base to return to if things should go wrong – as things sometimes do when on holiday (e.g. Löfgren, 2008). In Claire's case the relative has met her at the airport, providing an extra security measure and equipping her for the trip before venturing out alone: "So we got in to Australia and Justin's uncle picked us up and we actually stayed with him for two weeks and then he set us up with a car, bought us a car and got us sorted."

Claire's strongest memory was a week in a caravan during her Australia trip:

“...it was my best week, because you just felt like you were at home, it was nice and chilled, we actually stayed in a stationary caravan for the week, which when you've been in and out of hostels and everything else, ok, they're probably nicer but when you've got a stationary caravan and you've got your little kitchen area and everything else you've got a chance to make it feel like a home for a week and I think that's a part of it... And I think I don't know, it's strange that we go away to find somewhere different but when you find somewhere that's home from home it always seems to be one of your favourite places, so yeah. That's probably one of my strongest holiday memories.”

This admission causes Claire some identity conflict. She wants to be (or at least be seen as) adventurous but the reality is more ordinary, she is playing with an identity that goes beyond her 'true' identity. Here VFR travel bridges a gap between the need for security and the desire to project an adventurous identity. Given global networks, this generates both opportunities and desire for long-haul travel.

Tourism is inherently social (Dickinson et al., 2011; Rickley-Boyd, 2010) providing opportunities to be with friends and family. Urry (1990) describes the 'collective gaze' and Haldrup and Larsen (2003) discuss the 'family gaze'. Trauer and Ryan (2005) thus argue that the holiday is not the purchase of 'place', but of 'time' in which to create an intimacy with significant others. The destination acts as the 'scene' for the family performance. Based on this perspective these authors suggest the purpose of the holiday is not the search for 'other' but an endeavour to make sense of their own relationships through the shared experience of the holiday. Larsen et al. (2006, p. 45) suggest “families are most at home when away from home”. However, Rosenblatt and Russell (1975) propose that holidays are the perfect opportunity for conflict through increased proximity, change of routines and the removal of agreed territories and boundaries.

Crompton (1979) produced one of the earliest studies indicating that holidays could be used as ways to demonstrate, refine or modify identities. He found that holidays could be used to strengthen family relations as members were brought closer together. Similarly, Haldrup and Larsen (2003, p. 24) move on from the notion of tourism as a way of 'finding yourself', to tourism as a platform to display and create new identities and “ways of being together”, even if only for the duration of the holiday. This is because there might be few situations at home where we can focus on each other to the

same degree as during a holiday, the result is particularly intense feelings of togetherness.

Throughout both her interviews June referred to the idea of togetherness as being central to her holidays, with her family as a whole or just with her husband. For example:

“I do remember the idea of being away as a family as being something nice and certainly that did probably influence the holidays we took when I had a young family, things like caravan holidays, holidays where we were all **together** in the same place. It didn’t have to be grand. We did have some holidays abroad but even when we were abroad, it was all about being **together** and swimming **together** and walking out **together** so I think they are influential but you don’t know it at the time.” (Emphasis added by author)

June is suggesting that it did not matter where they were or what they were doing, just as long as they were together. This is supported by Small (2002) and Haldrup (2004, p. 433) who suggests “family based vacationing is more concerned with the extra ordinary ordinariness of personal social relations than with the documenting and gazing at spectacular sights”. Stephanie emphasises the importance of family togetherness over place in the following:

“We’d be going somewhere in a tent but they [friends] went on a tour of the west coast of the States so you know as far as I was concerned there was no comparison, but you know I didn’t think ‘oh no that’s not fair I wish I was doing that’ because I actually knew I would rather be with my family than with her family so it wasn’t necessarily where she was going. Yeah sure I might have liked to have tried it but I wouldn’t want to swap it for what I was doing so looking back I certainly wouldn’t have swapped it.”

Trauer and Ryan (2005) suggest that place significance is created through the meaningful relationships that take place in the location and also the enduring memories from the experiences. June also acknowledges the importance of the journey in assisting the feeling of ‘togetherness’: “first of all there is the travel down, travelling down in the car, wherever we’re going”. This is similar to the example in Dickinson et al. (2011) and also by Sheller (2004, p. 44) who proposes that “private cars are now also becoming mobile leisure spaces...”

The togetherness is not just physical but also psychological. Holidays can bring us back in touch with basic needs and commonalities that are often lost in modern life where we are isolated in big houses and through technology brought about by greater prosperity. Holidays “help create or re-create a common feeling of unity” (Shaw 2001, p. 128). This unity whilst on holiday presents a powerful motivation for continuing to travel. The association of the idea of togetherness with the self and tourism is through the creation of a ‘family identity’ and the security that brings.

The shared holiday experience can also be used as a way of maintaining, reinforcing or even creating a specific identity. This is proposed by Gram (2005, p. 17) who states “identity is today built up carefully by a number of choices, which are not necessarily stable. Holidays (as other forms of consumption) are one brick in the identity building process”. Jill appears to use travel as a way of engaging in various communities or subcultures. Something that has carried on from her childhood holidays when her family used to follow motorcycle scrambling rallies.

“They [her childhood holidays] were all based on motorcycling scrambling and motorcycle rallies... So the smell of the diesel from the motorbikes was really nice, they used to have campfires where everybody would come and congregate and ummmmm sort of wooden huts which people would sit in and eat so it was all very basic but errrrmmm yeah I quite enjoyed that, that was the purpose of it [the holiday] really. I think they used to follow those rallies.”

This passage illustrates an intimacy, sharing and closeness with the other community members. Jill’s Subsequent holidays, right up to present day, demonstrate her desire to be part of a collective. This includes going on art retreat holidays, festivals and gatherings for social movements such as the transition groups (local community groups responding to the issues of peak oil and climate change).

It is through membership of various social networks that social capital is created. It is thought that social capital can take one of two forms (Putnam, 2000), bonding social capital or bridging social capital. Strong ties reinforce bonding capital and is maintained through social networks of people ‘like us’ where we maintain strong relationships such as in families. Weak ties reinforce bridging capital which “can generate broader identities and reciprocity, whereas bonding social capital bolsters our narrower selves”

(Putnam, 2000, p. 23). The use of tourism to reinforce bonding capital has a direct impact on sense of self through the close proximity and extended time spent with like-minded people. However, in the temporary communities generated by tourism, bridging capital is significant (Filimonau et al., 2013) and extends opportunities for identity formation. For example:

“When I got off at the station, there was supposed to be a bus to the campsite, because it was 7 miles and errrrrr so yes there was somebody sitting down on their big army bag reading a book so basically the four of us had got talking and this girl had come all the way from Oslo for this festival so we shared a taxi and yeah we ended up killing ourselves laughing because we both had big hair and both had daughters who are wild and various other things.” (Jill)

In Jill’s example she is using her travel in order to create new relationships and in this case the destination is used as a “centre for physical and emotional exchange” (Trauer & Ryan, 2005, p. 482). Talking about the shared holiday experience is a way of maintaining relationships (Heimtum, 2007), even new relationships as is the case of Jill. Jill has remained in touch with the woman she met at the train station and they have formed a strong bond with plans to holiday together in the future. According to Heimtum (2007, p. 284) the creation and recall of memories is significant given that “highly mobile and fleeting friendships in today’s society need repetition of pleasurable memories in order to renew themselves.”

The influence of significant others (which could be family, family friends, work colleagues or wider reference groups) is not just through their physical presence but also ‘psychological presence’ i.e. the ways in which we ‘mentally represent’ them (Shah, 2006). Here we adopt Anderson and Chen’s (2002, p. 619) definition that significant others are those who have been deeply influential in a person’s life or people to whom someone has given a significant emotional investment. According to Anderson and Chen (2002, p. 619) a significant other may be able to influence an individual’s sense of self through “thoughts, feelings, motives, and self-regulatory strategies”. Thus other people drive our motives, set standards and regulate our behaviour. Tourism decisions can be made to please a significant other in order to maintain an established relationship position and identity. For instance, Beth holds strong opinions regarding environmental

behaviour and would like to give up flying, however she has recently married and her husband does not share her strength of feeling:

“I mean I feel really bad because this year I have taken flights to Ibiza and Marrakech ... especially because there’s my husband, although he kind of supports and understands that, I suppose has less of a personal commitment and he sees it as being a bigger society issue, so it’s always tricky.”

Shah (2006) suggests that significant others can guide our behaviour and experiences through our own views of the goals and expectations that the significant other holds for us. In Beth’s case her relationship with her husband is stronger than that with the goal, therefore the significant other is driving her behaviour. Significant others can provide ‘motives’ that causes us to act in a certain way in order to meet their standards (Anderson & Chen 2002). As a continuation of Goffman’s (1959, p. 46) proposal that it is possible to perform in a “favourable social style”, Rosenblatt and Russell (1975) suggests that our behaviour whilst on holiday with significant others is censored by their presence because of a need to present a favourable self.

Possible Selves and travel behaviour

A concept evident through many of our interviews was that people undertook travel because of future visions of themselves. They held various images of the person they could become, either positive or negative and undertook travel to either become or avoid becoming that person. For example, Tom explains his hitchhiking trips:

“I think I had a bit of a chip on my shoulder about being a carrot cruncher from a village because even when you went to Purbeck School you had people from Swanage who seem really worldly wise and street (interviewer laughs) you know compared to Wool they were.” (Wool has approximately 4,000 inhabitants whereas Swanage has 10,000. Tom currently lives in a town with a population of 180,000.)

Tom’s possible self here is of a ‘carrot cruncher’, someone from the countryside who is thought to be a bit backward. Here it could be interpreted that by travelling and seeing the world he is avoiding the negative possible self of the carrot cruncher or he is trying to reach the positive possible self of being worldly wise (like the people from Swanage). When Tom left home he engaged in extended long-haul travel. Though this cannot be directly attributed to his view of his possible self, his narrative suggests it played a role.

Possible selves occur when an individual considers their potential and their future (Markus & Nurius, 1986). There are three types of possible self: the ideal self – the self that we would very much like to become; the self that we could become, which includes all the positive opportunities open to us; and the selves we are afraid of becoming. Possible selves are thought to be a means in which an individual evaluates their current self-concept. It is believed that they represent goals, aspirations, motives, fears and threats and these can act as a motivation for behaviour change in order to achieve or avoid a possible self (Markus and Nurius, 1986). Hoyle and Sherrill (2006) distinguish between ‘hoped-for’ or feared selves. Tourism provides a unique platform on which people can act out a hoped-for self, making tourism highly relevant and sought after with respect to self-concept development. Giddens (1991) indicates that identities are no longer prescribed by society, the individual is in control of their identity and future identities which include possible selves (Desforges, 2000). Desforges (2000, p. 934) provides a similar example in Molly who “didn’t want to end up like some of her husband’s peers who have recently retired.” Possible selves are therefore acknowledged to be a catalyst for motivation and ultimately behavioural change (Markus & Nurius, 1986), however, this phenomenon has not been extensively discussed in terms of tourism behaviour but mainly in educational or sporting settings (e.g. Cross & Markus, 1994; Oyserman et al., 1995; Pheonix & Sparkes, 2007).

In the examples presented here, identity is driving tourism consumption because of the desire to evade or approach a certain possible self. The individual feels that by making a certain trip they will achieve the desired or avoid the undesired possible self as the outcome. They could have a possible self who travels more or one who travels less frequently. Tourism could be used to generate a certain possible self which could be attained through a particular type of travel, e.g. more sustainable travel behaviours. This is supported by Morgan (1993) who suggests, specifically when it comes to environmental behaviour, that it is not the current self-concept which drives behaviour but the imagined future self. There is also evidence that once behaviour has been altered by the possible self, there is the opportunity for validation or social feedback. This results in identity control as “individuals will adjust their behaviour until social feedback aligns with the identity standard” (Grandberg, 2006, p. 111).

Presentation of Self through tourism

Identities are rooted in the stories that we tell ourselves and others in order to make meaning of our existence and place in the world (Bagnoli, 2009). Many of our interviewees recounted stories that presented them in a certain light. When people talk about themselves, they choose what to tell you and what to keep to themselves.

Martin, a retired RAF pilot, who on the surface would appear to be a sensible, golf loving father and husband wanted to display that he also had a wilder side to him. Through his narratives, Martin demonstrated a rebellious streak when he undertook things he knew to be wrong, however there was a type of pride in telling these stories. It is a type of ‘performance’ (Goffman, 1959) and may not be entirely grounded in reality. Martin mentions a particular story involving a 1,400 mile car journey with his young family across Europe that lasted 23 hours without stopping. He begins this story by saying “And then I did something that I am ashamed of to this day ...” but this episode is mentioned three times during the interview and, since it resulted in no ill harm, offers Martin a dangerous and exciting identity marker. Another example comes from a childhood holiday with a group of boys and a schoolmaster:

“We went across on the ferry to Palermo in Sicily and down to the south coast of Sicily, Agrigento, where I was hospitalised for two days because he told me not to go on the hot sand in bare feet and I did. I burnt my feet so the whole group had to wait while I recovered and then that was another little episode.”

The use of the phrase “another little episode” shows how Martin embellishes his story by brushing this incident aside as insignificant. This is also demonstrated by his use of the word “another” i.e. he was always doing things like this. Mark was another interviewee to present a reckless side; he recounted an episode on a family holiday where he got arrested:

“I think it was the Greek holiday, it was a bit more bizarre, because I got drunk with my sister and ended up drunkenly going around in this taxi for ages and I got arrested sort of, so yeah that was a very bizarre one.”

Later on in the interview it became apparent that Mark was not ‘sort of’ arrested, he was drunk and could not remember where he was staying so had to sleep it off in the police

station. He describes another holiday as “crazy and irresponsible”. Here both Martin and Mark use tourism as a site for excess where the normal rules of behaviour do not apply.

Research has found that people’s behaviour changes in tourism settings and people who otherwise maintain fairly sustainable lifestyles abandon this in the tourism domain (Barr et al., 2011). The findings here are consistent with Barr et al. (2011) in that even those who were fully committed at home and willing to acknowledge responsibility do not transfer their home commitment and responsibly to their ‘away’ behaviour. For instance, Mark’s best holiday was an all-inclusive package holiday to a 5* resort in Mexico where a particular highlight was swimming with dolphins. However, in Mark’s case, his current belief is that he will not go on holiday unless there is some ‘greater good’ that comes from making the trip as he reflects that given his “current moral standards and outlook on life I would probably tut and be disgusted with what I had got up to.” This is an example of identity evolving. As people move through life and social positions they “identify with identity positions initially rejected” (Gillespie, 2008, p. 591). Cohen (2010) found that some of his interviewees were aware the self was always evolving and that they could perform or present certain chosen selves at any one time. While Mark did not have this same level of insight, he was aware of the contrast in his stories and was able to acknowledge that he had significantly changed, even if he did not realise the multiplicity of his current self-concept.

Interviewees often did not want to be identified as a tourist and spoke negatively of the presence of large numbers of tourists. For example, Mark criticised the behaviour of British tourists as drunken louts “we met up with some English people who said raaaaay you’re English as well, let’s get really, really drunk because that’s what we do.” Taken at face value this sentence does not seem that condemning, however, it was said with a particularly sarcastic and condescending tone. His next sentence was said very matter-of-factly, “so I got ridiculously drunk”. Gillespie (2009) noted a similar occurrence in his research about self-identification through differentiation. His interviewees derogated certain tourist behaviours when actually they conducted themselves in a similar manner. Given the growth of the global tourism industry, it becomes increasingly difficult for the ‘traveller’ to seek out places that mark out a different identity. Richard specifically sought out a destination that was off the beaten track: “we looked up all the islands, all the Greek islands that had brochures about them,

all that were in the guide book we crossed off and we got to one that wasn't mentioned in any guide book or anything." For his identity it was important that he was not just part of the masses. This encourages long-haul flights as people are seeking out the new.

Discussion and conclusions

Our findings indicate that identities can play a significant role in our tourism mobility decisions. Identities are present in all elements of our lives. They are the stories that make us who we are. It is possible to have multiple identities at the same time (e.g. Palmer, 1999), however, some identities will be more dominant at certain times depending on many factors, such as the context of the situation that we are in, who we are with, and even the person that we might become (Morgan, 1993). Tourism provides a unique site of consumption separate to everyday life that brings certain identities to the fore and in some cases necessitates the performance of particular identities to reinforce self concept. This performance of identity intervenes in behaviour that might otherwise lead to sustainable mobility choices and highlights the significant role of self in behaviour. At least three different mechanisms influencing identity formation with consequences for travel behaviour have been identified.

Firstly, we have presented data that shows how VFR travel is used to affirm identities based on relationships with significant others. VFR is also used as a 'safety blanket' to be able to undertake more adventurous travel and present a desired identity. In a similar vein, family holidays allow for the enactment of a family identity (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003), that due to the complexities of modern day living is not possible at home. It brings families closer together both emotionally and physically. The significance of existing home identities should not go un-noted. These identities can be so strong that they can lead people to undertake travel that they do not desire, particularly when significant others are involved (Anderson & Chen, 2002). The example presented here was of a recently married woman who did not want to limit her husband's travel by imposing her views on him. In order to be a 'good wife' she took several flights which were contrary to her beliefs on sustainable travel. Her behaviour was in contrast to her attitudes on environmental issues and was a direct result of her acting in a way that was consistent with an identity of a good wife.

Secondly, possible selves are a catalyst for behaviour change (Markus & Nurius, 1986) and for many of our participants this meant travel behaviour. Undertaking certain forms of travel allowed them to avoid or approach their future self they had imagined. This was a powerful motivating force as documented in other fields (Cross & Markus, 1994; Oyserman et al., 1995; Pheonix & Sparkes, 2007). We feel that possible selves impact travel behaviour and there is scope for future research to look at how industry and policy makers could creatively utilise this concept to create new possible selves in order to instigate a desired behaviour change.

Finally, the narratives of travel allowed the interviewees to present themselves in a certain light (Goffman, 1959). The recollected tourist experience provides people with a stage to embellish stories or recount stories that are not congruent to their current identity, however, in recalling the stories they demonstrate how multiple identities can and do coexist. Tourism can be a site for excess and provides a canvas to construct narratives of self. As such, attempts to get tourists to voluntarily restrain behaviour seem unlikely to be successful. However, there is an opportunity for industry and policy makers to provide new narratives that are less dependent on the exotic or long-haul travel but provide tourists with scope to construct personal stories.

These findings help to explain why previous policies promoting more environmentally sustainable behaviour have not worked. This is because identities play such a large part in the decision making process of tourists. Identities override other factors such as cost, environmental impact and in some cases personal choice (when people make travel for the benefit of a significant other). Given that decisions are deeply rooted in identity issues, instigating a behavioural change in tourism mobility will be very difficult to achieve. Policy makers and marketers advocating climatically sustainable holidays need to pay more attention to this issue. For instance, it seems possible to address identities either by promoting positive identities or showcasing negative identities.

Given the evidence presented here, there is scope for further investigation into the notion of using identity and, in particular, possible selves, to encourage behavioural change. Taking into account, the social aspects of identity, there needs to be a shift in the way wider society views highly mobile lifestyles. At present these are sought after and desired because of the status that is implied by exotic travel. There is a possibility to

introduce a counter identity, one that suggests a positive status for those who travel sustainably. There could even be the possibility to create a negative social identity by placing a stigma on those who are highly mobile.

This paper has several limitations. Firstly, this is an exploratory study, while the results reveal some interesting findings there needs to be further research in order to make solid recommendations for industry and policy. In addition, the study of identities is so complex that it would not be possible to include all the significant findings in this one paper; therefore we have only presented an overview of the issues. Finally, it must be acknowledged that although the narratives generated many different identity markers, the narratives presented by the interviewees were constructed for the purpose of the interview and may not reflect the 'real' identity. This is a consideration in all narrative research but only presents a significant problem if factually accurate information is being sought.

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Appendix 11: Publication strategy

Publication Strategy

1. Identity and tourism mobility: an exploration of the attitude-behaviour gap – *under review at The Journal of Sustainable Tourism*
2. Relationships, identity and travel – looking at the role of a family identity in tourism mobility. What happens when holidays fail, is it a failure of family identity? Group identity – *submit to Annals of Tourism Research*
3. The role of the Self in tourism mobility: what part do possible selves and fateful moments play in shaping travel behaviour? – *submit to Annals of Tourism Research*
4. A methodological paper highlighting the value of narrative research for mapping travel life history – *will decide where to publish at a later date*
5. A paper following the narratives of 3 cases through both interview stages of my research highlighting how identity is presented in relation to environmental awareness – *will decide where to publish at a later date*
6. Mobility mapping – Travel life histories, will contextualise previous mobility patterns.