



Title The Solitary Traveller: Why do people travel
 on their own?

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**THE SOLITARY TRAVELLER:
Why Do People Travel on Their Own?**

by

Mehmet Mehmetoglu

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Doctor of Philosophy
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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on an under-researched area of tourism – individualised travel – by examining non-institutionalised solitary travellers. The purpose of the study is to discover precisely why non-institutionalised solitary travellers travel alone. In order to understand the travel behaviour and motivation of solitary travellers, they are contrasted with group tourists. To be able to tackle this research problem, Grounded Theory is chosen as the most appropriate approach, for the following reasons. First, Grounded Theory is a methodology which makes its greatest contribution in areas about which little is known. Second, its aim is to generate rather than to test theory. Based on the computer-assisted content analysis and interpretation of relatively neglected qualitative data obtained from interviews and diaries, sixteen socio-psychological justifications for solo travel are empirically identified. From these responses, a taxonomy of non-institutionalised solitary travellers is inductively constructed. It consists of two basic types. First, there are those who travel alone because they simply have no available travel companion, referred to as “solitary travellers by default”. Second, there are those individuals who deliberately travel on their own, and who are regarded as “solitary travellers by choice”. The elaboration of such a distinction is the primary contribution made by this research to tourism knowledge. A secondary contribution is realised by confronting the data on solitary travellers and group tourists with the extant literature on tourist typologies – an exercise that raises a number of issues about the mythical status of the former. As a result, an alternative taxonomy is generated that consists of two distinct types of tourists – individualistic and collectivistic. The individualistic tourist is someone for whom internal personal values (e.g., sense of accomplishment) are the most important principles in life, who has motives stemming from ego-enhancement (e.g., personal development), and for whom travel means the investment of personal cultural capital. The collectivistic tourist, on the other hand, is someone who assigns greater priority to external personal values (e.g., sense of belonging), whose motives originate in the anomic conditions of society, and for whom travel is little more than a short break from routine.

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However, the greatest thanks of all must be paid to my wife, Rannvei, for her constant interest, encouragement, tolerance and support in completing this exercise. The resulting thesis is dedicated to her.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Luton. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

‘Why do people travel on their own?’ That is the aim and title of this research. Since this central issue is subsequently treated in depth, the purpose of this chapter is,

- to present the context that gave rise to this research problem (rationale for the study), as well as to explain the purpose, aims and objectives of the research in that context,
- to clarify the terms “institutionalisation” and “traveller” as employed in this study,
- to discuss the choice of the methodology in relation to the research problem,
- to outline the anticipated contribution of the current inquiry to tourism knowledge, and
- to provide an overview of the structure of the thesis.

1.1. Rationale for the study (context)

The “knowledge-based” study of tourism (Jafari, 1989) has emerged since the 1970s with Cohen’s (1972) typological essay and MacCannell’s (1976) theoretical synthesis. Research on tourism has traditionally encompassed four principal areas: the tourist, relations between tourists and locals, the functioning of the tourist system and the consequences of tourism (Cohen, 1984; Dann and Cohen, 1991; Sharpley, 1994). While there have been numerous analyses of the tourist, most of them, commencing with Boorstin (1964), refer, implicitly at least, to the mass tourist, treating all tourists under this designation as if they were one and the same (Cohen 1972, 1984).

Cohen (1972), however, is the first scholar to distinguish between different varieties of tourist. His typology consists of four tourist roles: two are institutionalised and two are non-institutionalised – which Vogt (1976) designates

as “tourists” and “travellers” respectively. Tourists performing institutionalised roles typify the ordinary mass tourist, whose stereotypical image and behaviour patterns have dominated the thinking of many researchers. These two roles comprise the “organised mass tourist” and the “individual mass tourist”. Institutionalised tourists value familiarity, planning prior to the trip, safety, dependence and minimal choice. Cohen’s two non-institutionalised roles are those of “explorer” and “drifter”. Explorers arrange their trips alone; they try to avoid the beaten track as much as possible, but nevertheless seek comfortable accommodation and reliable means of transportation. Drifters venture the furthest away from the company of other tourists and from reminders of the accustomed way of life in their home country. They shun any kind of connection with the tourism establishment and consider the ordinary tourist experience to be contrived. In contrast to institutionalised tourists, non-institutionalised travellers value novelty, spontaneity, risk, independence and an openness to a multitude of options.

Plog (1974) has developed a typology that links personality traits to tourist roles. He has identified two contrasting types – the “psychocentric” and the “allocentric” – and placed them at opposite ends of a continuum. The former is similar to Cohen’s “organised mass tourist” and prefers familiarity, while the latter is adventurous and is prepared to take risk, as with Cohen’s “drifter”. A similar typology to that of Cohen is offered by Smith (1977). Although she bases her taxonomy on the behaviour of tourists, she also links types of tourists to their numeric presence, with implications about their impacts on the host society. In a later article Cohen (1979a) provides a typology of tourist experiences (ranging from “recreational” to “existential”) based on a phenomenological approach, whose insights in relation to tourism have not yet been fully explored (Dann and Cohen, 1991). Other similarly grounded tourist typologies may also be found in Pearce (1982), Gottlieb (1982) and Dalen (1989).

Although, in a macro-sociological sense, these works have contributed towards a useful conceptualisation of the tourist, unfortunately they have not been

substantiated by systematic inquiry (Burns, 1999; Dann and Cohen, 1991; Mo et al., 1993; Sharpley, 1994). They thus fall short in explaining the motivation and behaviour of different types of tourists (Burns, 1999; Lowyck et al., 1992; Sharpley, 1994). Indeed, there is scant detailed empirical research on tourist attitudes and activities (Cohen, 1984). While there are some analyses (Cohen, 1982; Edgerton, 1979; Wagner, 1977) of institutionalised vacationing, what Graburn (1983) refers to as “modal tourism”, (Cohen, 1984; Riley, 1988; as also indicated in Vogt, 1976), few inquiries have specifically investigated non-institutionalised travellers.

One exception to the latter generalisation is Cohen (1973). In his observational study of youth travellers in Europe, he identifies three major factors motivating participation in the drifter subculture: cultural (abandoning the comforts of modern world), economic (the avoidance of routine work) and political (disdain of ideologies). Then there is Teas (1988) who, in her analysis of long-term Western wanderers in Nepal, discovers that the main point of their travel is to exercise control over their lives. A similar investigation of Western middle-class youth travellers conducted by Vogt (1976) reveals that their principal quest is the search for personal growth through the exercise of liberty. Riley (1988), too, observes that long-term budget travellers’ motivations can be the result of such “push factors” as to escape work and responsibility in order to experience freedom, adventure and novelty (see Dann, 1977).

The central common finding of this last set of studies is that non-institutionalised travellers tend to exhibit autonomous and independent behaviour which, according to Triandis et al. (1995), is the pivotal theme of individualism at the psychological level. Consequently, Cohen (1973) considers these travellers to be the most individualistic of all. Urry (1990; 1992) relatedly claims that tourist activity is inspired by the need to collect gazes. He suggests that, depending on the idiosyncratic requirements of the tourist, there are two different ways in which tourist gazes can be gathered: collectively or romantically. The former refers to tourism driven by the desire to look at familiar sights in the company of other

people. The latter is a solitary tourism based on a love of nature which, according to Walter (1982), has to do with getting away from the alienating structures of everyday life in modern industrial society, and a corresponding quest for solitude.

Within recent sociological research on non-institutionalised travellers (Hampton, 1998; Hyde, 2000a; Loker-Murphy and Pearce, 1995; Murphy, 2001; Riley, 1988), only Riley (1988), and then not focusing solely on those who travel alone, alludes to the solitary traveller in her study of budget travellers. Here she notes that those travelling solo eschew the company of others, wish to relish the opportunity to feel free from social pressures and constraints, and are partially motivated by status and ego-enhancement needs. Since the present writer was not aware of any comprehensive empirical studies of non-institutionalised solitary travellers other than the tangential work of Riley (1988), he consequently recognised the necessity of filling this void.

Purpose of the Study

Fodness (1994) notes that the whole area of motivation and demand has been one of the least researched areas of tourism to date. Crompton (1979) suggests that, whereas it is possible to describe the “who”, “when”, “where” and “how” of tourism, together with the socio-economic characteristics of tourists, it is far more difficult to answer the question “why”, which, of course, is the most interesting issue underpinning all tourist behaviour (Fodness, 1994).

As stated also by McIntosh et al (2000), the “why” question has been expressed simply as ‘why do tourists travel?’ – a very broad and thus, not a particularly enlightening research query. Instead, it becomes necessary to think about why particular groups of people prefer certain travel experiences (McIntosh et al., 2000).

Figure 1.1 suggests four specific “why” questions which can be posed within the social psychology of tourist behaviour.

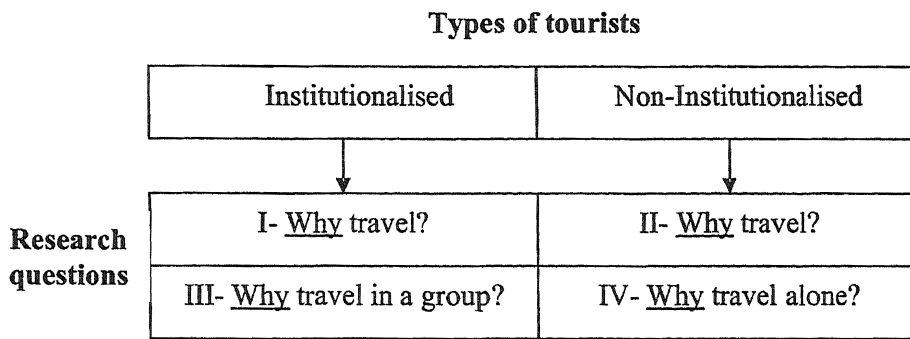


Figure 1.1. Social psychological questions of tourist behaviour

Although, under various dimensions and to varying degrees, questions I (Why do institutionalised tourists travel?), II (Why do non-institutionalised tourists travel?), III (Why do institutionalised tourists travel in a group?) have been partially answered by tourism scholars, question IV (as indicated earlier) has not yet been systematically addressed. Thus, the purpose of this study is to examine precisely why non-institutionalised solitary travellers travel alone.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to clarify the expressions, “institutionalisation” and “traveller”. The former, first coined by Cohen (1972), reflects whether or not people use travel intermediaries to make their trip arrangements. Even though Sharpley (1999) points out that it no longer means very much since the entire tourism industry today is institutionalised, for the purposes of this study, “institutionalisation” is employed to refer to the degree of organisation dependent on these intermediaries. The term “traveller” was initially used as a synonym for the word “tourist”. However, and particularly since Boorstin’s (1964) work, the nouns “traveller” and “tourist” have been treated as two polar opposites. Sharpley (1999, p. 97) explains that ‘the former, in a touristic sense (as opposed to gypsy, new age traveller and so on), is usually applied to someone who is travelling/touring for an extended period of time, probably back-packing on a limited budget. It connotes a spirit of freedom, adventure and individuality. The word tourist, on the other hand, is frequently used in a rather derogatory sense to describe those who participate in mass produced, package

tourism.’ This classification, as in other tourist studies (e.g., Riley, 1988; Vogt, 1976), has also been used in the current research. Indeed, traveller is often associated with non-institutionalisation and tourist is closely linked with institutionalisation.

To this distinction can be added one other – that between an independent tourist and an independent traveller. The former is someone who makes his/her travel arrangements in advance through intermediaries (e.g., travel agents) but thereafter travels independently of them and their clients. The latter is a person who reduces his/her travel plans to a minimum prior to the trip and who subsequently makes his/her arrangements to meet his/her needs as s(he) goes along without involving any middlemen unless absolutely necessary.

Aims and objectives

In relation to the purpose of the research, a twofold aim was articulated. The first was to fully explore the behaviour and motivations of non-institutionalised solitary travellers. Further, and because Cohen (1984) had noted that very few researchers have compared different types of tourists, the second aim was to contrast non-institutionalised solitary travellers with institutionalised group tourists. In order to accomplish these aims the following objectives were established.

1. *To collect information on socio-economic and demographic characteristics.* Here there is general consensus that socio-economic and demographic variables must be used in any social segmentation study (Kahle et al., 1986).
2. *To gather information on psychographic variables.* Factors influencing travel behaviour are becoming more and more complex (Hsieh et al., 1993; Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Although socio-demographics and travel characteristics can supply an understanding of various types of tourists (Hsieh et al., 1993), they still fall short in explaining why people travel and/or select specific travel modes (Fodness, 1994). Therefore, psychographic variables,

since they have an acknowledged impact on the choice of travel mode and travelling, are important to explore.

3. *To obtain information on trip characteristic variables.* A study conducted by Sheldon and Mak (1987) indicates that travel characteristics (including trip length, size of the party, destination, previous experience) influence travel style. Mo et al. (1993) suggest that psychographic and socio-demographic variables, when combined with travel characteristics, may impart invaluable information on different types of travellers.
4. *To seek an alternative theoretical framework.* Here a different classification from that found in the literature is sought. Such a typology should emerge as a result of investigating the solitary traveller.

1.2. Methodology

Methodology focuses on how investigators go about discovering what they believe can be known (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). It includes the analysis of assumptions, principles, and procedures associated with a particular approach to inquiry – that, in turn, governs the use of particular techniques (Schwandt, 2001, p. 161). Making principled methodological choices is an entirely different matter from following through particular methodological procedures (Seale, 1999, p. 188). Since it is not only about selecting methods of data collection, it thus requires more commitment and careful consideration. That is why Goulding (2002, p. 35) describes the task of choosing a methodology a time consuming, personal and reflective process.

The first consideration of this process is evaluating existing paradigms. Of the prevailing central paradigms, namely, positivist and interpretivist, the latter was chosen as the more appropriate approach for the current investigation primarily due to the nature of the study. Even so, the positivist paradigm was not dismissed out of hand without a prior evaluation of its aims, objectives and epistemological stance.

The next step of arriving at a decision as to which methodology to choose for a particular inquiry is to consider alternative research strategies within the selected paradigm. Among the various qualitative methodologies (see, Creswell, 1998) only those that had been used in tourist studies were taken into account: Phenomenology, Ethnography, Grounded Theory and Ethnomethodology. As a result of their comparative evaluation, Grounded Theory was deemed to be the methodology that was believed to best serve the purposes of this study, in spite of the realisation that the remaining strategies also offered, to varying degrees, some advantages.

Grounded Theory was chosen primarily for the following reasons. First, Grounded Theory has been shown to make its greatest contribution in areas about which little is known (e.g., solitary travellers). Second, Grounded Theory methodology's aim is to generate rather than to test theory. Third, Grounded Theory is a highly systematic approach for the collection and content analysis of qualitative data. Finally, with its roots in Symbolic Interactionism, Grounded Theory is a methodology that has proven to be particularly useful in studying human behaviour.

Grounded Theory

The principles of Grounded Theory were initially articulated by Glaser and Strauss (1967). In their pioneering volume, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, they dealt with the philosophical and theoretical dimensions of the methodology (Connell and Lowe, 1997). A further aim of their work, 'was to encourage new and creative research and was a reaction against what the authors viewed as a rather passive acceptance that all "great" theories had been discovered and that the role of research lay in testing these theories through quantitative "scientific" procedures' (Goulding, 2002, pp. 41-42).

Consequently, it is generally accepted that, Grounded Theory was developed as a research strategy whose aim is to generate theory inductively (about social and psychological phenomena) on the basis of data that are gathered and analysed simultaneously in a systematic manner. This task can be accomplished by

following the strict guidelines/principles (e.g., theoretical sampling) of Grounded Theory.

1.3. Contribution to knowledge

In relation to the field of management, Easterby-Smith et al. (1991) claim that a PhD thesis can potentially make a contribution in three areas: new knowledge about that domain, new theories/ideas and new methods of investigation. These contributions also apply to doctoral research in tourism.

The current investigation contains elements of each of the above considerations. As the title of the thesis indicates, the aim of this study is to make a contribution to an under-researched area of tourism, namely, individualised travel, by examining non-institutionalised solitary travellers (primary area). Second, as a result of this investigation it is hoped that an alternative framework for the conceptualisation of the tourist will emerge (secondary area). Finally, since very few have adopted Grounded Theory as a methodology, and still fewer have used computer techniques in the field of tourism to conduct their studies and content analyse their data, this thesis provides a detailed blueprint of the procedures adopted for these purposes (tertiary area).

1.4. Thesis structure

The research process of a Grounded Theory study is not linear but cyclical. That is to say, the stages of research (e.g., literature review, data collection and data analysis) are not necessarily carried out sequentially as in a conventional study. Such simultaneity of operation in turn affects the structure of a thesis. Although all the chapters are presented in a logical order, that ordering in itself does not indicate that the research is governed by the same consecutivity.

This account consists of four interconnected and distinct parts. In the first part, chapters two and three constitute the literature review. That ongoing exercise was conducted continuously throughout the research, rather than only prior to the fieldwork as in more traditional studies. Chapters four and five comprise the

second part of the thesis. It deals with methodological issues. Chapters six and seven make up the third part. It focuses on content analysis and interpretation and details the findings that emerge from the data. The final part is a combination of chapters eight and nine. It includes a discussion and conclusion revolving around the theoretical contribution and implications of the current inquiry.

For the sake of simplicity, the chapters of the thesis are outlined below in separate presentational sequence.

Chapter one

Chapter one provides a summary of the literature on tourist behaviour that points to one particular area that has not been given sufficient attention by tourism scholars, namely the solitary traveller. It also briefly discusses the methodological approach employed by the current research before listing the possible contributions that the study can make to tourism knowledge.

Chapter two

This chapter presents the *general* literature that has helped the researcher to position the solitary traveller in tourism research. In so doing, it provides a discussion about the relationship between sociology and tourism studies. A detailed overview is also supplied of the various attempts to create typologies of tourists.

Chapter three

Chapter three examines the *specific* literature that both increases the sensitivity of the researcher and formulates initial topical questions (primarily in the pilot study and secondarily in the main fieldwork), in order to gather sufficient quality information to achieve the aims and objectives of the study.

Chapter four

Chapter four provides details of the evaluation of various paradigmatic and methodological approaches. It explains the process of selecting the most

appropriate methodological approach and, more specifically, the research strategy (Grounded Theory), deemed the most suitable to address the research aims and objectives.

Chapter five

Chapter five introduces a model that illustrates the process of qualitative research using Grounded Theory. It consists of three interwoven phases: research design, data collection and data analysis. In line with this model, the chapter explains and justifies in detail the systematic procedures employed in these three phases.

Chapter six

By adopting the forms of narrative statement and hypothesis illustration techniques (commonly used in Grounded Theory studies), chapter six presents the content analysis and interpretation of the data on solitary travellers. It particularly focuses on the factors that influence and reasons why people travel alone. It finally ends with an inductive model depicting the relationship between these factors and reasons.

Chapter seven

In order to understand solitary travellers better, they are contrasted with their polar opposite – group tourists. Thus, parallel data are presented in a similar fashion to chapter six.

Chapter eight

Chapter eight brings the two data sets of chapters six and seven together in order to effect a comparison between the solitary traveller and the group tourist. In so doing, it provides some useful ideas for the concluding chapter.

Chapter nine

This chapter presents the main findings of the current study within a theoretical framework. It also justifies the contribution made by this research to tourism knowledge as well as providing suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LOCATING THE SOLITARY TRAVELLER

One of the most significant benefits that the literature provides in a Grounded Theory study is its ability to pinpoint relatively unexplored areas of research (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Since the literature has been utilised for the same purpose in this particular study, it is here necessary to supply details of the review that has been carried out in order to identify an important under-researched topic in tourism motivation and behaviour, namely, the non-institutionalised solitary traveller.

This thesis focuses on the travel behaviour of non-institutionalised solitary travellers and institutionalised group tourists. As Sharpley (1994) suggests, in order better to understand and explain tourist behaviour, there is first a need to examine the all-encompassing label of “tourist”. Accordingly, the aim of this chapter is to review sociological research on the “tourist” in an attempt to locate the solitary traveller. In so doing, there is a discussion concerning the relationship between sociology and tourism studies. An overview is also supplied of the various attempts to create typologies of tourists.

2.1. Sociology and tourism

Sociology is the study of society, along with the forces that shape its structure and patterns of activity (Giddens, 1993). Sharpley (1994) emphasises that tourism is about people and societies. Consequently, he suggests that the study of tourism should not be separated from an examination of what is often referred to by scholars (e.g., Urry, 1991) as the “sociology of tourism”.

Cohen (1984) maintains that the first sociological treatment of tourism emerged in Germany in the work of von Wiese (1930), which was subsequently elaborated by Knebel (1960). However, tourism as a separate field of study only gained wider acceptance in the early 1970s. In the intervening period, a few, namely, Boorstin (1964), an historian, and Forster (1964), a social anthropologist, produced some critical work on tourism, though admittedly not of a sociological nature. The former portrayed the tourist as a cultural dope manipulated by the creators of pseudo experiences (Dann and Cohen, 1991), whereas the latter documented changes in the structure of the workforce in Pacific island societies as a consequence of tourism (Sharpley, 1994).

MacCannell (1976) made a pioneering attempt to anchor the inquiry of tourism in the mainstream of sociological theory (Cohen, 1988). As a result of his work, a more profound and fruitful approach to the field of tourism was adopted (Dann and Cohen, 1991). MacCannell's (1976) theory was based upon the idea that the tourist was a metaphor for modern man. In his attempt to escape from the alienated conditions of a fragmented home society, he sought the authentic elsewhere.

Boorstin's (1964) and MacCannell's (1976) works evoked reactions from Cohen, which, via a dialectical process, further advanced the sociology of tourism (Dann, 2000). First, Cohen (1972) converted Boorstin's (1964) image of the universal tourist into a more differentiated one, by creating an empirically identifiable typology consisting of four tourist roles. Later, in relation to MacCannell's (1976) concept of "authenticity", Cohen (1979) developed a typology of tourist experiences (Cohen, 1988), arguing that neither Boorstin (1964) nor MacCannell had comprehensively addressed all the variations that were possible in the tourist experience (Neumann, 1992).

In addition to Boorstin (1964) and MacCannell (1976), whose approaches were primarily *etic*, Cohen (1988) considered Turner (1973) to be an influential figure whose work had contributed to the sociology of tourism from an *emic* perspective.

All these early sociological studies of tourism, as well as contributing to the conceptualisation of tourists and tourism, had stimulated a considerable number of both theoretical (Damm, 1995; Fussell, 1982; Krippendorf, 1987; Rojek, 1993; Urry, 1990) and empirical inquiries (Adler, 1985; Riley, 1988; Riley, 1995; Yiannakis and Gibson, 1992) over the past two decades.

In 1984, Cohen suggested that most of this work could be classified according to four main issues:

- (1) the tourist – motivations, attitudes, reactions and roles,
- (2) the relations and perceptions of tourists and locals,
- (3) the structure of the tourism system, and
- (4) the socioeconomic and sociocultural impacts of the phenomenon.

However, of all these dimensions, the tourist had received the most attention (Urry, 1990). According to Dann (2002a, p. 6), the reason for this state of affairs was not simply because [the tourist] represented a constituent element of the largest industry in the world, but rather because such a person provided a sociological understanding of that world. Since this emphasis also coincides with the purposes of this chapter, here only the “tourist” is treated within the framework of the traveller/tourist dichotomy.

2.2. Tourist or Traveller?

In order to deal with this distinction, first, the historical and contemporary definitions of “traveller” and “tourist” are outlined. The old English noun “travel”, in the sense of an odyssey, was originally derived from the French *travail* (signifying a painful and laborious effort, as in childbirth, for instance). That, in turn, came from the Latin *trepalium* (*tres*: three; *palus*: stake), meaning a three-pronged instrument of torture designed to rack the body (Boorstin, 1964; Fussell, 1982). To journey, to travail and, later, to travel, was therefore a test of endurance. In the late eighteenth century, the word “tourist” appeared in the English language as a simple synonym for “traveller” (Buzard, 1993). The Oxford dictionary defines a tourist as ‘one who makes a tour or tours; especially one who does this

for recreation; one who travels for pleasure or culture, visiting a number of places for their objects of interest, scenery or the like' (Cohen, 1974, p. 529). Here the "tour" in "tourist" stems from the Latin *tornus*, which in turn derives from the Greek word for a tool describing a circle (Boorstin, 1964).

Although the word "tourist" was initially used in a neutral sense, according to Boorstin (1964), its meaning later changed in order to reflect a parallel mutation in the character of travel. In this vein, and in 1849, the editors of *Fraser's Magazine* wrote, 'He was rather a tourist than a traveller' (Buzard, 1993). The distinction between tourism and travel had become a reality, and ever since, several scholars (e.g., Boorstin, 1964), from different disciplinary backgrounds, have attempted to explain it.

There are some commentators who argue that the traveller/tourist dichotomy emerged as a result of the greater democratisation of travel (Buzard, 1993; Sharpley, 1994; Urry, 1990). For them, travel had originally been socially divisive, available only to a minority élite in order to reinforce its social standing. Since that time, however, it had become a social activity for the majority (Urry, 1990). Urry (1990) notes that the extensive development of mass travel by train in the second half of the nineteenth century meant that status distinctions then came to be drawn between classes of traveller, rather than between those who could and those who were unable to travel. According to Dunn (1998), tourism today has become a democratised cultural commodity. Consequently, it has its own exchange values, and therefore cannot be immune from class struggle. Sharpley (1994) observes that as the increasing democratisation of mass tourism has continued throughout the twentieth century, the perceived gap between the traveller and tourist has intensified. The distinction has also been instrumental in and caused by the emergence of anti-tourist attitudes amongst certain tourists who wish to distance themselves from fellow tourists. Waugh, cited in Buzard (1993, p. 1), summed up the prevailing attitude when he wrote of his compatriots in 1930 that 'every Englishman abroad, until it is proved to the contrary, likes to consider himself a traveller and not a tourist'. Buzard (1993, p. 83) suggests that such

élitist perceptions operate on the principle of what Pierre Bourdieu calls *méconnaissance* – a misrecognition of social reality that attempts to naturalise the advantages of dominant groups.

While the issue of the traveller or anti-tourist was initially only evident in travel writing (see, for instance, James, 1958) journals and magazines, it has, in the second half of the twentieth century, received increasing attention from academics (Dann, 1999). Boorstin (1964) was one of the first of these commentators to be severely critical of mass tourism, by introducing the dichotomy of traveller/tourist.

Boorstin and 'The Lost Art of Travel'

As Dunn (1998) points out, Boorstin's (1964, pp. 77-117) chapter on "The Lost Art of Travel" can be regarded as a valediction to the traveller and a condemnation of the tourist. His work had significant influence in creating an opposition between the two terms. He justified the need for the dichotomy as follows:

The traveller, then, was working at something; the tourist was a pleasure-seeker. The traveller was active; he went strenuously in search of people, of adventure, of experience. The tourist is passive; he expects interesting things to happen to him. He goes "sight-seeing".... He expects everything to be done to him and for him (p. 85).

Boorstin (1964) asserted that modern tourists only wished to experience the strange and novel within the security and comfort of the familiar. Their enjoyment was thus limited to the "diluted, contrived, prefabricated pseudo-events" provided by an organised tour, rather than experiencing the real thing. This situation came about because 'travel ceased to be an activity – an experience, an undertaking – and instead became a commodity' (Boorstin, 1964, p. 85). Yet, as Sharpley (1994) observes, Boorstin (1964) only used mass tourism as one example to

illustrate his arguments about the overall state of modern society, which, he claimed, was replete with contrived experiences.

However, several serious criticisms were advanced against Boorstin's (1964) position. They were summarised by Cohen (1988, p. 31) as follows: First, Boorstin was not a "detached" analyst. He mixed opinions with facts, thereby producing a biased argument. Second, his views were widely held prejudices about the nature of modern tourism. Third, and most importantly, Boorstin presented a general caricature of what he considered to be "the" tourist. In so doing, he ignored any variation which existed in the motivation, conduct and experiences of different tourists (Sharpley, 1994). Finally, his empirical illustrations strayed a long way from providing a well-balanced picture of modern tourism.

MacCannell and 'The Tourist'

MacCannell (1976) was more concerned with the motivation of the contemporary tourist than the distinction between tourists and travellers. Nevertheless, his work on *the* tourist had implications for such a dichotomy. MacCannell (1976), in criticising Boorstin's (1964) ideas, argued that tourists did not seek contrived pseudo-events. Instead, they embodied a quest for authenticity – their key motive (Olsen, 2002). They were pilgrims of the contemporary world who wished to experience the "real life" of others, something that could only be found in a backstage not normally available to tourists. However, MacCannell (1976) maintained that this situation obtained, not as Boorstin (1964) suggested, because tourists did not want to experience the backstage. Rather, their thwarted quest was the deliberate result of a tourist industry that staged authenticity for them.

However, while MacCannell's (1976) work was innovative, his portrait of *the* tourist was no less a "positive caricature" than Boorstin's (1964) was a negative one (Schmidt, 1979). Even so, a common feature of these two approaches is the fact that they have functioned as significant starting points for research on the "tourist", particularly tourist typologies, in the sociology of tourism.

The 'post-tourist' of Feifer and Urry

Having examined the traveller/tourist dichotomy from two modernist perspectives, there is now a need to extend the issue by reference to post-modernity – the age of the image in which the majority of westerners allegedly live (Urry, 1990). Such a critique leads to a consideration of the so-called “post tourist” (Feifer, 1985; Urry, 1990).

Feifer (1985) and Urry (1990) characterise the “post-tourist” according to three central features:

- 1) The “post-tourist” is someone who does not have to travel in order to see tourist places or destinations, as this “gaze” can be achieved vicariously by the use of such contemporary technology as the Internet, TV, videos and so on.
- 2) The “post-tourist” is aware of the post-Fordist changes that have taken place in the development of tourism (e.g., Disneyworld and the manipulation of the authentic).
- 3) The “post-tourist” knows that s(he) is simply a ludic figure and that tourism is just a game consisting of contrived, “as if” experiences.

The introduction of this “end-of-tourism” persona has two salient implications. Firstly, and as noted by Sharpley (1999), the traveller/tourist dichotomy becomes irrelevant as far as the “post-tourist” is concerned. This situation arises because the “post-tourist” recognises that there are no longer any differences between tourism experiences and accordingly accepts the fact of virtual reality that it is no longer necessary to participate in real events or experiences. Second, and as a corollary of this de-differentiated attitude towards tourism, the “post-tourist” may consider all experiences enjoyable. In other words, the “post-tourist” can engage in activities that typify both mass tourists and independent travellers simultaneously. That is to say, the “post-tourist” tourist is unclassifiable according to different tourist roles, since s(he) adopts a combination of experiences and roles in an instant or over time. This second implication, then, suggests that the “post-tourist” renders tourist typologies meaningless (Sharpley, 1999, p. 123), the topic of the following sub-section.

2.3. Typologies of tourists

Sharpley (1994, p. 70) sums up the debate over the dichotomy of traveller/tourist by suggesting that ‘...there is no such thing as *the* tourist or *the* traveller and, within the context of the modern tourism system, it may be concluded that a traveller is simply one type of tourist.’ In other words, tourists are many and come in various types, a topic that has been dealt with by researchers from different disciplines over the past three decades. If there is general consensus (Gilbert, 1991; Lowyck et al., 1992; Sharpley, 1994; Yiannakis and Gibson, 1992), it is that the classification of tourists is a prerequisite to the explanation and prediction of tourist behaviour.

However, as well as different types of tourists, varieties of typology exist in the literature. Lowyck et al. (1992) and Sharpley (1994) provide the most comprehensive reviews of tourist taxonomies to date. The latter, from a sociological perspective and a more analytical point of view, states that these typologies can be sub-divided. First, there are typologies constructed with a focus on tourists *per se* (i.e., on vacation). Second, taxonomies are created from life style information (i.e., beyond the vacational). They can be respectively referred to as academic and applied typologies. This distinction does not suggest that those typologies that are of academic nature are not as relevant in practice as the applied ones. Rather, it emphasises the realisation that they are not developed with utilitarian benefits in mind (e.g., marketing purposes). Furthermore, and as Sharpley (1994) observes, the majority of the typologies found in the literature fall into the academic category, for the simple reason that most of the applied typologies are not published in scholarly journals.

For the purposes of the current study, only those typologies based upon sociological theories are of principal interest. The focus is thus mainly on them. However, because it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between social-psychological, sociological and anthropological approaches to tourism, it makes little sense to separate typologies in terms of their disciplinary provenance. Even books written from a specific disciplinary background (see, for instance, Burns,

1999) include more or less the same tourist typologies. Accordingly, typologies originating in these three key branches of the social sciences are treated as a single ensemble.

Novelty/familiarity

Provoked by Boorstin (1964), who treated all tourists as a homogeneous group, Cohen (1972) was the first scholar to develop a tourist role typology, by suggesting that there were different varieties of tourist. His still widely cited taxonomy was indeed the first of its kind to be grounded in sociological theory – in this case, the insights of Schutz and Simmel. According to Cohen (1972), tourist experiences comprised degrees of novelty and strangeness, depending on individual preferences and the institutional setting of the trip. The extent to which tourists combined their quest for novelty with elements of familiarity on a particular trip could be used to derive a typology. That is to say, tourist experiences varied along a continuum of novelty/familiarity. At one end were those who demanded familiarity. At the other extremity, were those who considered novelty to be the most important consideration. By organising these varieties of experiences into a typology, Cohen (1972) was able to identify the four following tourist roles.

The organised mass tourist. This type of tourist was similar to the one to which Boorstin (1964) referred in his work, a person who sought the highest degree of home-from-home familiarity (i.e., environmental bubble) as possible on a trip. This type of tourist preferred to travel on an all-inclusive tour. Here the itinerary and accommodation represented home comfort and familiarity. Literally everything was prearranged and escorted by a tour leader. There were few possibilities for interaction with locals and their culture (strangerhood).

The individual mass tourist. The main difference between the individual mass tourist and the organised mass tourist was that the former was not bound to a group in terms of time and itinerary. However, most of the travel arrangements were predetermined since the vacation was booked through a tour operator. Thus,

travel experiences still took place within an “environmental bubble”, even though there were occasional opportunities to escape from it. In other words, familiarity was somewhat less and novelty was slightly greater than in the preceding type.

The explorer. Explorers differed from the previous two types to a considerable degree, since they made their travel arrangements single-handedly, tried to avoid “the beaten track” and interacted with local culture as far as possible. There was more demand for novelty in this type of experience. However, a degree of familiarity was still in evidence, since they still looked for comfortable accommodation, (even if it was not same as at home), and reliable means of transportation.

The drifter. This tourist type was located at the novelty end of novelty/familiarity continuum. Drifters constituted the opposite of the mass tourist. They sought the highest degree of novelty by becoming immersed in local culture and shunned familiarity by venturing away from the accustomed ways of home life. They also avoided any kind of contact with the tourist establishment. In other words, the drifter as a tourist type was the sort of person whose disappearance Boorstin (1964) nostalgically regretted.

A continuum of novelty/familiarity implied that more than four distinct tourist roles may exist, since neither novelty nor familiarity was easily quantifiable and a continuum was theoretically divisible *ad infinitum*. Equally, categories could be collapsed. In acknowledging the latter, Cohen (1972) reduced his four tourist roles into two broader types – institutionalised and non-institutionalised. The institutionalised included the first two types of tourists – the organised mass tourist and individual mass tourist – since they were protected by the tourist industry. The non-institutionalised consisted of the last two types – the explorer and drifter – given that they were more autonomous. Only when absolutely necessary were they attached to the tourist establishment.

As pointed out by Yiannakis and Gibson (1992), although Cohen's (1972) work proposed the existence of a more complex array of tourist behaviour than the unilateral vision advanced by Boorstin (1964), it still was subject to significant criticism. Sharpley (1999, pp. 108-109) and Ryan (1991, p. 30) usefully summarise these critiques as follows:

- a) The distinction between institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms of tourism is now not so clear-cut as it used to be.
- b) As a corollary, the drifter type may no longer be a valid category on account of the increasing homogenisation of the world.
- c) The categorisation of the four roles is based on observations of behaviour without reference to the motives underpinning that behaviour.
- d) The typology does not allow for changes in tourist behaviour over time, (i.e., the tourist is treated as static).
- e) To assign particular types to specific social groups, by for instance suggesting that backpackers are young tourists, is to overlook the role of the individual in making choices.

Numbers/impact

As Burns (1999) points out, Cohen's (1972) typology nevertheless provided a framework for understanding destination impacts. As a result, Smith (1977), following Cohen's (1972) taxonomy, developed a classification of tourists with implications about their effects on the places they visited. Smith (1977) identified seven different tourist types.

Explorers. Explorers were quite similar to Cohen's (1972) drifters. Their numbers were restricted and they became easily involved in local life/culture, adapting to its norms and traditions. They were more akin to anthropologists than to tourists.

Elite tourists were still few in numbers and travelled extensively. They differed from explorers in that most of their arrangements were made prior to the trip. They, too, though for shorter periods, adapted to the local culture.

Off-beat tourists, as Sharpley (1999) suggests, were the same as Cohen's (1972) explorers, in their attempts to shun other tourists. Instead, they wanted to interact with destination people by making use of local accommodation and transportation.

Unusual tourists were also few in numbers. They, too, were interested in indigenous culture, although they preferred to experience it within the safety provided by an organised tour.

Incipient mass tourists represented increasing numbers of tourists, travelling as individuals or in small groups, who chose to travel to destinations with well-developed infrastructure that provided them with western amenities.

Mass tourists constituted a continuous influx of tourists who sought and expected occidental comfort in the destination. In other words, they wanted to be away but still to feel at home. Mass tourists and incipient mass tourists bore the characteristics of Cohen's (1972) individualised mass tourists.

Finally there were *charter tourists* who travelled *en masse*, and thereby had literally every single thing prepared for them according to western styles and standards. As long as it was provided for them, actual destinations were of little concern. This last type of tourist coincided with Cohen's (1972) organised mass tourist.

Since Smith's (1977) typology was based on Cohen's (1972), the same critiques as those made against Cohen's (1972) taxonomy were brought against Smith's (1977) classification. Furthermore, Smith's categories were seen to be less applicable than Cohen's (1972) since their creation was based on a sample of observations of tourist behaviour occurring in specific contexts. As Sharpley (1999) points out, the categories were not distinguishable (mass tourism versus charter tourism).

Experiences

Having had sufficient time to digest MacCannell's (1976) ideas on "authenticity", in 1979, Cohen proposed a new continuum based on tourist experiences. It ranged across the conception of space characterising modern tourism, on the one hand, to that of the pilgrimage, on the other. In this attempt, Cohen (1979a) further grounded his typology in Alfred Schutz's (1899-1959) phenomenology (Dann and Cohen, 1991). Moreover, when constructing this new typology, Cohen (1979a) concentrated not on observed behaviour (as he did in the 1972 work), but rather on different desired tourist experiences (Sharpley, 1999). In such a manner, Cohen (1979a) classified tourist experiences into the following five different categories.

Recreational experience. The trip as a recreational experience was in essence similar to customary forms of amusement (e.g., cinema) enjoyed in everyday home life. Recreational tourists represented the mass tourist of Boorstin (1964), who thrived on pseudo-events. What mattered was that they obtained pleasure from entertainment. For them, authenticity was of little interest.

Diversionary experience. Although recreational experience could have meaning for persons thus involved, individuals travelling in the diversionary mode did not necessarily seek meaning or recreation. Rather, they looked for temporary escape from the mundane and routine everyday existence that could make ordinary life bearable.

Experiential experience. In contrast to the two previous types, experiential tourists were, to a greater degree, aware of their state of alienation from everyday life. Therefore they sought authenticity elsewhere. In other words, they transformed the society in which they lived by looking for meaning in the lives of others.

Experimental experience. Experimental tourists, in their quest for meaning, sampled alternative authentic centres. In so doing, they compared different varieties in order to discover one that would meet their needs. However, they were

not aware of what their needs precisely were, and thus their search became an ever-continuous one.

Existential experience. Existential tourists were the equivalent of Cohen's (1972) drifters since they became fully committed to and immersed in foreign cultures. Here an elective centre-out-there replaced the former alienation of home. What made such an experience a touristic phenomenon was the fact that these tourists did not live permanently in either place – home or the new society.

Although the theoretical contribution of this work is undeniable, as a typology it still fails to capture fully the varieties of all possible tourist experiences, since it is based solely on the single dimension of authenticity. Nevertheless, it represents another angle from which to look at tourists. Importantly, it focuses on the tourists themselves, rather than their broader context (Sharpley, 1999).

Psychocentric/allocentric

According to Ryan (1991) one way in which a tourist typology has a value is to relate to the visited destination. Plog (1974) was the first to do so, by classifying tourists along a personality continuum, ranging from the psychocentric at one end to the allocentric at the opposite extremity. In fact, his continuum was akin to that of Cohen (1972) in that psychocentrics and allocentrics seemed to share similar characteristics to the respective institutionalised and non-institutionalised types of Cohen (1972). Between these two points, there were three other types, characterised by their proximity to either of the polarities – near-psychocentric, mid-centric, and near-allocentric.

Psychocentrics. These tourists liked a familiar atmosphere in the destination visited. They joined organised tours for the familiar to be arranged and provided for them. There was virtually no element of adventure or risk-taking involved in their travel. They were, in Boorstin's (1964) terminology, "passive" since they engaged in no extracurricular activities during their travel.

Allocentrics. They represented the complete opposite type of travel behaviour to that of the psychocentrics. They were novelty-seekers, adventurous, active and risk-takers, just like Boorstin's (1964) traveller. They preferred to journey to destinations that were non-touristy, where they could experience difference (new people and novel places). They desired minimal arrangements, such as transportation, and made use of simple forms of accommodation.

Plog's (1974) work has implications for two significant issues in tourism research, namely, the conceptualisation of the tourist and the destination lifecycle. As far as the former is concerned, his typology suggests that there is, to a certain degree, a relationship between personality and tourist behaviour. However, his taxonomy faces the same problems as those of the foregoing typologies. Regarding the latter, it cannot be denied that Plog (1974) contributes to an understanding of a destination's development. Yet, he only does so from a theoretical point of view, given that the application of his typology to destinations (i.e., personality and destination choice) has been empirically rejected by Smith (1990), mainly on account of its *ceteris paribus* assumptions.

Fuzzy-set

Up to this juncture, the reviewed typologies were mainly of a theoretical nature. As far as their empirical counterparts were concerned, Pearce's (1982) work was one of the first that attempted to operationalise various forms of tourist behaviour. Based on Cohen's (1974) theoretical assumptions, Pearce (1982), employing a fuzzy-set technique, constructed five major clusters of travel-related roles:

- Environmental travel (anthropologists, conservationists and explorers),
- High contact travel (travellers, overseas students and foreign journalists),
- Spiritual travel (hippies, religious pilgrims and missionaries),
- Pleasure first travel (jet-setters, tourists and holidaymaker), and
- Exploitative travel (businessmen and jet-setters).

One problem with Pearce's (1982) attempt was that his categories were not mutually exclusive. Indeed, there was overlap among some sub-types (e.g., jet-setters). His taxonomy also treated tourists as if they were static persons with immutable roles. However, and as pointed out by Cohen (1974), Pearce's typology did acknowledge that not all travel-related roles were for pleasure by including such people as overseas journalists and businessmen. It additionally indicated the need to study tourist behaviour from an *emic*, as well as an *etic* perspective.

Leisure-based

Recognising the weaknesses of Pearce's (1982) scheme, another empirical attempt was made by Yiannakis and Gibson (1992). Employing a theoretical framework based mainly on the sociological work of Cohen (1972; 1973; 1974; 1979a) and the social psychological perspective of Pearce (1982), Yiannakis and Gibson (see 1992, p. 291) used a quantitative method which generated fourteen different leisure-based roles. However, their approach was over-descriptive. It was also restricted to vacation behaviour, excluding, as it did, the underlying motives for that behaviour.

Another interesting sort of taxonomy that falls into the academic category can also be identified. It can be termed the "binary typology" since it classifies tourism into two main forms. For instance, Gray (1970), in the very first classification of this nature, defined two varieties of tourism – sunlust and wanderlust. Then there was Gottlieb (1982) who suggested that tourists could be categorised either as "peasant for day" or "queen/king for a day". Similarly, Graburn (1983) proposed that there were two versions of travel behaviour – self-testing tourism and modal tourism. Finally, and more recently, there was Urry's (1990) distinction between the romantic and collective gaze.

As Lowyck et al (1992) point out, the typologies examined only focused on the tourist. As observed by Sharpley (1994), they were based upon a micro-sociological perspective. However, the most recent attempt to analyse tourist

behaviour from a macro- or structural point of view has been made by Seaton (2002).

Seaton (2002) suggests that existing tourist typologies fail to explain how and why individuals come to be particular types, and how they might change. Accordingly, he proposes a new tourist role typology, referred to as a *metempsychotic/metensomatic* model, which is theorised in relation to paradigms within anthropology and sociology. The *metempsychotic* role represents unilinear tourism behaviour in which the tourist adopts one explicit persona in the repetition of a single journey. In the broader, embedded version the *metensomatic* subject implicitly adopts several temporary personae, and repeats not just, or even any of, the elements of a specific journey, but instead enacts historically and culturally situated personae that become attached to the role of tourist (Seaton, 2002, p. 150). This model identifies twelve different roles that can be extended or modified. It is considered an alternative to traditional tourist typologies, since it does not treat tourists' characteristics as fixed traits, but rather as transient personae selected from a repertoire of culturally patterned, tourist roles. This feature reflects the dynamic element of the model since it indicates that an individual tourist may enact several roles, and in varying degrees, during the course of the same trip. Seaton (2002) goes on to suggest that *metempsychotic* and *metensomatic* types constitute the motivation for travel, 'in that the concepts recognise that people do not become tourists because they are driven by intrinsic needs [in contrast to what Iso-Ahola (1982) claims], but by the socially nurtured desire to achieve personal transformation through playing different, culturally approved roles. It is surely better to ask not why they want to go, but who they want to be on their travels' (p. 161). As Seaton (2002) claims, the model can help explain a wide range of tourist behaviour.

However, and as Sharpley (1999, p. 115) suggests, a typology of tourists should be based upon both a micro-analysis of tourists themselves and a macro-, structural approach which locates actual tourist behaviour and experience within a broader social context. Furthermore, although these works, in a macro-

sociological sense, have contributed towards a useful conceptualisation of the tourist, unfortunately they have not been substantiated by systematic empirical inquiry (Burns, 1999; Dann and Cohen, 1991; Mo et al., 1993; Sharpley, 1994). They thus fall short in explaining the motivation and behaviour of different types of tourists (Burns, 1999; Lowyck et al., 1992; Sharpley, 1994). Indeed, there is scant detailed empirical research on tourist attitudes and activities (Cohen, 1984). While there are some analyses (Cohen, 1982; Edgerton, 1979; Wagner, 1977) of institutionalised vacationing, what Graburn (1983) refers to as “modal tourism”, (Cohen, 1984; Riley, 1988; as also indicated in Vogt, 1976), few have specifically investigated non-institutionalised travellers.

Consequently, and in relation to this thesis, there is a need to review these studies in the search for the non-institutionalised solitary traveller. While examining such works, the emphasis will be on motivation since that is the main focus of the current research.

2.4. Non-institutionalised travellers

The first systematic investigation of non-institutionalised travellers was undertaken by Cohen (1973). In his observational study of youth travellers in Europe, he identified three major factors motivating participation in the drifter subculture – cultural, economic and political.

Cultural motives included the need to escape from obligations, duties, traditional ways of life and modern technological society, as well as a continuous search for sensual experiences in a foreign clime. *Economic motives* meant that youngsters in affluent societies wished to have the experience of travelling prior to settling down in a career. Here an individualistic way of travelling (e.g., drifting) was economically the most suitable form. Finally, some youths looked upon travel as an opportunity ‘to search for an “anarchistic” existence in some far-off quarter of the world’ (Cohen, 1973, p. 94), an aspiration which was defined in terms of *political motives* for travel.

Then there was Teas (1974; 1988) who, in her analysis of long-term western wanderers in Nepal, discovered that they regarded travelling as an escape from society, a means of redefining society and a rite of passage. The first and second reasons were interconnected since in both cases these travellers wanted to be in a foreign culture. They wished to get away from the home society, and through the experience of elsewhere, to be able to redefine that society. For them, travel was a *rite de passage* (see van Gennep, 1960) – a turning point in their lives.

A similar investigation of Western middle-class youth travellers conducted by Vogt (1976) revealed that their principal quest was the search for personal growth through the exercise of liberty. They achieved this goal by exercising greater personal control in decision-making, by satisfying needs for stimulation and complexity through the experiences novel and diverse environments, by learning about the self and world, and by entering transient, yet intense, interpersonal relationships (Vogt, 1976, p. 37).

Riley (1988), too, observed that long-term budget travellers' motivations could be the result of such "push factors" (see Dann, 1977) as escaping work and responsibility. She found that many of these persons were at one of life's junctures (having just completed a college degree or being between jobs). Thus, they needed the time that travel provided to contemplate what they wanted to do with their lives. Further, as well as wishing to experience the freedom associated with travel, for some of them status or ego-enhancement was also a reason for leaving the egalitarian home environment.

The central common finding of this last set of studies is that non-institutionalised travellers tend to exhibit autonomous and independent behaviour which, according to Triandis et al. (1995), is the pivotal theme of individualism at the psychological level. Triandis et al (1995) accordingly contrast the characteristics of an individualist with a collectivist:

- a) the self is independent rather than interdependent,
- b) personal goals have priority over in-group goals,

- c) there is an emphasis on exchange rather than communal relationships, and
- d) social behaviour is accounted for more by attitudes than by norms.

Consequently, Cohen's (1973) travellers would be the most individualistic of all. Urry (1990; 1992) relatedly claims that tourist activity is inspired by the need to gaze. He suggests that, depending on the idiosyncratic requirements of the tourist, there are two different ways in which tourist gazes can be gathered – collectively or romantically. The former refers to tourism driven by the desire to look at familiar sights in the company of other people. As Sharpley (1999, p. 161) puts it, such a gaze represents 'communal tourism [in which it is, in fact,] the shared experience that is of fundamental importance to the collective gaze.' The latter is a solitary tourism based on a love of nature which, according to Walter (1982), has to do with getting away from the alienating structures of everyday life in modern industrial society, and a corresponding quest for solitude.

Within recent sociological research on non-institutionalised travellers (Hampton, 1998; Hyde, 2000a; Loker-Murphy and Pearce, 1995; Murphy, 2001; Riley, 1988), only Riley (1988), and then not focusing solely on those who travel alone, refers to the solitary traveller in her study of budget travellers. Here she notes that those travelling on their own eschew the company of others, relish the opportunity to feel free from social pressures and constraints, and are partially motivated by ego-enhancement.

Since this thorough review of the literature on the individualised traveller was not able to locate any empirical studies of non-institutionalised solitary travellers other than the tangential work of Riley (1988), the researcher consequently recognised the necessity of filling this void. Therefore, as an outcome of the lacuna exposed in the foregoing review, and under the sub-title "*Why do people travel on their own?*", the twofold *aim of the thesis* was articulated: First, to explore fully the behaviour and motivations (who, when, where, how, and particularly why) of non-institutionalised solitary travellers. Further, and because Cohen (1984) had noted that very few researchers had conducted comparative

studies of tourists, the second aim was to contrast non-institutionalised individualistic solitary travellers with institutionalised collectivist group tourists.

In seeking to accomplish the two-fold aim of this study, and as recommended by Hsieh et al (1993), Keng and Cheng (1999) and Mazanec (1995), data on the socioeconomic, trip, and psychographic characteristics with respect to non-institutionalised solitary travellers and institutionalised group tourists were collected. The next step is to provide an extensive review of this literature – the purpose of the following chapter.

By way of summary, this chapter commenced with a review of sociological studies of the “tourist”. The linkage between that discipline and tourism was also briefly outlined. Later, the dichotomy of traveller/tourist was discussed. As an extension of this debate, a number of tourist typologies were critically analysed. Then, in order to locate the individualised solitary traveller in the literature, an overview of the most relevant research on non-institutionalised travellers was provided. Finally, the need to study the solitary traveller was introduced in relation to the two-fold aim of the current investigation.

CHAPTER 3

UNDERSTANDING TRAVEL BEHAVIOUR

A crucial purpose served by the literature is that it enhances the theoretical sensitivity of the researcher. Such an awareness means having insight into, and being able to give meaning to, patterns occurring in the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 46). The literature is thus employed as an instrument of meaning consciousness that obviates any forcing of the analyst's explanations on the data. The literature can also be utilised to formulate questions that act as theoretical stepping off points during preliminary observations and interviews. The aim here, therefore, is to provide an overview of the literature used in this thesis that both increases the sensitivity of the researcher and formulates initial topical questions in order to gather sufficient quality information to achieve the objectives of the study.

There is general agreement that it is necessary to study socioeconomic, trip, and psychographic characteristics of tourists, if an investigator wishes to fully understand their travel behaviour. Following this consensus, and in order to accomplish the aim of the research (i.e., to gain a holistic picture of the solitary traveller's behaviour), three objectives (sub-aims) were established. These were:

- first, to collect information on socio-economic and demographic characteristics,
- second, to obtain information about the trip, and
- third, to gather information on the psychographic profiles of the solitary traveller.

For comparative purposes, the same objectives were pursued with respect to the group tourist.

In this chapter, the general literature on segmentation variables (e.g., psychographics) is reviewed. More specifically, and in an attempt to avoid pure description, empirical work in relation to non-institutionalised and institutionalised tourists is also provided. Furthermore, the literature reviewed in this chapter and in the preceding chapter will both be revisited in the “analysis and interpretation” part of the thesis (chapters 6,7) when emerging propositions from the current investigation are compared with existing theories. This combined exercise underlines the significant role that the literature plays in a Grounded Theory inquiry (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Although the contrary has been proposed by some (e.g., Boorstin, 1964), tourists are heterogeneous. The attempt to distinguish between various types of tourists, in order to understand their motivation and behaviour, is referred to as market segmentation (Middleton, 1998, p. 73). One of the suggested segmentation criteria for classifying tourists into meaningful groups includes their socioeconomic and demographic characteristics.

3.1. Socioeconomics and demographics

Socioeconomics and demographics constitute the most prevalent form of market segmentation in tourism studies (Hsieh et al., 1994). A possible explanation for this trend is the fact that socioeconomics and demographics are easier to measure than complex variables such as life-style preferences (Gitelson and Kerstetter, 1990). It is strongly recommended that they be used in any social segmentation study (Kahle et al., 1986), including tourism (Morrison, 1989), in order to be able to pinpoint target groups, a proposition that has also been substantiated by empirical inquiry (see Decrop, 2000). There are several socioeconomic and demographic variables that have been used for tourist classification purposes (see Pearce, 1982). However, here, only the most common ones, derived from the literature (Cooper et al., 1993), are outlined and backed with empirical data in

relation to different types of tourists. They include age, gender, education, occupation, family composition (marital status), nationality and language ability.

Age. The relationship between age and tourism comprises two components – the amount of leisure time available and the patterns of travel behaviour displayed (Mill and Morrison, 1998). It is the latter which is of more relevance to the current study. There are several associations between patterns of travel behaviour and age. Seaton (1996a) suggests that age specifically influences travel choice. That is to say, older people like travelling in an organised group (e.g., Quiroga, 1990), whereas younger persons prefer to make their own arrangements and travel independently (e.g., Ross, 1997). This relationship has been validated in a comparative study conducted by Morrison et al. (1994).

Gender. Mill and Morrison (1998) state that there are no significant gender differences as far as participation in travel is concerned. However, they point to a clear difference between the sexes in terms of the activities involved. In this regard, Hsieh et al. (1994) claim that travel behaviour, particularly style of travel, is predicated on gender. Their study suggested that gender was, indeed, one of the factors that differentiated package from non-package travellers. That is to say, women preferred to travel on package tours, whereas men displayed more interest in non-package arrangements.

Education. There is general agreement that education influences travel behaviour. However, the linkage between the two variables has two separate components. First, there is a strong correlation between education and income, an association that indicates that those with higher education are likely to possess more discretionary income – a prerequisite for travel. Second, and independent of financial considerations, level of education has an effect on the type of leisure and travel activities chosen. For instance, Beatty et al. (1985) found that educational level affected travel style. Further, Mak and Moncur (1980) discovered that there was an inverse relationship between education level and the use of travel agents (i.e., for organised tours). Indeed, Quiroga (1990), in her investigation of package

tours in Europe, observed that most of her respondents were from lower educational backgrounds, in contrast to independent travellers who were reckoned to be highly-educated people, usually in possession of a university degree (Crossley and Lee, 1994).

Occupation. When explaining the relationship between work and tourism, Sharpley (1999) claims that there is an association between occupation and travel behaviour. More specifically, he states that those who have challenging and satisfying jobs prefer to travel independently, whereas those who engage in routine and mundane tasks are more likely to choose an organised package tour. Another effect that occupation can have on travel patterns, though admittedly not for many people, is that travel may be regarded as an extension of occupation (Decrop, 2000; Sharpley, 1999). For instance, tourism researchers may spend their free time at places that are of interest to them from an academic perspective, so that a vacation can be considered as both holiday and work. However, such connections have very rarely been empirically tested. One exception is a study conducted by Morrison et al. (1994) which found that individuals who had professional/technical jobs tended to travel on non-escorted packages.

Marital status. A person evolves along a certain life cycle, whose characteristics change at various stages (Mill and Morrison, 1998). These transitions also influence travel behaviour (Gilbert, 1991). For instance, young singles/couples generally have more time available to travel for long periods. Marital status is also likely to affect the type of travel chosen. A study carried out by Morrison et al. (1994), for example, found significant differences between people's travel arrangements that varied according to marital status. Those who took escorted tours were typically married, whereas singles and unwed couples with children mainly preferred non-escorted packages. Relatedly, there was another study which discovered that single women (e.g., widows) chose to travel in a group rather than individually for considerations of safety and security (Sheldon and Mak, 1987).

Nationality. According to Richter and Nash (1992) the relevance of “nationality” as a segmentation criterion for tourist behaviour was first questioned by Dann during a meeting of the International Academy for the Study of Tourism, held in Calgary, 1991. Yet very few have examined this issue in tourism research. One notable exception is Oppermann (1994) who, in a preliminary study, concluded that nationality could be used as a significant variable in tourism market segmentation studies. However, Dann (1993), in his later work, warned about using “nationality” as the sole criterion to distinguish between international tourists. More specifically, he suggested that, due to the globalisation of tourism and the corresponding cosmopolitan nature of tourist generating societies, the term “nationality” had become a complex concept that often masked other interdependent variables.

Language. Language has two interconnected components that may affect travel behaviour. First, there is the language spoken in the destination and the local people’s ability to communicate with visitors. Second, there are the language skills possessed by tourists. Some opt for travel to destinations whose native language is akin to their own. Alternatively, if there is a tourist perception that destination people do not speak their language, some may prefer to travel in a way (e.g., escorted tour) that is different from their customary mode. This situation was confirmed by two studies (Evans and Stabler, 1995; Morrison et al., 1994) of package tourists. As might have been expected, multilingual individuals were not restricted by language barriers. They felt that they could travel independently to any destination.

3.2. Psychographics

Factors influencing travel behaviour are becoming more and more complex (Hsieh et al., 1993; Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Although socio-demographics and travel characteristics can provide an understanding of various types of tourists (Hsieh et al., 1993), due to their descriptive nature, they still fall short in explaining why people travel and/or select specific travel modes. Arguably, these concerns are the most interesting issues underpinning all tourist behaviour

(Fodness, 1994). Therefore, psychographic variables, since they have an acknowledged impact on the choice of travel mode, are important to explore. However, as Plog (1994) notes, there are no standard psychographic categories of defining people. A list of the most common psychographic variables obtained from the literature (Madrigal, 1995; Mazanec, 1995; Morrison et al., 1994) includes travel motives, personality, personal values, benefits sought, travel philosophy and travel product preferences.

Travel Motives. As Uysal and Hagan (1993) point out, in order to be able to explain travel behaviour, it is first necessary to study the motivators to travel. Prior to examining travel motivations, one of the most complex areas of tourism research (Sharpley 1999, 2002), a definition of the term *motive* is needed. Etymologically *motive* is derived from the Latin “movere”, to move (Dann, 1981). *Motive* has been used to refer to internal factors that direct and integrate a person’s behaviour for potential satisfaction (Iso-Ahola, 1982; Murray, 1964). Motive for travel, then, can be defined as ‘the set of needs which predispose a person to participate in a touristic activity’ (Pizam et al., 1979 cited in Yuan and McDonald, 1990, p. 42).

Tourism motivation can refer to travel in general, or to a specific choice in particular (Parrinello, 1993). It seeks to explain why an individual or group has behaved or is about to perform an action, rather than how the event has happened or will take place (Dann, 1981). For the purposes of this study, tourism motivation is examined in relation to the concepts of “push” and “pull”, a distinction that is widely accepted within the domain of tourism (Dann, 1977). Push factors are the socio-psychological constructs of tourists and their home environment that predispose them to travel, whereas pull factors are those that attract them to a given destination once the decision to travel has been made (Dann, 1977; Uysal and Hagan, 1993; Yuan and McDonald, 1990). As Epperson (1983) claims, the real motives for pleasure travel have less to do with the destination and more to do with a person’s own needs, motives, and personality or, as Dann (1981, p. 190) puts it, ‘[push factor] deals with tourist motivation per se.’ Further, Sharpley

(1999, p. 135) re-emphasises that ‘Generally, it is the push factors...of an individual, that lead to the decision to purchase a holiday in the first place, the nature of those needs determining the type of holiday the individual wants.’ Consequently, and consonant with the nature of the current research, the emphasis here is on push factors, also known as social-psychological motives (see Crompton, 1979) or intangible desires (see Lundberg, 1990).

Dann (1981) classifies the study of tourist motivation into seven different categories. Based on this taxonomy, Sharpley (1999) suggests that two main approaches can be used as a basis for the examination of tourist motivation (i.e., push factors) – extrinsic and intrinsic. The former considers ways in which motivations stem from influences external to the tourist, whereas the latter looks at the personal needs of individual tourists. This distinction suggests that tourist motivation is not only a purely psychological phenomenon, as suggested by Iso-Ahola (1982), but also a sociological issue (Gilbert, 1991; Lundberg, 1990; Sharpley, 1999; Wang, 2000). For that reason, and in accordance with Sharpley (1999), McIntosh et al. (2000) and Pearce (1993), both social (extrinsic) and psychological (intrinsic) motivational factors are dealt with in this sub-section.

Extrinsic factors (Sociological approach). Extrinsic factors are those that emerge from an individual’s social (social pressure) and cultural milieu (norms and values), in which needs and motivations arise (Goodall, 1991; Sharpley 1999, 2002). Sharpley (1999) argues that there are three main sources from which various extrinsic motivations originate. They are work, social influences and society itself.

Work. As Lundberg (1990) suggests, the greatest reason for travel can be summed up in one word, “escape”. Escape needs, (particularly if viewed from a Marxist perspective), emanate mainly from the work environment of an individual. Thus, as Sharpley (1999) observes, work is a primary extrinsic motivational factor for tourism. However, and as Ross (1994) notes, the relationship between work and tourism has received relatively little attention from researchers. Thus, Ross (1994,

pp. 14-15) suggests that two main theoretical postulates can be derived from studies carried out in the related field of leisure with respect to work, thereby facilitating an explanation of the tourism/work dichotomy. First, attitudes and habits acquired during work are so deep rooted that they naturally spill over into travel behaviour. For instance, a person whose work requires precision and planning is quite likely to choose organised holidays that leave little to chance. Second, deprivations experienced on the job are compensated for in non-work settings (e.g., resting from physically or mentally fatiguing tasks).

Social influences. Another significant extrinsic motivation is one that arises from the presence of other people. The forces that others exert are referred to as social influences (Mayo and Jarvis, 1981; Moutinho, 1987; Sharpley, 1999). They can be classified into four groups: role/family influences, reference groups, social classes and culture/subculture.

According to Moutinho (1987), *family influences* affect a vacation in two principal ways. First, the family affects individual personality characteristics, attitudes and values. Accordingly, through the family, dispositions towards travel are also influenced. This situation, as Sharpley (1999, p. 145) points out, is exemplified in the case of an individual brought up in a family which enjoys regular overseas holidays. Here it is likely that s(he) will be motivated to continue the same tradition, and that this desire in turn may have a knock on effect on the way that family members travel. Second, the family can affect the decision-making process that is involved in the purchase of tourism services (e.g., choice of destination).

Apart from the family, there are several other groups that can exert an influence on people's behaviour. Among these groups are *reference groups* to which an individual turns as a foundation for beliefs and attitudes (Sharpley, 1999, p. 145). The influence of a reference group may assume different forms, such as legitimising decisions to use services and products that are adopted by the group (Moutinho, 1987). As far as travel is concerned, a reference group (e.g., friends)

may even persuade a person to select a particular destination (e.g., non-touristy) which is perceived by the group as prestigious.

The influence of *social class* on tourism behaviour is often akin to that of reference groups. However, the difference between a reference group and social class is that the latter is both huge and amorphous. An individual has little personal involvement with a social stratum and only identifies with it because it happens to possess some broad shared goals. Social class is defined as “a social distinction and division resulting from the unequal distribution of rewards and resources such as wealth, power and prestige” (Johnson, 1995, p. 256). This division, according to Moutinho (1987), brings about constraints on behaviour between individuals in different classes. In tourism, many destinations, and their associated products, are grouped according to the social class of the majority of visitors (up-market versus down-market) (Sharpley, 1999).

Culture. The final set of extrinsic motivational factors resides in culture, whose relationship with tourism consumption has received relatively scarce attention (Sharpley, 2000). Giddens (1993, p. 31) defines culture as ‘the values the members of a given group [society] hold, the norms they follow, and the *material goods* they create.’ In particular, culture influences the consumption patterns of members of a given society (Hanna and Wozniak, 2001; Moutinho, 1987). Accordingly, it also affects tourism demand and, more specifically, tourist behaviour, in that it plays a significant role in making the decision whether to travel (motivation), where to travel (destination choice), how to travel (travel style) and so on. Where it concerns motivation, persons living in a collectivist culture (see Hofstede and Bond, 1984) may experience the need to escape from the constraints of their society, and thus, in all probability, travel in an individual way.

Since culture has significant effects on people’s consumption of goods and services, it is here important to briefly explain the major change that has taken place in the last decade. This is the emergence of a “consumer culture” that is now

considered to be a defining characteristic of postmodernist society, a feature that has considerably affected tourism consumption.

“Consumer culture” implies a shift of focus from production to consumption. Featherstone (1991) suggests that “consumer culture” has come about in three stages: production of consumption, mode of consumption and consumption of dreams. The first stage reflects the traditional utilitarian perspective of the production-consumption relationship, suggesting that goods and services are produced and later consumed to satisfy the various wants and needs of individuals. The emergence of mass tourism is a good example of this perspective within the context of tourism (Sharpley, 1999). The second stage stresses the culture of consumption in relation to identity (i.e., the achievement of status through a Veblenesque conspicuous consumption), rather than simply viewing consumption as the automatic consequence of production. In the final stage, individuals believe that, through consumption, their dreams (escaping from the anomic conditions of home society and hence enjoying pleasurable experiences elsewhere) will come true. Such a situation is clearly germane to the understanding of tourism as a fantasy industry catering to the desire for freedom by those experiencing the adverse effects of social control (Dann, 1996).

Sharpley (1999) suggests that when these three perspectives are applied to tourism, it can be seen that the nature of consumption of tourism has evolved through these three levels.

Society itself. To be a tourist is one of the characteristics of the “modern” experience (Urry, 1990, p. 4). Wang (2000) relatedly asserts that to be able to understand tourist motivation and behaviour, it is necessary to examine why and how people, under the condition of modernity, become tourists. Krippendorf (1987) metaphorically likens the condition of modernity to a gaol from which its inmates want to break out. This prison, constituted by an amalgam of routine activities, forced labour, competing time demands, a monotonous and polluted environment, intrusive technological advances, unreal expectations and

materialistic social values, all contribute to the need to escape (Sharpley, 1999). Paradoxically, however, and as Sharpley (1999) notes, modern societies create both the need to escape and the means to escape by participating in tourism.

Having identified various extrinsic motivational forces for tourism, there is general consensus (e.g., Mayo and Jarvis, 1981) that these same social and cultural forces create some of the psychological needs of an individual to travel.

Intrinsic factors (Psychological approach). Dann (1977) argues that there are two basic underlying reasons for travel – anomie and ego-enhancement. The former suggests that living in an anomic society *per se* fosters a desire in people for social interaction which, due to prevailing normlessness, meaninglessness and lack of belonging, is virtually absent in the home environment. The latter, on the other hand, stems from the perceived diminution of status and corresponding personality needs.

Middleton (1990) thus maintains that motivation must be related to needs and personal goals. Mayo and Jarvis (1981) relatedly affirm that in order to fully explain the behaviour and decisions of individual tourists it is necessary to understand also the intrinsic forces (i.e., psychological needs and personal goals) that motivate them. Although Fodness (1994) points out that a widely-accepted integrated theory of needs and personal goals that underpin reasons given for travel and benefits sought from it is still lacking, Pearce and Caltabiano (1983) at least make an attempt to rectify the situation. Their motivation theory for travel is operationalised and developed according to Maslow's (1943) well-known hierarchy of needs, which is worth examining here.

Briefly, Maslow (1943) suggests that human needs, as motivators, can be arranged in a hierarchical order. His hierarchy of needs, depicted in figure 3.1, consists of five main classes: physiological, safety, love (social), esteem and self-actualisation.

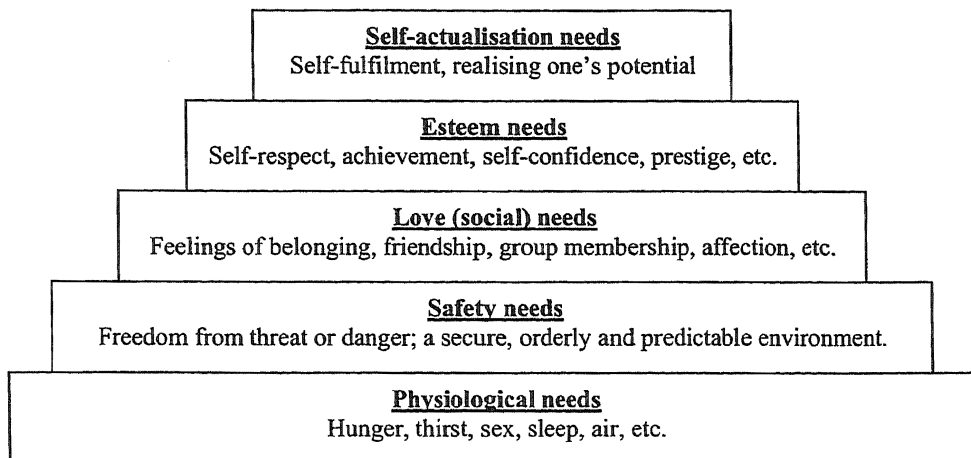


Figure 3.1. Main elements of Maslow's hierarchy of needs
Source: adapted from Maslow (1943)

Maslow further argues that if none of these needs is satisfied, then the lowest needs (i.e., physiological needs) will dominate behaviour. Once they are satisfied, however, they no longer exercise an influence, and the individual becomes motivated by the next level in the hierarchy (i.e., safety needs). As they in turn are satisfied, the individual proceeds to subsequent levels, continuing to move up the hierarchy as the needs at each level are satisfied.

Although Maslow's (1943) theory provides a useful basis for studying tourist motivation, it still suffers from a few significant limitations. The most important criticism, as Maslow himself acknowledges, is the assumption of a step-by-step progression from the lowest to the highest levels, something that does not necessarily take place in all cases. Another significant drawback to the model is that it does not contain all types of human need. In spite of these deficiencies, Maslow's (1943) theory has been applied widely in various fields of research. The central reason for its success is the fact that his schema readily lends itself to easy presentation by non-psychologists (Ross, 1994).

Without such an advantage, another invaluable motivational theory – that of Murray (1938) – otherwise considered to provide a sound basis for examining leisure and tourism motivation (Allen, 1982; Witt and Wright, 1992), has not

received the same attention (Ross, 1994). Briefly, Murray (1938) identifies 12 physiological needs and 28 psychological needs which can be found in every individual, though to varying degrees. Primary needs have to do with physiological satisfaction, while secondary needs emanate from the primary needs. Examples of needs derived from Murray's (1938) classification scheme include: sentience, sex, heat/cold avoidance, activity, passivity, conservance, achievement, recognition, exhibition, dominance, autonomy, contrariance, aggression, abasement, affiliation, play and cognizance. Clearly, this list covers the needs suggested by Maslow's (1943) model. Furthermore, Murray's (1938) scheme may even help explain not only "why" but also "how to" (i.e., travel style) questions of tourism behaviour.

Having explained the importance of intrinsic motivational forces and having supplied an approach (Fodness, 1994) to investigate them, this section concludes with some other influential motivational studies that have been followed by tourism researchers.

One of the earliest attempts to explain tourist motivation was made by Dann (1977) who, in his investigation of visitors to Barbados, used the structural-consensus approach of Durkheim (1858-1917) and insights from Veblen (1857-1929) as a theoretical starting point to develop a taxonomy of motives, details of which were provided earlier. While Dann's (1977) work was conducted from a purely sociological standpoint, another well-known study was carried out by Crompton (1979) who, by applying a social-psychological perspective, identified nine motives for pleasure travel. They were: escape from a perceived mundane environment, exploration and evaluation of self, relaxation, prestige, regression, enhancement of kinship relationships, facilitation of social interaction, novelty and education. Another interesting approach to examining tourism motivation was adopted by a psychologist, namely, Iso-Ahola (1982), who grouped tourists' motives under two headings: the desire to escape from prevailing circumstances and the desire to achieve particular goals. The former meant escape *from* the personal (troubles, problems, etc.) and interpersonal environment (roles, duties,

etc.), whereas the latter represented the desire *to* achieve intrinsic (ego-enhancement, education, etc.) and interpersonal rewards (making friends and more social interaction).

The next psychographic factor to be treated is “personality” which is also considered to generate intrinsic motivational forces that are closely related to tourism behaviour.

Personality consists of those stable characteristics of behaviour that distinguish one individual from another. They can therefore help to explain how people go about satisfying their needs and goals (Mayo and Jarvis, 1981). Accordingly, Mayo and Jarvis (1981) and Howard (1976) claim that it is unrealistic to attempt to study motivation and behaviour without taking into account the personality dimension, precisely because personality has significant influences on behaviour (McGuiggan, 2000). Holbrook and Hirschman (1982) further contend that personality is particularly important to consider if one is to understand experiential behaviour. More specifically, personality can provide a better appreciation of the kinds of decisions made by individuals in a travel environment (Mayo and Jarvis, 1981).

Mayo and Jarvis (1981) suggest that the way personality influences behaviour is based on two main approaches – self-concept and trait/type. Self-concept is an integral part of personality. A person holds two images of the self: real (what people actually perceive themselves to be) and ideal (what they want to be like). The gap between these two images, according to Mayo and Jarvis (1981), provides a valuable insight into why people travel. The trait/type approach, which offers more promise for better explaining travel behaviour, is about classifying people into broad personality types.

Horney (1945) suggests that there are three types of disposition that a person develops throughout life. First, there is the compliant individual, who is distinguished by the need to move towards people, all the time displaying the

needs for love and affection. Second, there is the aggressive individual, who values success, achievement and prestige. Third, there is the detached individual, who wants to escape from other people and to satisfy the needs for self-sufficiency and independence. Interestingly, Horney's (1945) classification can also be interpreted within the framework of Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs.

Another attempt to classify personality types was that of the sociologist Riesman (1950), who identified three major categories of personality based on the concept of social character: tradition-oriented (a rigid set of rules), inner-oriented (self-decision), and other oriented (esteem-oriented). Another popular typology of personalities was developed by Jung (1921), who classified people either as extroverts or introverts. The former were oriented towards objects and objective data, whereas the latter were governed by subjective factors. In other words, extroverts were primarily open to others, while introverts were preoccupied with themselves.

In spite of the well-documented explanatory power of personality with respect to behaviour (e.g., Ross, 1994), very limited research has focused on the relationship between personality and tourism. Two notable exceptions to this observation are the works of Plog (1974), and Gountas and Gountas (2000). The former distinguished travellers along a personality continuum (see chapter 2 for details) consisting of allocentric and psychocentric extremities, which were respectively akin to Jung's (1921) extroverts and introverts (Madrigal, 1995; Mayo and Jarvis, 1981). The Gountas and Gountas (2000) attempt was a more explicit application of Jung's (1921) personality types, in that the authors developed four distinct personality groups that could be used for segmentation purposes.

The assumption (e.g., Rokeach, 1973) that there is a link between personality traits and personal values, calls for a treatment of the latter – one of the psychographic factors used in the current study.

Personal values. The study of personal values has recently received considerable attention in various domains of the social sciences (Madrigal, 1995), including

consumer behaviour (Beatty et al., 1985). The reason for this academic trend is the anticipated relationship between personal values, behaviour and motivation. In other words, it is generally accepted that personal values influence behaviour and hence can provide powerful explanations of that behaviour (Kamakura and Mazzon, 1991; Kamakura and Novak, 1992; Madrigal and Kahle, 1994; Munson, 1984; Shrum and MacCarty, 1997).

Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) refer to values as cognitive representations of universal human requirements: biological needs, social interactional requirements, and social institutional demands on the individual. A value is defined, by Rokeach (1973, p. 5), as 'an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence.' Values, then, reflect the culture of a society and are widely shared by its members (Pizam and Calantone, 1987). Rokeach (1973) contends that values are causally related to attitudes. He maintains that while attitudes focus on specific objects or situations, values represent abstract ideals. They can be positive or negative independent of any objects or situations. Alternatively stated, whereas individuals may have thousands of attitudes towards specific objects and situations, they may have only a few dozen values (Munson, 1984). Further, values are more stable; they occupy a more central position than attitudes within a person's cognitive system (Kamakura and Novak, 1992). Consequently, Rokeach (1973) suggests that, since values determine attitudes, the former may be more useful than the latter in understanding motives and behaviour.

Pizam and Calantone (1987) provide six different instruments that can be used to measure human values. However, it is Rokeach's (1973) value survey, known also as RVS, which has often been employed in value-related research. The RVS consists of two sets of values – 18 instrumental (ideal modes of behaviour) and 18 terminal values (ideal end-state existence). The first set relates to modes of conduct and contains such attributes as those listed on the left side of table 3.1. The second set defines the individual's desired end-state of existence and includes

such conditions as those in the right column of table 3.1. The RVS instrument asks respondents to rank the values within each set in order of importance as guiding principles in their lives.

Table 3.1. The Rokeach Value Survey (RVS)

Instrumental Values	Terminal Values
Ambitious	A comfortable life
Broadminded	An exciting life
Capable	A sense of accomplishment
Cheerful	A world at peace
Clean	A world of beauty
Courageous	Equality
Forgiving	Family security
Helpful	Freedom
Honest	Happiness
Imaginative	Inner harmony
Independent	Mature love
Intellectual	National security
Logical	Pleasure
Loving	Salvation
Obedient	Self-respect
Polite	Self-recognition
Responsible	True friendship
Self-controllable	Wisdom

Source: Rokeach (1973)

Although RVS provides a useful basis for research on values, it has not escaped criticism. Among its deficiencies are: the difficulties associated with ranking so many (36) items, the time needed to complete the questionnaire, the information loss due to the ordering process, the impossibility of ties and, most importantly, its lack of relevance to daily life (Beatty et al., 1985; Madrigal and Kahle, 1994). Furthermore, since RVS covers collective and societal domains, not all of the values are germane to consumer research (Kamakura and Novak, 1992). Indeed, Beatty et al. (1985) assert that only person-oriented values are of direct interest in the context of consumer behaviour. In other words, the terminal values of Rokeach (1973) are more related to consumer behaviour and travel motivation (Gountas et al., 2000) than are his instrumental ones.

Recognising the drawbacks of RVS, Kahle (1983) has proposed a simplified alternative value measurement scale, referred to as a List of Values (LOV). LOV consists of nine terminal values, developed mainly from Rokeach's eighteen terminal values, Maslow's hierarchy of needs and various other contemporary treatments (e.g., Feather, 1975) in values research. The LOV list includes the following nine values: warm relationships with others, self-respect, sense of accomplishment, fun and enjoyment in life, self-fulfilment, being well respected, security, sense of belonging and excitement. Due to its advantages of being easier to administer and complete, LOV has become the predominant instrument that is currently employed in value research, particularly in those studies carried out by non-psychologists.

LOV is also considered a serious contender to the well-established VALS (Values and Lifestyles) instrument. The latter has been used and assumed to be useful for segmentation purposes in various fields of study, including tourism (Sharpley, 1999). Based on Maslow's (1943) and Riesman's (1950) theoretical ideas, VALS was developed by Mitchell (1983). He classified American consumers into nine life style groups on the basis of their responses to a set of about thirty demographic and attitudinal questions: survivors, sustainers, belongers, emulators, achievers, I-am-me, experiential, societally conscious and integrated. Mitchell (1983) then grouped these lifestyles into three main categories: need driven (consumer behaviour is driven more by needs than values or attitudes), outer directed (consumer behaviour is influenced by social factors) and inner directed (consumer behaviour is predicated on personal needs).

Although VALS has shown some usefulness, LOV is deemed more relevant to, and thus a better predictor of, consumer behaviour (Novak and MacEvoy, 1990). The reason for this verdict (Kahle et al., 1986) is that VALS relies heavily on pure demographic data (Kahle and Kennedy, 1989), whereas LOV, as well as yielding psychographic data, allows researchers to obtain demographic predictions separately (Kahle et al., 1986).

In spite of the fact that values have been demonstrated to be reliable predictors of consumer behaviour and motivation, the relationship between values and tourist behaviour has been examined by only few scholars (McCleary and Choi, 1999; Sharpley, 1999). One of the first rare attempts to do so was made by Boote (1981) in the allied context of hospitality. His study revealed that patrons of fast-food restaurants could be segmented according to their individual value orientation. Pitts and Woodside (1986) applied values to leisure behaviour. In their investigation, they examined whether the leisure/attraction choice criteria of locals could be linked to a number of values derived from Rokeach's (1973) instrumental and terminal values. Their findings suggested that values were related to variations in choice criteria and to actual behaviour.

However, Pizam and Calantone (1987) were the first to actually study tourist behaviour in relation to personal values derived from six different scales, including that of Rokeach (1973). In their experiments, they analysed the effects of values on their subjects' (undergraduate students) tourist behaviour, including the suggestion that values could be used to predict that behaviour. Madrigal and Kahle (1994) grouped Kahle's (1983) LOV into four main value domains in order to examine whether there were differences between tourists' value domain choices and their preferences for activities on a trip – an assumption which turned out to be justified by their findings. Another study, conducted by Muller (1991), used values as a segmentation criterion in an attempt to distinguish international tourism markets. He discovered that personal values influenced the choice of destination and foreign pleasure travel. McCleary and Choi (1999), too, recently explored the relationship between personal values and international tourist behaviour, though from a macro-sociological perspective. They assumed that if different cultures had different value systems, it could be expected that different cultures would also use different choice criteria (influenced by cultural values) when taking buying decisions across cultures. They conducted a study of American and Korean businessmen in an attempt to see whether they could be segmented according to their personal values, and whether these segments differed between the two cultures. Their findings suggested that these travellers

could be segmented according to their values with respect to choice criteria for hotels, and further, that there were significant differences between the value systems of the two cultures.

Others have emphasised the link between values and cultural context. For instance, Schwartz (1994) suggests that value profiles can also be linked to the cultural dichotomy of individualism/collectivism (Triandis, 1995). Chan (1994) makes a similar distinction between individualist values (pleasure, freedom, independence) and collectivist values (social order, self-discipline, politeness).

In spite of the well-documented impact of personal values on human behaviour, and specifically tourist behaviour, there is, however, a general agreement that personal values alone do not constitute an adequate base for studying behaviour. Hence they should be supplemented by such factors as demographics (Beatty et al., 1985; Kahle et al., 1986; Madrigal and Kahle, 1994; Novak and MacEvoy, 1990) and trip attributes (e.g., destination qualities) (Sharpley, 1999)).

The foregoing psychographic factors (e.g., values) also influence the subsequent issues to be treated in this section, namely, travel philosophy, travel product preference and benefits sought, all of which are considered to be psychographics in the context of travel (Cunningham, 1994). Taylor (1994) suggests that while each of these three psychographic variables is needed for an understanding of the tourist as consumer, the first factor (i.e., travel philosophy) can additionally help explain travel style chosen (Hsieh et al., 1994), itself an important aspect of travel behaviour.

Travel philosophy is concerned with how people think about travel in terms of its value to them, how they go about organising travel and how they actually travel (Taylor, 1994, p. 192). Taylor (1994) refers to thirteen inquiries carried out in different countries. He provides specific details of the Canadian Tourism Attitudes and Motivation Study of 1993 that used travel philosophy as a criterion to segment the Canadians travelling abroad in a similar manner to other related

investigations. From the Canadian study, three groups of travel emerged: “planned travel”, “independent travel” and “reluctant travel”. Planned travel represented mainly package travel or similar types of arrangements. Independent travel defined those who chose to make their own travel plans, usually en route. Reluctant travel referred to individuals for whom travel was not part of their life style. Taylor (1994, p. 194-195) further provides the statements that were used to identify each of these groups in all the surveyed countries, as follows:

1. Planned travel

- I usually buy vacation packages which include both accommodation and transportation
- I prefer to go on guided tours when vacationing overseas
- I usually use a travel agent to help me decide where to go on vacation
- I usually travel on an all-inclusive package vacation
- I like to have all my travel arrangements made before I start out on vacation

2. Independent travel

- I enjoy making my own arrangements for vacation trips
- I like to make my own arrangements as I go along on a vacation
- I usually travel on reduced air fares

3. Reluctant

- Making arrangements for major trips can be such a bother that I end up not travelling
- I would just as soon spend my money on things other than vacation travel
- I usually choose travel places where I have been before
- Once I get to my destination, I like to stay put.

It should be noted that the foregoing were all home-based studies rather than inquiries of people while on vacation. Nevertheless, pre-trip investigations supply useful guidelines for the carrying out of on-trip research. Indeed, there have been two notable attempts (see Hsieh et al., 1994; Morrison et al., 1994) to date which have used travel philosophy as a segmentation variable in their investigations of people while on holiday.

Hsieh et al. (1994), too, asserted that travel philosophy was a useful tool to employ when studying the complex nature of travel choice, particularly when it concerned international travel. They studied package and non-package travellers in terms of travel philosophy. Their findings suggested that these two segments of tourists possessed two distinct travel philosophies, which, in fact, could be interpreted within the above framework provided by Taylor (1994). Package travellers usually had things prearranged, preferred all-inclusive holidays and felt that it was worth paying more for luxuries, whereas non-package travellers liked to make their own arrangements and travel on a limited budget. These findings were also reinforced by the study conducted by Morrison et al. (1994) which looked at three different groups of travellers (escorted, non-escorted and independent) based on the travel philosophy concept.

In spite of the suggested explanatory power of travel philosophy, it has strangely received scant attention. One possible reason for this neglect may be that there are no standards as to what constitutes the concept. Thus it is problematic to operationalise it for quantitative research – the predominant approach in tourism research today.

Travel product preferences. Travel philosophy is also related to travel product preferences – the amalgam of vacation activities and visited attractions. Travel activities are psychographic data (Cunningham, 1994) which, according to Mo et al. (1993), when combined with information like demographics, can contribute to a better understanding of a particular type of traveller or group of travellers. Hsieh et al. (1992) go further to assert that tourists can be segmented by activity, as it is possible that those engaging in different types of pursuit may be significant and distinctive.

Subsequently, Hsieh et al. (1992) used a product oriented or activity-based segmentation approach in a study which divided Hong Kong's international pleasure travellers into five groups: visiting friends and relatives, outdoor sports, sightseeing, full-house activity and entertainment. Additionally, and as also

recommended by Mo et al. (1993), they combined these findings with the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the travellers.

In another study, Hsieh et al. (1994) looked at the differences between package and non-package tourists. Their results indicated that the former had more interest in high standard restaurants, quality hotels, resort areas and guided excursions, whereas the latter preferred to visit museums and historical sites, and were more interested in local culture. In other words, the non-package variant was more disposed to learning-oriented activities and attractions.

Interestingly, Madrigal and Kahle (1994) related values to vacation activities. Their study suggested that tourists could be segmented according to value systems and that differences existed between segments in relation to holiday activity preferences. For instance, individuals who valued personal achievement and enjoyment/excitement also valued outdoor pursuits.

Trip benefits. In tourism, benefits are simply what the tourist wants to get out of a trip (Seaton, 1996a). Mill and Morrison (1998) suggest that the benefits people seek from their vacations are better determinants of travel behaviour than other segmentation approaches such as demographic and geographic. The latter are descriptive. They merely monitor behaviour rather than explain the underlying reasons leading to that behaviour (Loker and Perdue, 1992).

This assumption has also been supported by several empirical inquiries. First, Loker and Perdue (1992) created a typology of visitors, consisting of six different categories based on benefits sought. The identified types comprised naturalists, non-differentiators, family/friend-oriented, excitement/escape, pure excitement seekers and escapists. Another investigation by Woodside and Jacobs (1985) discovered differences among visitors from different countries in terms of the benefits they sought from their vacations. They found, for instance, that while Japanese visitors looked for family togetherness as a major benefit, Canadians considered rest and relaxation to be the main benefits of their vacations.

Although a benefits approach is assumed to be superior to most of the extant segmentation techniques, it still is recommended that it should be combined with other variables, for instance, demographics since, as Gitelson and Kersetter (1990) note, there is a significant linkage between benefits and demographics.

The travel benefits sought by an individual potentially affect several trip behaviour variables, such as trip purpose, choice of destination and length of travel planning time (Loker and Perdue, 1992). This realisation introduces the last issue to be examined in this chapter – trip characteristics.

3.3. Trip characteristics

Trip features constitute one of the sets of criteria according to which the decision making process of a potential traveller takes place (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). A study conducted by Sheldon and Mak (1987) indicated that travel characteristics (e.g., trip length) influenced tourism behaviour and, more specifically, travel style. Chadwick (1994) went further to claim that trip variables were indeed the most salient in studies of this nature since they helped explain the “why, when, what and how” of tourism behaviour, as distinct from merely the “who and where”. Heung et al. (2001), in their study of Japanese leisure tourists, discovered that there was a significant relationship between vacation motives and trip characteristics. Consequently, Mo et al. (1993) suggested that psychographic and socio-demographic variables (treated above), when combined with trip characteristics, could impart invaluable information on different types of holiday makers. As might be expected, various trip features (variables) can be found in tourism research (Morrison et al., 1994). A set of general trip characteristics was derived from the literature (e.g., Cooper et al., 1993; Morrison et al., 1994). It included information sources, previous travel experience, length of trip, mode of transportation, type of accommodation, size of travel party and destination(s). The purpose here is to explain each of these variables by relating them to existing research on escorted and independent travellers.

Information sources. The acquisition of information is a key element in the study of tourists (Crotts, 1992). The search for information may take place at different stages (mainly pre- and on-trip) and for a variety of purposes (e.g., booking, education). Pre-trip sources, according to Moutinho (1987), can be classified as primary, secondary and tertiary. Primary sources are those that are derived directly from the previous holiday experiences of an individual. Secondary sources are represented by the mass media (e.g., television). Tertiary sources comprise information obtained from travel and non-travel exhibitions. Goodall (1991) refers to primary sources as internal, and to secondary and tertiary sources as external, information search. It has been discovered that external information sources play a pivotal role in tourism decisions (Bitner and Booms, 1982). Seaton (1996b) provides a list of the most common information sources in travel and tourism (table 3.2).

Table 3.2. Main sources of Information

Commercial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Travel agents • Tour operator reps • Tour guides • Tourist information centre staff • Telephone sale staff • Organizational employees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advertising • Brochures • Tourist board leaflets • Videos and displays • Teletext • Etc.
Non-commercial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends • Relatives • School teachers • Peer groups (e.g., business, students) • Hearsay 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media output: travel programmes, newspaper travel pages, guidebooks, news programmes, novels, films, <i>Holiday Which?</i> • Etc.

Source: adapted from Seaton (1996a)

Bieger and Laesser (2000) note that information source structures have also been used as a segmentation criterion in tourism research. For instance, Snepenger et al. (1990) grouped destination-naïve tourists (i.e., first-time and non-VFR visitors) into three segments based on their information search behaviour. They comprised those who used: 1) a travel agent as the sole source of information 2) a travel agent and one or more other sources 3) one or more sources other than a travel

agent. In the same study, they also discovered that the information source process correlated with some trip characteristics such as length of stay and style of vacation.

In another study, Morrison et al. (1994) examined the differences between information sources used by escorted/non-escorted tourists and independent travellers. They found that independent travellers placed the most reliance on information from friends and family, whereas escorted and non-escorted tourists used mostly external information sources (especially the tertiary variety).

Previous travel experience. Two components constitute past travel experience – general and specific. The former indicates how well travelled a person is, whereas the latter represents past travel experience in relation to one or more specific destinations. Both impact on the future behaviour of an individual (Mazursky, 1989). In Seaton's (1996a, p. 46) words, the most reliable indicator of what people will do in the future is what they have done in the past. For instance, the study of Sheldon and Mak (1987) showed that repeat visitors to a destination chose to travel independently instead of joining a package tour. This preference was surely due to the fact that, as pointed out by Sonmez and Graefe (1998), the repeat visitors, as a result of their previous experience felt more confident and safe.

Length of trip. This is another important trip characteristic that is connected to several aspects of travel behaviour. For instance, Heung et al. (2001) discovered that one of the motive clusters in their study was significantly related to length of stay. In another investigation, Fodness and Murray (1999) found that choice of information search strategy was correlated with length of stay, such that higher levels of information search were positively associated with longer trips. Sheldon and Mak (1987), on the other hand, explored the relationship between duration of trip and travel style in that the former affected the latter. They went on to suggest that those who took longer trips were likely to have travelled independently and vice versa. Their finding was also supported by Hsieh et al. (1994) who stated that

people who went on non-package or independent tours took longer trips than package tourists.

Mode of transportation. Cooper et al. (1993) claim that the relationship between transportation and travel is a vital aspect of tourism studies. Mode of transport can lead to a complex classification (Chadwick, 1994). First, transportation needs to be considered at two stages: the transportation used to reach the destination (primary) and the means of moving around once at the destination (secondary). However, at both stages, one or more types of transportation can be used. Cooper et al. (2000, p. 272) provide an extensive list of various modes of transport (table 3.3), and usefully relate them to different types of visitors and tourism product types.

Table 3.3. Mode of transport and visitor type with tourism product types

Visitor type	Road		Air		Sea/water		Railway
	Car	Coach	Scheduled	Charter	Ferry	Cruise	
Holiday – inclusive tour	Car hire Fly drive	Coach tour	Long haul city break packages	Medium/short haul packages	Ferry packages	World cruise	Orient Express
Independent	Private car	Scheduled coach	Backpackers individual	Seat to villa time share	Private car		Runabout fare
Business and conference	Company car	Executive coach	Fully flexible fare		Hovercraft		TGV
VFR	Private car	Scheduled service	Cheapest fare		Private car		Excursion fare
Other special and common interest, e.g. religion	Car hire private car	Coach charter	Cheap or flexible fare	Group travel			Group fare
Same day visitors (excursion)	Private car	Scheduled excursion fare	Scheduled excursion fare	Special flights	Coach/ car excursion	Local day cruise	Day excursion fare

Source: Cooper et al. (2000)

Cooper et al. (2000) further suggest that choice of mode of transport is affected by a range of factors: distance and time, status and comfort, safety and utility, comparative price of services offered, geographical position and isolation, range of services and level of competition between services.

Type of accommodation. As Cooper et al. (1993) point out, accommodation is the psychological base for vacationers during their stay away from home. Several types of accommodation units with regional and national variations exist. Chadwick (1994) classifies them as main and supplementary. The former are represented by hotels, motels etc., whereas the latter include campgrounds, hostels, and so on. The choice between the two is influenced by various factors, among which, most importantly, is the type of the visitor. Relatedly, a number of studies have discovered that choice of accommodation is partly determined by travel motive. For instance, Loker-Murphy and Pearce (1995) found that independent travellers (e.g., backpackers) mostly used inexpensive accommodation like youth hostels. The choice, according to Murphy (2001), was driven by their travel motive, namely, meeting other people. On the other hand, the so called “mass tourist” is known to value high standard accommodation (Yoon and Shafer, 1997), and in fact considers it a crucial ingredient of the vacation experience. These associations are also supported by Crossley’s (1994) empirical comparison of a group of independent travellers (ecotourists) and a group of “mass tourists”.

Size of travel party. Another trip characteristic which is worth examining is the “size of the travel party”, which is also closely related to travel behaviour (e.g., trip reason). Hsieh et al. (1993) discovered that travel party was one of the factors which had an impact on travel mode choice. An association which has been empirically substantiated by several studies (Crossley and Lee, 1994; Morrison et al., 1994), indicates that whereas independent travellers travel alone or in small groups (with a maximum of two or three other people), escorted tourists prefer to travel in larger groups.

Destination(s). Once the push factors have induced the need to travel, people begin to evaluate various destinations (pull factors) according to their potential ability to meet their needs and desires (Josiam et al., 1999). Depending on these needs, individuals make a choice between one or multiple destinations. Lue et al. (1993) provide a theoretical model that illustrates four different strategies for making such a decision (figure 3.2). At the same time, they imply that it is the “mixed strategy” which is the predominant travel pattern today. That is to say, most persons have multiple needs that they feel can be satisfied by visiting more than one place.

		Benefits sought	
		Single	Multiple
Number of destinations	Single	A single benefit from a single destination [Specialisation]	Multiple benefits from a single destination [Benefit diversification]
	Multiple	A single benefit from multiple destinations [Destination diversification]	Multiple benefits from multiple destinations [Mixed strategies]

Figure 3.2. Typology of pleasure travel patterns
Source: Lue et al. (1993)

Further, Sheldon and Mak (1987) relate the number of destinations visited on a single trip to the vacation style chosen. They maintain that those who take a holiday for a brief period are more likely to purchase package tours, because they wish to see the most in the shortest possible time. On the other hand, and as might be expected, independent travellers who take longer trips, are also more likely to choose multiple-destinations. However, the main difference between the two resides in the fact that independent travellers tend to spend more time at each destination than package tourists.

This chapter has reviewed that body of literature that has supplied this researcher with the necessary sensitivity to the topic of the study (i.e., travel behaviour). In so doing, it outlined the criteria that the literature suggested be included when studying the travel behaviour of solitary travellers and group tourists. First, the most prevalent criteria used in tourist behaviour studies – socioeconomics and demographics – were detailed. Second, psychographics (e.g., motives, personality, etc.), shown to better explain and predict travel behaviour, were examined, with a particular focus on motives. Finally, trip features (e.g., length of trip, information sources, etc.) were added, since they constitute an important consideration in any travel behaviour inquiry worthy of the name. When combined, all of these factors represented the starting point from which several topical questions were derived for the current study's objectives.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Having reviewed the relevant technical literature, the aim here is to outline the methodological framework of the study in relation to its theoretical base. While chapter 5 details the research procedures, which complement the methodology of the thesis, the current chapter explains the process of selecting the most appropriate methodological approach (qualitative), and, more specifically, the research strategy (Grounded Theory), deemed the most adequate to address the research questions. In so doing, an alternative approach (positivist paradigm) and methodologies (e.g., ethnography) that were considered are also evaluated in relation to the aims and objectives of the study. Finally, the theoretical principles underpinning the chosen methodology are provided.

4.1. Critique of the scientific-positivist paradigm

Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggest that questions of method are secondary to choice of paradigm, which they refer to as a set of basic beliefs that guides the investigator. For Sandelowski (1995), however, a paradigm precludes certain research questions and the data collection/analysis techniques for answering them. As noted by Hyde (2000b) and Punch (1998), there are two main research paradigms in the social sciences, including the field of tourism (Tribe, 2001; Walle, 1997), namely, the positivist and interpretive paradigms, which have typically been regarded as antagonistic to one another. However, some scholars (e.g., Walle, 1997) point out that the presence of one of these paradigms cannot be viewed as merely the absence of the other. In accordance with this suggestion, both of these paradigms were initially considered for undertaking the present study. Thus, it is worthwhile at this juncture to supply a rationale for not

employing the positivist paradigm. In so doing, it is necessary to explore the theoretical and philosophical tenets of this “scientific” approach.

Positivism, often regarded as “science”, is a term invented by Auguste Comte (1798-1857), the alleged founding father of sociology, as a shorthand for Logical Positivism or more generally to designate any approach that applies the scientific method to the study of human action (Schwandt, 2001). Although, as Punch (1998) notes, there are several (and confusing) variants of Positivism proposed by Halfpenny (1982) and Blaikie (1993), for the purposes of the present discussion, the tenets of this paradigm are outlined within Comte’s (1853) classical framework.

According to Comte (1853), it can be stated as a “law” that all understandings of reality inevitably progress through three stages of development: the theological, the metaphysical and the “positive”. In the theological stage, phenomena are produced by the immediate action of supernatural beings. In the metaphysical stage, all events are explained as being the result of abstract forces and powers of nature, deemed to have real existence and to be inherent in all objects. In the final or positive stage, sociologists abandon the quest for absolute or *a priori* knowledge in the sense of “final will” or “first cause”. Instead, they turn towards discovering the relationship of coexistence and succession by employing the scientific methods of observation, experimentation and comparison (Hunt, 1991; Pandit, 1995).

As Hunt (1991) notes, several aspects of Comte’s philosophy influenced the logical positivists (The Vienna Circle). These features included an emphasis on the explanation and prediction of observable phenomena, the abandonment of the search for “deeper” or “final” causes, the rejection of Metaphysics, and the replacement of the latter with an ideology proclaiming that scientific knowledge and the use of the scientific method were necessary for bringing about a better society. Hunt (1991, p. 252) goes further to suggest that the so-called “verificationist theory of meaning” of the logical positivists stemmed from

Comte: 'Any proposition which is not reducible to the simple enunciation of the fact – either particular or general – can have no real or intelligible meaning for us.'

According to Comte (1853), all branches of knowledge are also subject to "the law of the three stages". They go through the first two prior to arriving at the final positivist stage. He further suggests that disciplines whose facts are general, simple and distant from humanity (e.g., mathematics, astronomy), progress more rapidly to the final stage than their opposites (e.g., biology, and its successor, sociology) a position postulating a continuum that extends from the natural to the social sciences (Pandit, 1995). Thus, as Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) and Pandit (1995) claim, Positivism advocates methodological monism, that is, the application of only scientific or quantitative methods, regardless of whether an inquiry deals with natural or social phenomena.

As Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) point out, Positivism has been criticised by interpretative researchers for failing to grasp the true nature of human social behaviour, for seeking to reduce meaning solely to what is "observable" and for treating social phenomena as the static, mechanical effects of socio-psychological forces. Thus, what is rejected by its critics is the idea that the scientific method is considered the only legitimate, most important way of knowing – an assumption which implies a rejection not so much of quantitative methods but of Positivism itself (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994).

Punch (1998) reinforces this assumption by noting that to associate quantitative methods with Positivism or to suggest that all quantitative research is positivistic is an incorrect supposition for three reasons. First, the term "Positivism" is subject to various interpretations. Second, not all quantitative scholars accept that their work is positivistic, and third, there is some qualitative research which is similar in logic and methods to Positivism. In fact, quantitative data analysis is even employed to varying degrees in ethnographic work (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994).

As a way of providing a rationale for not adopting the positivist paradigm, so far its epistemological stance has been briefly explained. Furthermore, as far as methods (secondary matters) are concerned, as Denzin and Lincoln (1994b) suggest, their choice is predicated on the approach (inductive or deductive) or paradigm selected. Thus, the next section deals with the choice of an interpretative paradigm as an alternative framework for the current study.

4.2. Justification for a qualitative-interpretative paradigm

The term “Interpretivism” denotes those approaches to studying social life that accord a central place to *Verstehen* (Weber, 1968) as a method of the social sciences which assumes that the meaning of human action is inherent in that action, and that the task of the inquirer is to unearth that meaning (Schwandt, 2001, p.134). In the present study, too, as Wolcott (2001) and Schwandt (2001) suggest, Interpretivism has been used (see Erickson, 1986) as a synonym for all qualitative inquiry.

According to Hamilton (1994), the epistemology of qualitative research had its origins in the late eighteenth century, introduced by Immanuel Kant and continued by his compatriot, Friedrich Engels, whose work – *The Condition of the Working Class in England* – fell within a naturalistic, interpretative and field study framework. The approach was further enhanced by Wilhelm Dilthey who was initially a member of John Stuart Mill’s school of dualism. However, Dilthey criticised Mill for being over influenced by Comtean scientific thinking, and accordingly he rejected the reductionist and objectivist positions adopted by the positivists (Hamilton, 1994). Thus, Dilthey, as almost a century later the phenomenologist Alfred Schutz did, distinguished sharply between two kinds of knowledge: the spiritual sciences (*Geisteswissenschaft*) or cultural sciences (*Kulturwissenschaft*) and the natural sciences (*Naturwissenschaft*). As Schwandt (1994) notes, the goal of the latter was scientific explanation, whereas the aim of the former was to understand (*Verstehen*) the meaning of social phenomena. While Dilthey’s view of *Verstehen* had strong overtones of psychologism, it was first Weber (1968) who elaborated *Verstehen* within sociology, also referred to as

Verstehende sociology. Weber made a distinction between two kind of *Verstehen*: direct observational understanding and explanatory understanding. In the former the purpose of human behaviour is immediately evident whereas the latter requires understanding the motivation for that behaviour by relating the behaviour to contexts of meaning. More important was the concept of lived-experience (*Erlebnis*), which was an empirical rather than a metaphysical concept, implying that the relationships between individuals and the social, historical and cultural matrix of their lives were phenomena that could be explored by the social (or human) sciences (Hamilton, 1994, p. 65).

Based on a similar grounding, qualitative research developed further in various disciplines and has become a multi-paradigmatic tradition in the last century with the contributions, for instance, of Clifford Geertz (1973) (Interpretative Anthropology), Herbert Blumer (1969) and George Herbert Mead (1934) (Symbolic Interactionism) and Alfred Schutz (1970) (Phenomenology). Although these qualitative approaches differ from each other, what is common to them is the fact that they all reject the idea that human actions and social constructs can be treated in the same way as natural objects.

Janesick (1994, p. 212) when listing the main characteristics of qualitative inquiry, suggests that it: a) is holistic since it looks at the big picture and begins with a search for an understanding of the whole; b) examines relationships within a cultural system; c) refers to the personal, face-to-face and immediate; d) is focused on comprehending a given social setting, not necessarily on making predictions about it; e) demands that the researcher stay in that setting for lengthy periods; f) requires that time devoted to analysis should be equal to the time spent in the field; g) expects that the researcher develop a model of what occurs in the social setting; h) stipulates that the researcher should become the research instrument (i.e., the investigator must have the necessary skills for observing behaviour and conducting face-to-face interviews); i) is responsive to ethical concerns (e.g., informed consent); j) incorporates a discussion of the role of the researcher as well as description of the researcher's own biases and ideological

preferences (“reflexivity”) (Bruner, 1995); and, finally, k) requires ongoing analyses of the data.

However, qualitative research has also been subject to much criticism. Many of these critiques are drawn from the methodology surrounding consumer behaviour, which appears to have influenced studies of tourist behaviour (see Goulding, 1997; Hyde, 2000a). According to Szmigin and Foxall (2000), the major controversy in that section of the literature concerned with interpretative research centres around two inter-linked issues regarding the status of the scientific approach in research: first, whether a scientific approach is superior to any other and second, whether an interpretative approach to consumer behaviour research can be considered to be a scientific approach (Calder and Tybout, 1987). However, some consumer researchers (e.g., Holbrook and O’Shaughnessy, 1988) consider Calder and Tybout’s (1987) conceptualisation of science, based on Popper’s (1959) criterion of falsification, to be too narrow. In line with Mitroff and Killmon (1978), they correspondingly suggest that there are two different types of scientist: the analytical scientist and the conceptual humanist, both of whom are needed for the advancement of knowledge (Szmigin and Foxall, 2000).

The debate over paradigms (Kuhn, 1962) is an issue that has also received some attention within the field of tourism. However, and with the notable exception of the Jyväskylä International Sociological Association seminar of 1996, the discussion has mainly been within the dichotomous methodological framework of quantitative versus qualitative approaches, the former being predominant (Riley and Love, 1999; Veal, 1997). Quantitative researchers have accused their qualitative counterparts of taking the soft option and being too unscientific (Goulding, 1997), while qualitative scholars have criticised their positivist colleagues for their ultra-rigorous methods which lead to an oversimplification of reality (Walle, 1997).

Both quantitative and qualitative approaches have been examined in terms of their capacity to contribute theoretically to tourism research. Cohen (1988, p. 30), for example, observes:

The most significant and lasting contributions have been made by researchers who employed an often loose, qualitative methodology. Not only were their research methods often ill-defined and their data unsystematically collected, but even their definition of theoretical concepts, and the operationalization of the latter, leaves much to be desired. Nevertheless, their often acute insights and the theoretical frameworks in which these have been embodied, provided the point of departure for several “traditions” in the sociological study of tourism, which endowed the field with its distinctive intellectual tension, even as the much more rigorous and quantitative “touristological” studies often yielded results of rather limited interest.

This statement implies that the common aim of most qualitative approaches is to develop new theory. Having decided on the interpretive paradigm, the next issue is to review various alternative research strategies (methodologies) within the framework of qualitative inquiry.

4.3. Methodologies under Consideration

Methodology is a way of going about the investigation of a phenomenon (Silverman, 2000, p. 79). It includes the analysis of assumptions, principles, and procedures associated with a particular approach to inquiry – that, in turn, governs the use of particular techniques – (Schwandt, 2001, p. 161).

Creswell (1998) suggests that clarification and comparison are needed in qualitative inquiry, and that those conducting qualitative studies need to consider the differences among approaches (methodologies) to qualitative research. This appraisal subsequently contributes to designing more sophisticated qualitative studies. In line with this advice, several authors have classified qualitative traditions into various types in their respective disciplines: for example, there is Education (Creswell, 1998; Jacob, 1987; Lancy, 1993); Nursing (Morse, 1994;

Munhall and Oiler, 1986); Sociology/Nursing (Strauss and Corbin, 1990); Psychology (Moustakas, 1994; Slife and Williams, 1995); and, finally, the Social Sciences in general (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994a; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Having examined each of these classifications, the comparative model of qualitative strategies developed by Morse (1994, p. 224) was considered most relevant and adequate for the field of tourism since most of these strategies have also been utilised by tourism researchers – though not to their full potential (see Dann and Cohen, 1991): Phenomenology (Cohen, 1979a), Ethnography (Bruner, 1995), Grounded Theory (Mehmetoglu et al., 2001), Ethnomethodology (McCabe, 2000). Thus, a slightly modified version of this model, as depicted in table 4.1, was adopted in choosing a qualitative strategy for undertaking research in tourism.

Table 4.1. Comparison of the major types of qualitative strategies

<i>Types of research questions</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Paradigm</i>	<i>Method</i>	<i>Other data sources</i>
Meaning questions – eliciting the essence of experiences	Phenomenology	Philosophy (phenomenology)	Audiotaped “conversations”; written anecdotes of personal experiences	Phenomenological literature; philosophical reflections; poetry; art
Descriptive questions – of values, beliefs, practices of cultural group	Ethnography	Anthropology (culture)	Unstructured interviews; participant observation; field notes	Documents; records; photography; maps; genealogies; social network diagrams
“Process” questions – experience over time or change, many have stages and phases	Grounded Theory	Sociology (symbolic interactionism)	Interviews (tape-recorded)	Memoing; diary
Questions regarding verbal interaction and dialogue	Ethnomethodology; discourse analysis	Semiotics	Dialogue (audio/video recording)	Observation; field notes

Source: adapted from Morse (1994)

Field and Morse (1991) emphasise that strategy is determined by the research problem. Morse (1994) further suggests that it is the responsibility of the investigator to understand the variety available and the different purposes of each strategy, as well as to appreciate beforehand the ramifications of choosing one approach over another. Accordingly, four approaches were considered when seeking to identify a methodological paradigm adequate for the aims of the current study. As a result of this thorough deliberation, Grounded Theory was selected as the most appropriate research strategy for the study's questions. The purpose here is to explain the selection process by comparing the alternative methodologies to Grounded Theory, in addition to providing insights into the theoretical backgrounds of each of the research strategies.

4.3.1. Phenomenology

Phenomenology is a multifaceted philosophy based on the transcendental phenomenology of Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) (1931), the existential forms of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961) (1962) and Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980) (1948), and the hermeneutic phenomenology of Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) (1969) (Creswell, 1998; Schwandt, 2001). One of the major variants of Phenomenology that is manifest in contemporary qualitative research is the hermeneutic form associated with the work of Hans-Georg Gadamer (1960), and the existential form known through the writings of sociologist Alfred Schutz (1970), which spell out the essence of Phenomenology for studying social action (Creswell, 1998).

However, Husserl is generally acknowledged as the founding father of Phenomenology as the systematic study of social behaviour (Goulding, 1999). Stewart and Mickunas (cited in Creswell, 1998, pp. 52-53) discern four main themes from the philosophical tenets of Husserl:

1. *A Return to the traditional tasks of philosophy.* By the end of the 19th century, some philosophers had become reduced to exploring the world by empirical means, an approach known as "scientism." A call for a return to the traditions of

philosophy was thus a roots appeal that re-emphasised the original Greek conception of philosophy as a love of wisdom (philos+sophia).

2. *A philosophy without presuppositions.* Phenomenology's approach is to suspend all judgements about what is real – the “natural attitude” – until they are founded on a more certain basis. This suspension is called *epoche* by Husserl (1931).

3. *The intentionality of consciousness.* This idea is that consciousness is always directed towards an object. Reality of an object, then, is inextricably related to an awareness of it. Thus, reality, according to Husserl (1931), is not divided into subjects and objects. Rather, it is a shifting of Cartesian dualism towards the meaning of an object that appears in the consciousness.

4. *The rejection of the subject-object dichotomy.* This theme flows naturally from the *intentionality of consciousness*. The reality of an object is only perceived within the meaningful experience of an individual.

In line with these themes, Phenomenology can be defined as the study of phenomena. The appearance of things and the discovery of their essence constitute its ultimate purpose.

Baker et al. (1992) claim that it is not uncommon for a researcher to use Phenomenology or Grounded Theory while in fact combining elements of each. This situation indicates that the two approaches share a number of characteristics. However, there are important differences between the two that constitute the reasons for choosing Grounded Theory.

First, phenomenologists seek guidance from existential philosophers (e.g., Schutz, 1970) when interpreting their data. Through the careful study of people they hope to explore the deeper meaning of the “lived experience” in terms of an individual's relationship with time, space and personal history (Goulding, 1997). Thus, the researcher requires a solid grounding in the philosophical tenets of Phenomenology, which, according to Creswell (1998), is the most challenging task if one is to use it. In contrast, Grounded Theory, stemming from a

sociological perspective, explains social or socio-psychological realities by identifying processes at work in the situation being investigated. Indeed, this major difference between the two approaches results in further dissimilarities.

Second, as Baker et al. (1992) observe, another important difference between the two approaches relates to their sources of data. Phenomenological inquiry, being concerned with existential experience, has only one legitimate source of data – informants who have lived the reality being studied articulating their views in non-structured or semi-structured interviews. On the other hand, the dynamic psychological and social processes that are the focus of Grounded Theory may be inferred through a combination of such diverse data collection methods as interviews and diaries.

Third, these two strategies differ in terms of their use of previous knowledge (Baker et al., 1992). Phenomenological inquiry is based on the notion that essences can be discovered by reduction, a process which involves “bracketing”, a term developed by Schutz (1970). To be able to bracket successfully, researchers must be able to suspend their own preconceived ideas about the phenomenon under investigation (Holstein and Gubrium, 1994), an extremely difficult task (Creswell, 1998). On the other hand, and although there is also scant dependency on conducting literature reviews in Grounded Theory, no deliberate attempt is made to put aside ideas or assumptions about the situation being studied (Baker et al., 1992). Indeed, the researcher uses them in order to elaborate the evolving theory further (Charmaz, 1994).

Fourth, Goulding (1999) points out that sampling is another area of divergence between the two approaches. Under Phenomenology, participants are selected because they have experienced the reality that is being investigated; consequently, sampling is purposive. However, Grounded Theory requires that sampling be theory-driven (i.e., theoretical sampling); as a result, it is developed in the field as the theory evolves. Alternatively stated, in a phenomenological study the data

collection and analysis take place sequentially, whereas in Grounded Theory inquiries they occur simultaneously.

Fifth and finally, Grounded Theory is better suited as a methodology for developing theory in fields where very little prior work exists. A phenomenological research problem, by contrast, is heavily influenced by extant theory (Goulding, 1999).

4.3.2. Ethnomethodology

This term was coined by Harold Garfinkel (1967) (Schwandt, 2001), who drew on Schutz's thinking to fashion a new approach to the study of social life that opposed mainstream sociology, including that of his mentor, Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) (Creswell, 1998; Holstein and Gubrium, 1994; Schwandt, 2001).

Garfinkel objected to the Functionalist idea that the usual course for human intentions and actions is determined by pre-existing social norms that are located in a central value system. According to Garfinkel (1967), behaviour cannot be explained solely by appealing to such norms, nor by an examination of actors' subjective intentions. Rather, the sociologist has to investigate how "members" do things and what they do, by exploring the methods, accounting procedures and organisation of social action (Schwandt, 2001).

Ethomethodology does not aim to produce information about interaction through interviews and questionnaires. Instead, it relies upon naturally occurring "talk", so as to reveal the ways that ordinary interaction produces social order in those settings where the talk takes place (Holstein and Gubrium, 1994). When informants speak, their utterances are not considered to be accurate reports about circumstances, conduct, states of mind or other report-ables (Holstein and Gubrium, 1994). Thus, the focus in an ethnomethodological inquiry is on talk-in-interaction rather than talk and interaction. The former lays the foundation for *conversation analysis*, an important variant of Ethnomethodology that encompasses the cognitive sociology of Aaron Cicourel.

As Ethnomethodology stems from Phenomenology, similar reasons provided for not employing a phenomenological paradigm for the current research apply to Ethnomethodology as well. Furthermore, given that Ethnomethodology is interested in verbal interaction and dialogue, it thus tends to over-rely on limited data collection techniques such as audio/video recordings. It also places strict boundaries around interpretation since it is a description-oriented approach.

4.3.3. Ethnography

The emergence of modern variants of Ethnography is usually identified with the shifts in social and cultural anthropology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994). Malinowski is traditionally regarded as the founding figure of modern anthropology. However, there are no distinct and uncontroversial beginnings in history, and some commentators (e.g., Wax, 1971) take a longer view when they trace elements of ethnographic orientation even to the writings of the ancients – Herodotus, for instance. Berg (2001) suggests that during the past thirty-five years Ethnography has undergone considerable advancement, refinement and change. In the course of this process, several versions of ethnographic inquiry have been developed in different fields (e.g., education).

However, the overarching characteristic of the ethnographic approach is its commitment to cultural interpretation (Punch, 1998). The aim of Ethnography is to study and understand the cultural, symbolic and contextual aspects of behaviour (Creswell, 1998), whatever the specific focus of the research (Punch, 1998). As a process, Ethnography involves observation of a group of people, in which the researcher is immersed in the day-to-day lives of its members (Creswell, 1998). That is why Ethnography is often (perhaps wrongly) used as a synonym for fieldwork (Schwandt, 2001) and participant observation.

In addition to this common characteristic, Punch (1998, pp. 160-161) provides six other features of the ethnographic approach. First, when studying a group people, Ethnography starts from the assumption that the shared cultural meanings of its

members are crucial to understanding their behaviour. The ethnographer's task is to uncover these meanings. Second, the ethnographer is sensitive to the meanings that behaviour, actions, events and contexts have, in the eyes of the persons involved. What is needed is an insider (emic) perspective on those events, actions and contexts. Third, the group is studied in its natural setting. A true Ethnography therefore involves the researcher becoming part of that environment. Fourth, an Ethnography is likely to be an unfolding and evolving sort of study, rather than pre-structured inquiry. Fifth, from the point of view of data collection techniques, Ethnography is eclectic. However, although any technique might be used, fieldwork is always central. Sixth and finally, ethnographic data collection is typically a prolonged and repetitive process until closure is achieved by recognising the point at which nothing new is being learned about the culture under study.

Compared to the two foregoing methodologies, Ethnography appeared to be a more useful paradigm for tourism research in general and for the present study in particular as it focuses on the behaviour of people influenced by their culture. However, for the following considerations it was not chosen as a research strategy. First, as Creswell (1998) points out, in order to conduct ethnographic work, the researcher needs to have a grounding in cultural anthropology, the meanings of social-cultural systems and the concepts typically explored by ethnographers, requirements not met by the author of the current study. Second, in order for investigators to be immersed in a group or culture, they need to spend extensive time in the field. Due to the limited resources available to this researcher, such a condition was not viable. Third, and related to this consideration, the ethnographer develops the focus of a study during the fieldwork, whereas in the current case, the study area was decided prior to the fieldwork. Fourth, in many ethnographies, the narratives are written in a literary style which often exceeds the linguistic abilities of the typical social scientist (Creswell, 1998). Fifth and finally, Ethnography is a rather too unsystematic an approach that the author considered difficult to adopt. All these considerations thus persuaded the researcher to choose Grounded Theory, which allowed for

greater structure consonant with his ordered personality and that permitted the autobiographical nature of a doctoral thesis to exude.

4.3.4. Grounded Theory

Although a phenomenological study emphasizes the meaning of an experience for a group of individuals, the intent of a Grounded Theory study is to generate or discover a theory, an abstract analytical scheme of a phenomenon, which relates to a particular situation (Creswell, 1998). That is to say, Grounded Theory consists of a series of hypotheses linked together in such a way as to help explain the phenomenon (Stern, 1980).

Grounded Theory was first outlined by two sociologists, Glaser and Strauss (1967), who elaborated a number of ways in which the linkages between data and theory might be maintained (Seale, 1999). More specifically, their approach involved the rejection of a positivist, verificationist paradigm in favour of one that placed an emphasis on the inductive generation of theory from data (Seale, 1999). Interestingly, and perhaps as a reaction Glaser had previously worked in Columbia University, an institution associated with Lazarsfeld – an influential figure in the development of causal analyses of quantitative data.

Stern (1980) suggests that there are several ways in which Grounded Theory differs from other methodologies. First, the conceptual framework is primarily generated from the data rather than from the literature, although previous studies always have some influence on the final outcome of the work. Second, the researcher attempts to discover social scientific processes rather than descriptive classifications. Third, every piece of data is compared with every other element rather than in aggregate. Fourth, the data collection may be modified according to the evolving theory; false leads are dropped and more penetrating questions are asked as the occasion arises. Fifth and lastly, rather than following a series of linear steps, the investigator works within a matrix in which several research processes operate simultaneously. In other words, the researcher examines data as

they become available, and immediately begins to code, categorise and conceptualise.

Drawing on these characteristics, the following justifications summarise the main factors for choosing Grounded Theory as the methodology of choice for this particular study:

- 1) Strauss and Corbin (1998) and Stern (1994) interestingly, imply that there is a linkage between the researcher as a person and the methods of qualitative research that are selected. As an individual who feels more comfortable with structured situations and guidelines for conducting inquiries, Grounded Theory methodology was preferred since it is a highly systematic approach for the collection and analysis of qualitative data (Chenitz and Swanson, 1986).
- 2) Grounded Theory makes its greatest contribution in areas in which little research has been carried out (e.g., solitary travellers) (Chenitz and Swanson, 1986; Goulding, 1998).
- 3) As Punch (1998) observes, although Grounded Theory was developed in sociology, its application does not depend on any particular disciplinary perspective. It has been and can be employed in a wide variety of research contexts, including the multidisciplinary field of tourism.
- 4) Grounded theory is a systematic method of research whose purpose is to generate rather than to test theory (Corbin, 1986). According to Pandit (1995), qualitative research that is concerned with the creation of theory goes beyond description in order to seek associations and explanations. Similarly, Grounded Theory goes beyond “how” something is to “why” it is.
- 5) Miles and Huberman (1994) note that there is no single way of interpreting and presenting qualitative data, particularly when dealing with a large data set, as in this study. However, as noted by Goulding (1997), Grounded Theory provides a set of established guidelines both for conducting and interpreting such data.
- 6) By adopting a symbolic interactionist perspective, Grounded Theory is a methodology that has proven to be particularly useful in studying human behaviour (Chenitz and Swanson, 1986) – the case of this research.

This last point calls for further elaboration since Grounded Theory is rooted in symbolic interaction (Artinan, 1986; Chenitz and Swanson, 1986; Stern, 1994).

Symbolic Interactionism and Grounded Theory

Symbolic Interactionism is one of several theoretical schools of thought in social psychology and sociology involving a set of related propositions that define and explain certain aspects of human behaviour (Berg, 2001).

Symbolic Interactionism, like all frameworks informing different qualitative research approaches, comes in a variety of forms (Schwandt, 2001) and under several names. As Berg (2001) points out, the basis for Symbolic Interactionism is attributed to the social behavioural work of Cooley (1902), Parks (1915), Dewey (1930), Mead (1934) and Blumer (1969). However, the last two figures have been the most influential in the development and further advancement of Symbolic Interactionism.

George Herbert Mead (1934), a social psychologist, contributed to the symbolic interactionist school of thought by postulating the social processes whereby a human develops a mind and a self, and becomes, through social interaction, a rational being (Chenitz and Swanson, 1986). Herbert Blumer (1969), influenced by Mead, further developed this tradition. According to Blumer (1986, p. 5), Symbolic Interactionism is based on three basic principles. First, human beings act towards things on the basis of the meaning that these things have for them. These things can be objects, other human beings, institutions, guiding ideals, activities of others and situations, or a combination of them. Second, the meaning of such things arises out of the social interaction that persons have with one another. Third, these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by individuals in dealing with the things they encounter.

According to Chenitz and Swanson (1986), symbolic interactionists investigate human behaviour at two interconnected levels: the behavioural and symbolic. The

former includes observation of behaviour in a specific situation. The latter focuses on the observation of meaningful interaction, since it is in both verbal and nonverbal behaviour that the symbolism of an event is transmitted. When conducting this observation, the inquirer first needs to understand the interactional arena (Denzin, 1974) in which the encounter takes place, and secondly tries to understand the situation as the participants define it.

Therefore, Grounded Theory, as derived from the assumptions and theoretical underpinnings of Symbolic Interactionism (Kendall, 1999), is particularly useful for studying people's behaviour. Tourism studies that employ Symbolic Interactionism as a methodological paradigm and Grounded Theory as a research strategy can make an important contribution to understanding tourist behaviour (e.g., Karch and Dann, 1981; Phillips, 2001).

Finally, one last issue needs to be dealt with, as far as the use of Grounded Theory as a methodology is concerned. Although Grounded Theory emerged as an outcome of the collaboration of Glaser and Strauss, later, and more specifically in the work of Strauss and Corbin (1990), a number of particular guidelines were developed for conducting a Grounded Theory study. According to Stern (1994), this difference of opinion has existed ever since the birth of Grounded Theory. This disagreement between the two founders has recently persuaded some grounded theorists (e.g., Charmaz, 1994) to indicate more precisely whose approach they are employing in their own research.

Since there is insufficient space to fully explore the subtle differences between Glaser's and Strauss' methods, only one is highlighted here. According to Kendall (1999), the most significant distinction is that they analyse their data differently. This observation is further elaborated by Kendall (1999, pp. 747-748) as follows: Strauss and Corbin (1990), in their work on Grounded Theory, provide a set of coding procedures, called *axial coding*. Axial coding is defined as "a set of procedures whereby data are put back together in new ways after open coding [initial coding], by making connections between categories". This re-aggregation

is then achieved by using a coding paradigm, which is an organised scheme that connects subcategories of data to a central idea [concept], to help the researcher think systematically about the data and pose questions about how categories relate to each other. Such a paradigm consists of the following six categories as outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1990): conditions, phenomena, context, intervening conditions, strategies and consequences.

This is the issue to which Glaser (1992) objects and which he endeavours to clarify in his sole-authored work. He insists that the codes used and, in fact, the actual labels placed on the codes should be driven by conceptual interests that have emerged *a posteriori* from the data and not “forced” into any particular *a priori* scheme, such as the paradigm model of Strauss and Corbin (1990). Glaser maintains that by not imposing any predetermined paradigm, analysis and interpretation are assured of being grounded in the data, thereby allowing the researcher to see beyond only what will fit into a predetermined conceptual plan. This key point influenced the present author’s preference for the Glaserian version of Grounded Theory as far as the *data analysis* of the current study was concerned. The approach adopted by Strauss appeared to be too deductively oriented (i.e., the categories were decided in advance).

However, it should be noted at this point that Grounded Theory, as well as some other qualitative approaches (Berg, 2001; see Hyde, 2000b), do occasionally make use of some deductive techniques, though not in the same way as Strauss’ method does. As Hyde (2000b) explains, analytical induction requires that a theoretical explanation of a phenomenon be constructed inductively from the first case or cases examined. The researcher then continuously seeks negative cases to (deductively) test and expand upon the emerging theory. This process is referred to as the “constant comparison” technique in Grounded Theory.

It should finally be emphasised that Straussian approach was not completely excluded. On the contrary, as Stern (1994) implies, there are useful benefits of both methods. Accordingly, in the carrying out of *other tasks* of the study (e.g., data gathering) Strauss’ method as well as Glaser’s was utilised.

By way of summary, the two most widely adapted research paradigms, namely, Positivism and Interpretivism, were briefly outlined. Subsequently, various types of research strategies in qualitative inquiry (chosen as the paradigm for this study) were examined by being compared to each other in an attempt to identify a methodology that best suited the current research as well as the investigator himself. Finally, Grounded Theory, selected as the methodological approach to carry out the study, was explained, along with the reasons for this choice. The aim of the following chapter is to elaborate further those principles of Grounded Theory that were incorporated in the research procedures employed for data collection and analysis.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

A fundamental weakness of some qualitative inquiries is that their research procedures are not always provided or sufficiently explained. Therefore, as Miles (1979, p. 591) points out, assessing them can be quite problematic. As he observes:

The most serious and central difficulty in the use of qualitative data is that methods of analysis are not well formulated. For quantitative data, there are clear conventions the researcher can use. But the analyst faced with a bank of qualitative data has very few guidelines for protection against self-delusion, let alone the presentation of unreliable or invalid conclusions to scientific or policy-making audiences. How can we be sure that an “earthy,” “unreliable”, “serendipitous” finding is not, in fact, wrong?

Taking this criticism into due consideration, the purpose of this chapter is to expound and justify the systematic Grounded Theory procedures employed in this thesis. However, in so doing, nowhere is it suggested that this valuable critique of Miles (1979) is fully answered. Since qualitative research is a cyclical process, as opposed to the linear nature of quantitative studies, its stages of research are interconnected. Accordingly they influence one another continuously until closure is reached. Thus, research design, data collection and data analysis – the three main phases of an inquiry – need to be made explicit.

Given that the aims of the current investigation were to examine both the solitary traveller and the group tourist, it was necessary to conduct two separate pieces of fieldwork, whose steps are outlined below.

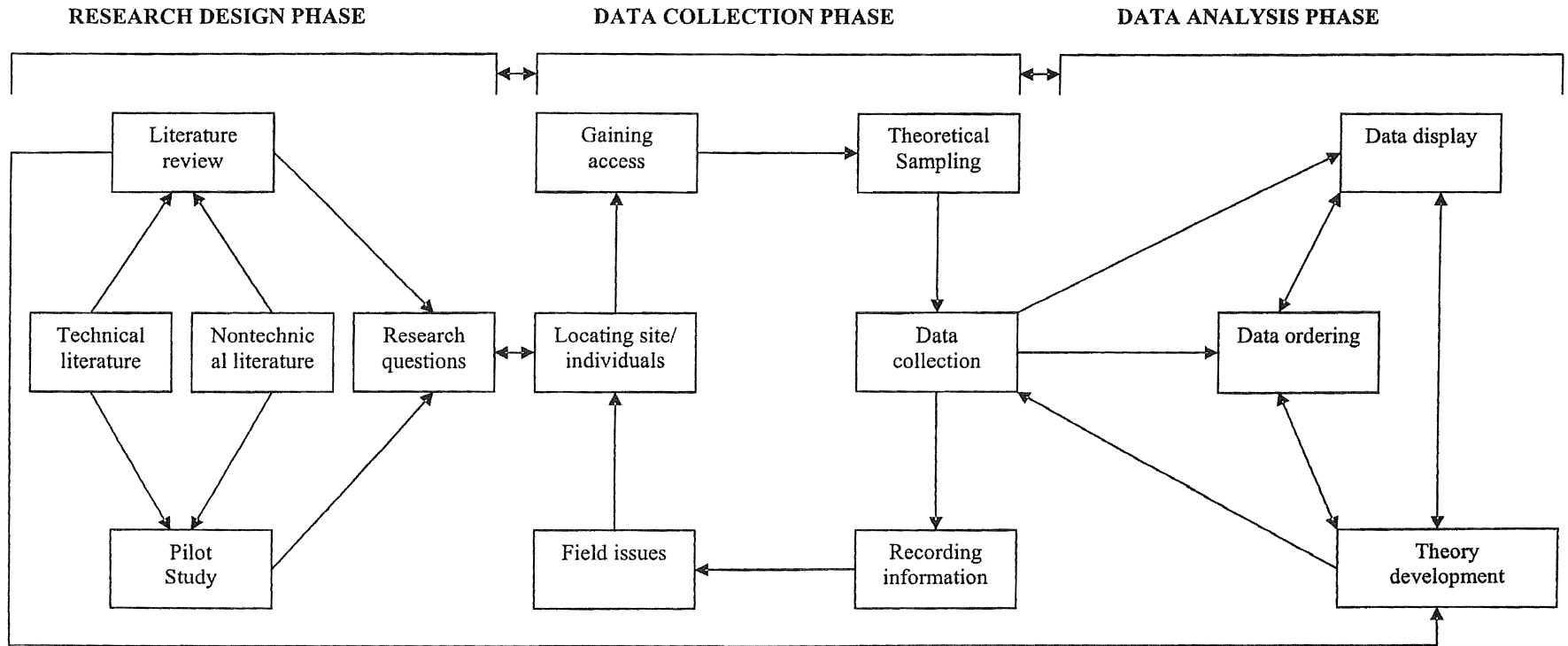


Figure 5.1. The process of qualitative research with Grounded Theory

However, most of the procedures used in these two separate undertakings were similar, particularly in terms of research design and data analysis. That is why the research activities of the two investigations are presented jointly (as in figure 5.1), rather than in two separate sections.

5.1. Research design phase

Although, as Schwandt (2001) notes, designs for conducting qualitative inquiries vary considerably, they all commence with a research problem (Chenitz, 1986a). Silverman (1993) suggests that one source for coming up with a research problem is the technical and non-technical literature. Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 48) refer to the former as being constituted by “reports of research studies, and theoretical or philosophical papers characteristic of professional and disciplinary writing”, and to the latter as comprising “biographies, diaries, documents, manuscripts, records, reports, catalogues, and other materials that can be used ... in grounded theory studies”. This body of work can pinpoint relatively unexplored lines of inquiry (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Following this suggestion, the research topic of this particular study (i.e., the solitary traveller) was developed, mainly as an outcome of having reviewed a considerable amount of the technical literature on the subject (i.e., tourist behaviour). However, this does not mean that the literature was used in the same way as in conventional deductive or hypothesis-testing research (*a priori* categories), since it serves a different purpose in a Grounded Theory study (May, 1986). Strauss and Corbin (1998, pp. 49-52) provide an extensive list containing nine roles that the technical literature plays in a Grounded Theory inquiry. Here, only those purposes that the literature served in this specific research are mentioned.

First, familiarity with the relevant literature can enhance sensitivity to subtle nuances in the data. Second, the literature can be used as a secondary source of data. Research publications often include excerpts from interviews and field notes, and these quotations can be used as secondary sources of data for the

researcher's own purposes. Third, before beginning a project, an investigator can turn to the literature to formulate questions that act as a stepping off point for initial observations and interviews. After these preliminary interviews or observations, the researcher can turn to questions and concepts that emerge from analysis of the data. Fourth, the literature is able to provide insights into where (place, time, papers, etc.) a researcher might go to investigate certain relevant ideas. Fifth and finally, when an investigator has finished the data collection and analysis and is in the write-up stage, the literature can be used to confirm findings. Conversely, too, the results of an inquiry can be used to illustrate where the literature is incorrect, is overly simplistic, or only partially explains phenomena.

Having made use of the literature, the research topic (solitary traveller) became more specifically stated as 'Why Do People Travel On Their Own?' in order to articulate the aims of the study. Once these aims were clarified, a set of distinct objectives for the project was generated (see chapter 1 for the final version of these details). Finally, several initial broad research questions were derived from the literature as well as some guidelines as to data gathering procedures. Such a process typifies Grounded Theory inquiries (Chenitz, 1986a).

However, before the main fieldwork could begin, and following Janesick's (1994) recommendation, it was considered necessary to carry out a pilot study. Janesick's (1994, p. 213) arguments for conducting such preliminary work are twofold: theoretical and practical. As far as the former is concerned, pre-interviews with select key informants and documentary review can assist the researcher in a number of ways. The pilot study allows the investigator to focus on particular areas that may have been unclear previously. In addition, pilot interviews may be used to explore various hunches. Furthermore, this initial period allows the researcher to begin to develop and solidify rapport with informants as well as to establish effective communication patterns. By including some time for the review of records and documents, the investigator may uncover some insight that previously was not apparent. The practical advantages concern the effective use of time, informant issues and researcher issues. Since working in the field can be so

unpredictable, for a good deal of the time the qualitative researcher must be ready to adjust schedules, to be flexible about interview times and about adding or subtracting interviews, to replace informants in the event of trauma or tragedy, and even to rearrange terms of the original agreement. In short, by conducting a pilot study, the researcher is better equipped and more experienced when entering the field to do the main work, an undertaking which requires a good deal of perseverance and stamina. In order to gain such invaluable experience, a pilot study was conducted for this research, too. In line with the aim of the inquiry (to make a comparison between solitary travellers and group tourists), the pilot study consisted of two separate investigations. First, there was an inquiry into non-institutionalised solitary travellers, conducted in the Lofoten Islands of Norway. Second, while participating in an all-inclusive package tour, an examination of institutionalised tourists was undertaken.

5.1.1. Pilot (preliminary) study

As the data obtained from the pilot study are combined with those from the main investigation, only a brief overview of the data gathering procedures is provided here. Further details of the pilot study can be found elsewhere (see Mehmetoglu et al., 2001).

Solitary travellers. Respondents were recruited in “Å”, a small village at the southerly end of the Lofoten islands in Norway. This holiday destination was chosen since it offered a rich variety of travel experiences, which was likely to attract all types of tourists, including solitary travellers, thereby rendering it suitable for the study’s data collection. Receptionists at different types of accommodation (hotels, campsites, hostels and cottages) were requested to provide the researcher with a list of their unaccompanied guests. Further checks were made in order to insure that all of these individuals had commenced their trip alone, had not planned to have a travel companion en route and had made room reservations directly with the establishment. Seven persons fitting these requirements were then contacted. All agreed to participate in a tape-recorded, in-depth interview. Consent was discussed prior to each session with an emphasis on

and assurance of confidentiality. Each of the one- to two-hour, semi-structured interviews was initiated by broad questions that oriented the informants to the topic. However, a few major, open-ended questions were standardised for all interviewees: 'Why do you travel?', 'Why do you travel alone/on your own?', 'Why didn't you choose to travel with a package tour?', 'What are the dis/advantages of travelling alone?' Additionally, an outline of questions seeking information about trip characteristics, travel arrangements and travel activities was followed. At the end of each interview, informants were requested to provide biographical socio-economic data. Besides asking them these questions, planned probes (e.g., echo probes, silence and retrospective clarification) were employed in order to enhance the flow of the conversations (Gorden, 1975). Ancillary discussion took place before and after the interviews, consisting of "informal conversations with a purpose" (Kahn and Cannell, 1957), as well as engagement in various activities (e.g., hiking, visiting attractions, dining) with each subject. Following the interviews, all informants were provided with a diary to complete over the remaining days of their vacation. This diary contained only a two-fold broad question asking, 'Could you please write about any positive or/and negative experiences that have happened to you today? Give as many details as you can about the time and place, whether you were on your own or in the company of others, your own feelings, how the experiences related to your life, how important they were, and so on.' The diary also came with a free pen and a return stamped-addressed envelope. Within a month of the fieldwork, five completed diaries were received (yielding a response of 70 percent – 5 out of 7), a rate which can be considered good for inquiries of this nature (Pearce, 1988). Data obtained from the diaries were also compared with those of the in-depth interviews.

Group Tourists. For purposes of comparison, parallel data to those on non-institutionalised travellers needed to be obtained from institutionalised tourists. Accordingly, a number of tour operators organising all-inclusive trips for English-speaking tourists in Norway were contacted, in order to receive their permission to participate in an organised group tour with a view to collecting the necessary data. During telephone conversations with each tour operator, the aims of the

research, along with the data collection methods (in-depth interviews and diaries, as used with the non-institutionalised solitary travellers), were thoroughly explained. A guarantee was also given that information obtained from the tour would be treated with complete confidentiality. Two tour companies displayed an interest and they subsequently requested further details of the data collection procedure. A formal letter containing a copy of the semi-structured interview and an exemplar of the diary, were sent to each of these tour operators. In the event, only one of them agreed to collaborate, and then on the following conditions: that the researcher could participate in the tour provided that he collected the data mostly through informal conversations with the participants, rather than via tape-recording or visible note-taking, and that diaries could not be used.

The researcher joined the group on the first day of its arrival in Oslo. For a number of reasons (see Bogdan, 1972) it is recommended that investigators should inform their subjects of the aims of the research and seek their permission to conduct the study. The tour was an all-inclusive seven-day round trip commencing in Oslo, covering a specific area of the Western part of the country, and ending back in the capital. Following the advice of Bogdan (1972), at the commencement of the tour, the researcher tried to introduce himself to members of the group in such a way that they became familiar with him, developed a trust in him and felt at ease in his presence. This open strategy helped the researcher, first, join in several activities (e.g., dining, shopping, hiking and so on) with the group where he could gain insights into their behaviour, and second, hold brief personal conversations with five of its members. Throughout the process, the investigator, at convenient intervals, temporarily left the scene in order to jot down key phrases that would later help him recall events.

As also illustrated in figure 5.1, the experience gained from the pilot studies provided some very useful guidelines for the preparation of the instruments (e.g., interview schedule) as well as the carrying out (e.g., practical issues) of the main fieldwork, most of them as outlined by Janesick (1994). Furthermore, as the inquiry progressed, the researcher became less reliant on the literature since,

through the pilot studies, he had gained first hand insights into the phenomenon under investigation. Only later was the literature utilised in order to compare the emerging conclusions from this study with existing theories.

Having explained the design phase, it is next necessary to provide details of the activities involved in the data collection stage.

5.2. Data collection phase

Since data gathering was carried out differently in the investigations of the solitary traveller and group tourist, here it is presented in two separate sections.

5.2.1. Collecting data on solitary travellers

Figure 5.1 illustrates the data collection process as a series of interconnected activities aimed at gathering necessary information to find answers to the emerging research questions. Although, the researcher can begin data collection at any point in the circle, the data gathering commenced with locating the site/individuals in both of the inquiries.

The Site. In a Grounded Theory study, the researcher needs to locate those individuals who have undergone experiences or participated in a process (in this case, solo travel) that is central to the grounded study (Creswell, 1998). Thus, at the initial stage of the research, and following Strauss and Corbin's (1998) suggestion, the site for the pilot study (the Lofoten) was selected according to insights derived from the literature (e.g., Mehmetoglu and Olsen, forthcoming). In this instance, these ideas suggested that the solitary type of traveller sought authentic and natural experiences. This assumption was also confirmed by the successful pilot fieldwork carried out in the summer of 2000 in the Lofoten (see figure 5.2). The analysis of the data and the experience obtained from the pilot work indicated that the Lofoten was an ideal place for locating sufficient numbers and varieties of solitary travellers, since the archipelago was endowed with beautiful natural scenery, while avoiding the hordes associated with mass tourism. Incidentally, these two qualities were articulated by most of the informants in the

pilot study as their reasons for coming to the Lofoten. Thus, this site was also chosen as the ideal location for carrying out the main fieldwork (in the summer of 2001). Consequently, here is as good a juncture as any to supply some background information on the Lofoten (derived mainly from Lofoten Destination's website).

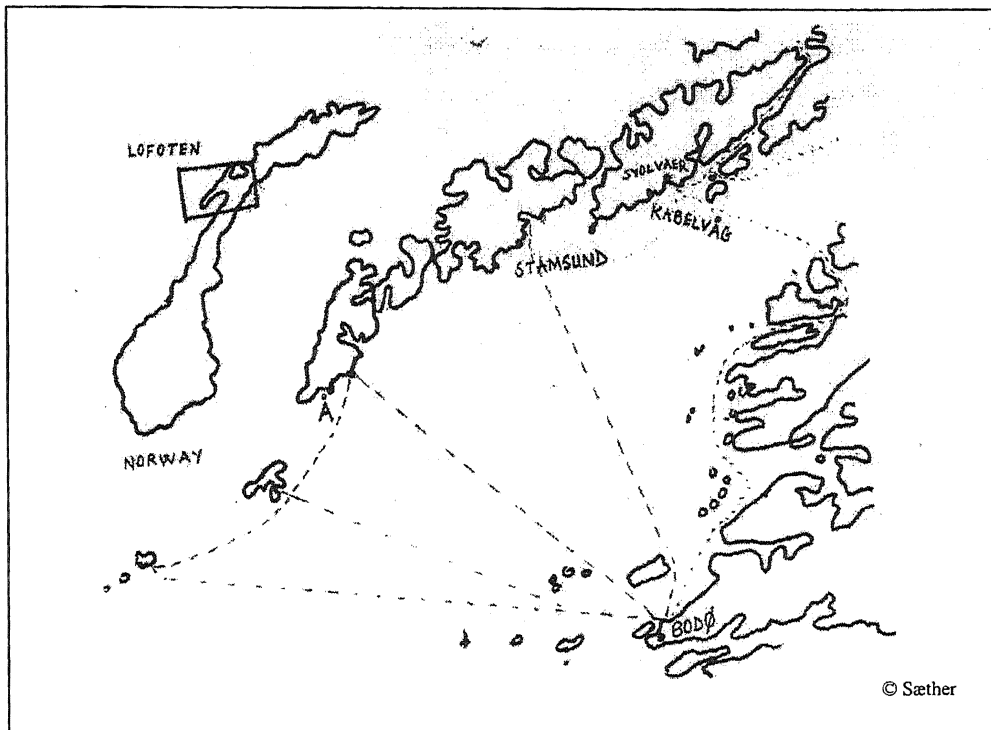


Figure 5.2. The Lofoten Islands in Norway.

The Lofoten islands constitute a 168km long Arctic archipelago (left side in figure 5.2) lying between the 67th and 68th parallels off the West coastal Norwegian towns of Bodø and Narvik (right corner in figure 5.2). The Lofoten are located in Nordland County, consisting of six municipalities and inhabited by approximately 25,000 people. The total land area amounts to 1,227 sq. km. The road distance is almost 170 km. from the north to the most southerly point, Å, where the data were collected.

The first people came to the Lofoten about 6,000 years ago. Since then, fisheries have been crucial to the settlement of these islands. Today, fishermen from all

over North Norway take part in the Lofot Fisheries, which take place between January and April. The other major industry is tourism, which has, particularly in the past decade, become increasingly significant, now amounting to approximately 200,000 visitors per year.

The Lofoten as a destination is highly developed in terms of its infrastructure and diversity of accommodation. Two of the main types of accommodation are the fishermen's cabins (*rorbuer*) and youth hostels spread over the six municipalities. As far as the tourism product and attractions are concerned, they are principally nature-based and, apart from sightseeing, provide opportunities for physical, outdoor activities (e.g., hiking). Thus, the Lofoten attract a huge variety of nature-interested people, who are known to be wealthy, well educated and environmentally conscious.

Access to the site. Having decided on the Lofoten islands as the place for data collection, the next task was to locate the individuals (i.e., solitary travellers). Prior to the pilot study, the researcher had originally decided to collect the data by using a triangulation technique at three different locations (municipalities) in the Lofoten. However, as a result of the pilot study, three sites were no longer required. Å (the main location), situated at the most southern tip of the island chain, was regarded as a quasi-obligatory, final destination, and indeed was visited by nearly all the travellers who had been to the other parts of the archipelago. Although several qualitative researchers reckon that locating informants is the most challenging task in the field, in this study it was a challenge overcome by implementing a simple strategy to identify the solitary travellers. Å offered a variety of accommodation units (fishermen's cabins, hotels, camps and youth hostels), whose owners were contacted and informed about the research in order that they would grant permission for some of their guests to be interviewed. Finally, having been provided access to these units, as in the pilot study, receptionists at these centres were requested to make available the list of their solitary guests once a day, usually in the evenings. This cooperation continued for about six weeks until a sufficient number of informants was

obtained. When locating these individuals, it was ensured that all of them had started their trip alone and had made their room reservations directly with the establishments.

Sampling (theoretical). In a Grounded Theory study, the researcher selects information-rich respondents based on their ability to contribute to an emerging theory. This process is referred to as “theoretical sampling” in Grounded Theory. Strauss and Corbin (1998, p. 201) define it as ‘data gathering driven by concepts derived from the evolving theory and based on the concept of “making comparisons,” whose purpose is to go to places, people, or events that will maximize opportunities to discover variations among concepts and to densify categories in terms of their properties and dimensions’. Theoretical sampling, according to Creswell (1998), commences with choosing and studying a homogeneous sample of individuals (e.g., those who travel solo) and then, while developing the theory, selecting and examining those persons with specific characteristics (e.g., long term solo travellers). In a way, as Stern (1980) points out, this is a deductive process, because the conceptual framework that is developed from the data is now tested by collecting further data which validate or invalidate the hypotheses emerging from that framework.

In the current study, the informants (solitary travellers) were selected in accordance with the “theoretical sampling” principle of Grounded Theory. First, only a few randomly chosen solo travellers were interviewed. The information gained from the analysis of these initial cases then led the researcher to select further informants. For instance, at the primary phase of the data collection, it was discovered that one of the reasons for travelling alone was the long duration of the trip, an hypothesis originating in the data. In order to examine this assumption, the investigator started looking for those who were on long-term solo travel in order to be able to compare their responses with those supplied by short-term solo travellers. Another criterion, necessitated again by an hypothesis, was that the previous travel experience of individuals influenced their decision to travel alone. That is to say, it was expected that differences would appear between well-

travelled and less experienced travellers. The former, it was presumed, would be more likely to choose to travel alone. Again, and in order to test this hypothesis, the researcher needed to be selective in his sampling strategy.

As a result of this technique, referred to, by Glaser (1992), as “constant comparison”, the emerging hypotheses were either upheld or rejected. This particular approach was continuously employed throughout the data gathering process. Indeed, as several commentators (Charmaz, 1994; Chenitz, 1986a; Chenitz and Swanson, 1986; Goulding, 1997; Stern, 1980; Strauss and Corbin, 1998) point out, in Grounded Theory inquiries data collection and analysis occur simultaneously. It is this main feature which is the characteristic that distinguishes Grounded Theory from most other qualitative approaches, since in the latter, the researcher typically collects data from a pre-determined number of individuals (i.e., purposeful sampling) and starts analysing the data long after the fieldwork has been completed.

Data collection. Approaches to data collection vary according to the research strategy or methodology employed. In Grounded Theory there are two basic methods of data gathering. Interviews constitute the primary and documentary sources (e.g., diaries), the secondary, methods (Morse, 1994). Using both of these methods to collect data contributes to the excellence of a qualitative inquiry by strengthening that study’s credibility and transferability (i.e., validity in quantitative terms) (Decrop, 1999; Duncan, 2000; Sandelowski, 1995; Teare, 1994). This technique, usually known as “triangulation” (Denzin, 1978), has recently been referred to by Richardson (1998) as “crystallisation” – a postmodernist deconstruction of “triangulation”.

The idea of triangulation stems from discussions of measurement validity by quantitative researchers operating with crudely realist and empiricist assumptions (Seale, 1999). Its use in qualitative inquiry was first advocated and then popularised by Denzin (1978), who identified four principal ways of triangulation: data triangulation, method triangulation, investigator triangulation and theoretical

triangulation. In this study, however, only data triangulation was employed. That is to say, the interviews and diaries were used to collect the necessary data with reference to the solitary traveller. Additionally, as a second dimension of data triangulation, and as suggested also by some qualitative researchers (e.g., Silverman, 2000), a field diary (the researcher's own diary) was kept during the entire fieldwork, for making notes of additional information (e.g., non-verbal behaviour) prior to and after the interview sessions.

Interviews. Interviewing is usually defined as a conversation with a purpose (Berg, 2001). Fontana and Frey (1994) note that there are three varieties of interviews: face-to-face with an individual, in a group (focus group) and by telephone. Creswell (1998) suggests that the researcher needs to choose the type of interview that will most likely capture the most useful information relevant to the research questions. Here face-to-face individual interviewing was considered the most appropriate since it would arguably generate more in-depth and specific data on the solitary traveller.

Interviews can also be structured, semi-structured or unstructured (Fontana and Frey, 1994; Punch, 1998). For this particular study semi-structured interviews were chosen. This sort of interview involves the identification of a number of predetermined questions and/or topics, which are typically posed to each informant in a consistent sequence. However, interviewers are allowed the freedom to digress; that is to say, interviewers are expected to probe far beyond the answers to their standardised questions or topics (Berg, 2001). These questions/topics, derived initially from the literature (e.g., Crompton, 1979; Dann, 1977; Hsieh et al., 1994; Morrison et al., 1994; Sharpley 1994, 1999), constituted the interview schedule (guide), which was later modified according to the ideas emerging from the pilot study. Finally, four general relevant sections (with several sub-topics) formed the interview schedule: socio-economic and demographic characteristics, trip variables, psychographic profiles of the solitary travellers and solo travel related themes.

Having prepared the interview guide, the researcher started the interviewing process. Following Swanson's (1986) recommendation, a maximum of two interviews was scheduled per day during the main fieldwork, which spread over a period of roughly six weeks. This practice enabled the investigator to go through each interview afterwards as well as giving him some time and energy to motivate himself for the next session. During this time, fifty-two solitary travellers were contacted. Two of them were unwilling to give an interview and five were unable to participate due to language difficulties (of the researcher or the informant).

In total, forty-five informants remained who satisfied the sampling criteria. Each took part in an individual in-depth interview that lasted on average fifty minutes, considered to be the minimum length (Swanson, 1986). Informed consent was discussed prior to each session, with an emphasis on and assurance of confidentiality (Hutchinson and Wilson, 1994). After each informant had agreed to participate, a tape-recorded interview took place. The interviews were conducted in a conversational rather than a formal fashion, as suggested by Marshall and Rossman (1999). The time of day for each session was determined by the informants themselves. Choice of location was based on convenience and freedom from distraction (Creswell, 1998).

Following Gorden's (1975) advice, each interview commenced with an "ice-breaking" period in which the researcher first asked the informants to discuss themes (i.e., travel characteristics (e.g., 'What is it about Norway which made you decide to come here?')) which appealed to them. They were followed by the topics (psychographic profiles of these travellers and solo travel reasons) in which the researcher was interested. General stimuli derived from the latter were standardised for all informants. Without suggesting any particular response, they were asked: 'Why do you travel?', 'Why do you travel alone/on your own?', 'Why didn't you choose to travel in package tour?', 'What are the dis/advantages of travelling alone?' Finally, the interviews concluded by requesting the informants to provide information about the first theme of the interview schedule, namely, socio-economic and demographic data.

Throughout these sessions, and in order to encourage the informants to relate more of their travel experiences, probes were used (Gorden, 1975 p. 422; Schatzman and Strauss, 1973 p. 74; Swanson, 1986). These probes included silence (pausing), neutral ('I see....?'), echo (repetition of respondent's last words), chronology ('...and then?'), detail ('Can you please tell more about that?'), clarification ('you mean....?') and explanation ('How come?').

Diaries. Documents constitute another form of data collection (Punch, 1998), which also includes diaries (or journals) that participants keep during the research process (Clark et al., 1998; Creswell, 1998; Gorden, 1969; McCracken, 1988), a source of information which has often been neglected by tourism researchers (Dann et al., 1988). There are three principal advantages to using diaries. First, they enhance the validity of the information. Second, they enable a greater spirit of reflection than that typically obtaining in an interview situation (Dann et al., 1988). Third, they give informants the opportunity to reveal certain types of information which they either have forgotten or do not wish to talk about at the time of interviewing (Gorden, 1969). Interestingly, this last point was also noted by some of the pilot study informants who had written a diary.

As in the pilot study, in the main fieldwork, and following the interviews, informants were provided with a diary. However, on this occasion it was half the size of that used in the pilot investigation, and it required completion for the remaining days of their vacation. The diaries included the same two-fold broad question asking 'Could you please write about any positive or/and negative experiences that have happened to you today? Give as many details as you can about the time and place, whether you were on your own or in the company of others, your own feelings, how the experiences related to your life, how important they were, and so on.' As before, the diaries also came with the reward of a free pen (worth about £5) and a pre-paid return envelope. Within two months of the fieldwork, sixteen completed diaries had been returned, yielding an acceptable response rate of 35 percent.

Recording procedures. As advised by Swanson (1986), the interviews were tape-recorded. Immediately after each session, and in accordance with Bozett's (1980) suggestion, the researcher listened to the tape. This practice first insured that the interview had been successfully recorded. Second, while the information was still fresh, it enabled the investigator to analyse those sections most relevant to the research problem, and to make notes on a separate sheet for each informant. This procedure generated further sampling criteria for the data collection (i.e., theoretical sampling). As recommended by Bogdan (1972), and for purposes of clarity and ease in retrieving data during the analysis stage of the study, the researcher kept a diary of his own. Finally, completed and returned diaries were immediately transcribed verbatim. In the course of the transcription process, data obtained from the diaries were compared to those from the interviews.

Field issues. Researchers involved in any inquiry face issues in the field when collecting data. Creswell (1998) groups them into topical areas. In the current study, these issues ranged from access/site problems to interviews and diaries. Although some of these points have already been mentioned, however obliquely, the aim here is to present some additional considerations derived from the researcher's field diary. First, as noted by Bozett (1980), the researcher familiarised himself with the equipment used to tape the interviews in order to make the recording procedure as smooth as possible (Swanson, 1986). Second, although all the interviews were conducted in English, on some occasions the investigator had to make use of other languages (German and Swedish) whenever the informants experienced difficulty in explaining certain phrases in English. Third, the researcher offered free coffee and, in a few cases, food, so that the informants would not consider the interview as a waste of time, since many of these travellers prepared their own meals. Fourth, given that there were two different accommodation units in Å, from which the investigator was obtaining help to locate the solitary travellers, he thought that it would be better to hire a room for his own use from both establishments so that the proprietors would feel that he was leaving an equal amount of money to each of the businesses. Fifth, response rates for diary usage are known to be very low. In an attempt to

encourage as many of the informants as possible to complete a diary, the researcher attempted to establish more in-depth rapport with some of them as well as explaining how significant their contribution would be. Sixth, the investigator experienced some difficulty in taking notes while the informants were present. For that reason he restricted himself to the briefest of jottings, sufficient to trigger his memory once the respondents had departed.

5.2.2. Collecting data on group tourists

Access to the site. It should be recalled that the investigator was not permitted either to have a tape-recorded interview with, or to deliver diaries to, the guests, as he had originally planned. Thus, on the tour in the pilot study, the amount of information that could be obtained was considerably limited. Learning from this situation, the researcher, in sufficient time prior to the main fieldwork started contacting tour operators originating in England in order to identify one that would allow him to attend and use all the data gathering methods on the tour without any major restrictions. In this attempt, finally, a tour operator organising all-inclusive trips for English-speaking tourists in Norway displayed an interest in the project and asked for further information. The researcher subsequently prepared a letter which contained all the necessary details regarding the aims and methods of data collection (tape-recorded interviews and diaries) as well as guaranteeing that data obtained from the tour would be treated with complete confidentiality. In the end, the tour operator agreed that the investigator could participate in one of the tours during the summer, provided that he covered the associated expenses himself.

The site (the tour). The researcher joined the group on the first day of its arrival in Bergen. The group comprised thirty-six tourists (mainly couples and a few singles) who had booked the current trip through the same agency. The tour was an all-inclusive twelve-day round trip with a guide, starting in Bergen, covering a certain area of the Western part of Norway and returning to Bergen (see figure 5.3). It was a multi-destination trip with overnight stays in five different locations.

Sampling (purposeful and theoretical). In this particular case, sampling took place in two stages. First, a sampling criterion was needed to select which tour operators and tours were needed for the purposes of the study, and second, a sampling strategy was required for the tour itself. The former is referred to as purposeful sampling (see Creswell, 1998) since the criteria for the selection of tour operators were predetermined: those tour operators originating in England organising all-inclusive, multi-destination trips for English tourists in Norway. The reason for establishing these criteria was the fact that the individuals participating in this sort of tour had to represent exactly the opposite of non-institutionalised, multi-destination solitary travellers, thereby facilitating a contrast between these two types of person.

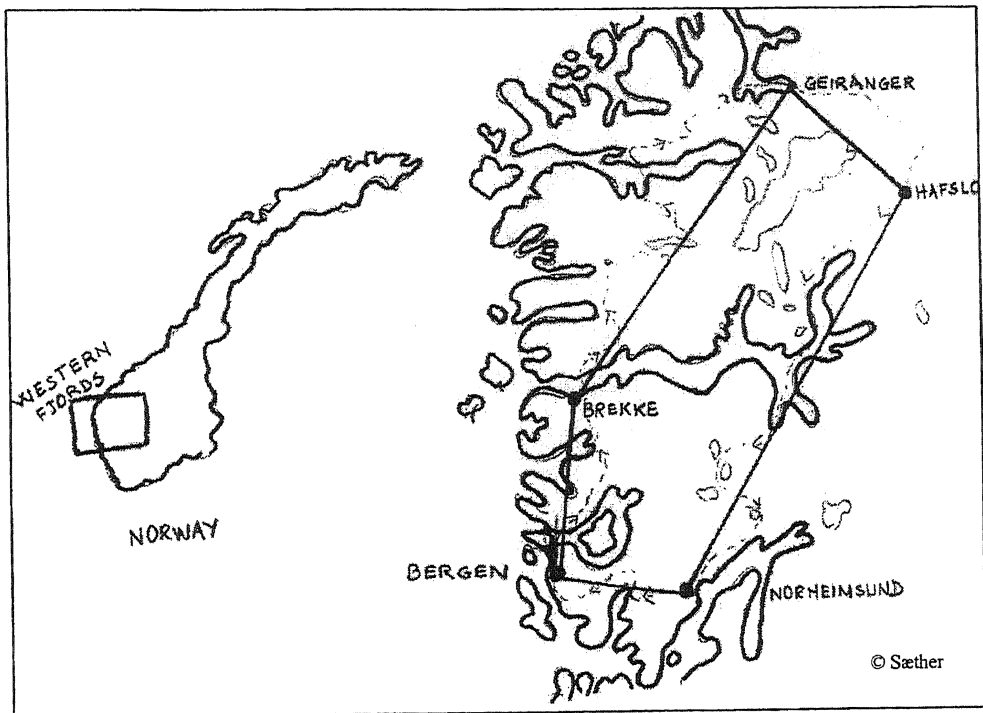


Figure 5.3. The tour of the Western fjords of Norway.

The second technique – “theoretical sampling” – was used in the process of interviewing and observing the group tourists. Having interviewed a few randomly selected informants, the researcher started choosing the remaining informants based on the emerging hypotheses. An instance that illustrates this point is that the data from the first interviews showed that some of the guests had

joined the group tour on account of their old age. For comparative purposes, therefore, the researcher subsequently selected younger group members in order to discover whether or not age had an influence on the travel style chosen. This sampling continued until the data collection process was completed.

Data collection. Data triangulation was also employed in order to gather the data needed from the group tourists via interviews and diaries.

Interviews. According to Chenitz (1986b) informal interviewing in a Grounded Theory study is used jointly with rapport building techniques, thereby heightening the ability of the researcher to collect and validate data. Accordingly, this technique was also used in the fieldwork on the group tourists, with the researcher in the role of an overt observer (Clark et al., 1998; Gold, 1958) firstly, for ethical reasons (Lipson, 1994), and, secondly, due to the nature of the study.

Thus, on the very first day of the tour, and following the advice of Bogdan (1972), the investigator introduced himself to, and informed, the group about the research, as well as the data collection procedures. Through this open strategy, members became familiar with the researcher. This familiarity was even evident when several of the group themselves took the initiative to participate in an interview, as the researcher played a passive role for the first two days of the tour in an attempt to make the guests feel at ease in his presence. Once the investigator noticed that he had been accepted as part of the group, he started contacting informants for interviews as well as engaging in various joint activities.

Finally, all who were contacted (fifteen) and fitted the “theoretical sampling” criteria agreed to participate in a personal tape-recorded interview, a session which lasted for about thirty minutes. Considering the tight schedule of the tour programme, the duration of the interviews was actually quite long. Since the majority of the group was made up of couples, they were given the option of being interviewed together. In the end, ten couples and five singles were interviewed. A semi-standardised schedule was used, including four topics

paralleling those of the solitary travellers: socio-economic and demographic data, trip characteristics, psychographic profiles and group tour related themes. A set of questions derived from these four themes was the same for all informants who were asked, for instance: 'Why do you travel?', 'Why do you travel in a group?', 'What are the advantages and disadvantages of travelling in a group?' The interviews usually took place in an informal style, and the researcher ensured that the interviewees were active in this conversation by making use of typical probes (Gorden, 1975).

Furthermore, the fact that the researcher had now become a full member of the group enabled him to join in several joint activities (e.g., dining, shopping, hiking and so on). Here he could gain additional insights into their behaviour, as well as holding brief personal conversations with several of its members.

Diaries. At the beginning of the tour, all the group members were provided with a diary to complete. However, it was emphasised that this task was entirely voluntary. The diaries included a broad question asking 'Could you please write about any positive or/and negative experiences that have happened to you today? Give as many details as you can about the time and place, whether you were on your own or in the company of others, your own feelings, how the experiences related to your life, how important they were, and so on?' As before, the diaries came with the gift of a free pen. On the last day of the tour, thirteen of the fifteen who took part in the interview delivered completed diaries back to the researcher. One was even received from a group member who had not been selected for interview.

Recording. In order to follow the "theoretical sampling" principle of Grounded Theory and to insure that the interview had been recorded, the researcher listened to and made short notes of each interview after every session. Additionally, the investigator, at convenient intervals, temporarily left the scene in order to jot down key phrases that would later help him recall events. The researcher also kept a field journal whose purpose was to write down a summary of each day with

information related to the principal research questions. Finally, the diaries received from the informants immediately after the completion of the fieldwork were transcribed into the word processor.

Field issues. Like any other fieldworker, the researcher encountered several issues to which he had to respond in a strategic manner. As the aim, here, is not to list and explain all of these issues, only those relevant to the study are presented. First, learning from the pilot study, the investigator understood that the tour guide would be crucial in helping him to gather the necessary data. Thus, prior to the tour, the researcher held a brief meeting with the guide both to get to know her as a person, as well as giving her more specific information about the research. Finally, they agreed on how they could cooperate on the tour so that the guests would not feel that their privacy had been invaded and the researcher could easily collect the necessary data. Second, in order to encourage as many of the group as possible to participate in the diary writing, an offer was made: that the investigator would, after having transcribed them, send the diaries back to those who wanted to keep them as their own. Third, the researcher made sure that the interviews took place when it suited the informants and at places with which they felt comfortable (e.g., their own rooms).

Having provided details of the activities that took place during the data collection phase, the next step is to outline the procedures employed in the data analysis.

5.3. Data analysis phase

This study is an application of Content Analysis (for a fuller discussion of C/A, see Mehmetoglu and Dann (forthcoming), which is reproduced in appendix 1).

Before dealing with the procedures used in the data analysis phase, it is worth addressing some of the issues (e.g., manual versus computer-assisted) surrounding content analysis as a form of qualitative research.

Over the past two decades, critiques of conventional quantitative methods have contributed to elevating the status of qualitative methods in the social sciences (Berg, 2001; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994c). This change in fortune has also been reflected in a host of textbooks, journals and research monographs that have recently been published in various disciplines and fields (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994c). Even so, the literature on qualitative research has traditionally been preoccupied with the processes and issues of data collection (Fielding and Lee, 1998). Miles and Huberman (1994) observe that there are two main reasons why data analysis has received relatively scarce attention. First, some qualitative researchers still consider analysis to be an art form and insist on intuitive approaches to it. Second, researchers hesitate to focus on analysis issues on the grounds that unequivocal determination of the validity of findings is impossible. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest that qualitative researchers need to share their craft – that is, the explicit, systematic methods employed to draw conclusions. Following the suggestion of Miles and Huberman (1994), several scholars in recent years have begun to address the question of analysis.

The debate on the use of new software packages has also acted as a catalyst for this new interest. Dey (1998) affirms that unless qualitative analysis is computer-based it will not receive the same attention and commitment as quantitative analysis. Some researchers (Kelle, 1995; Tesch, 1990) agree with this assumption due to the unique advantages that the use of software contains. Seale (1998, p.155) summarises the benefits of CAQDAS (computer-assisted analysis of qualitative data) under four main headings:

- 1) speed at handling large volumes of data, thereby allowing the researcher to explore numerous analytic questions,
- 2) improvement of rigour in taking frequency counts of and searching for deviant cases,
- 3) facilitation of team research, including the development of consistent coding schemes, and
- 4) help with sampling decisions, be these in the name of representativeness or theory development.

However, a variety of criticisms have been advanced against the use of computer software which are listed by Fielding and Lee (1998, p. 69) as follows:

- 1) that problems still exist in relation to the accessibility and availability of software,
- 2) that the practical benefits of computer-based methods have been exaggerated,
- 3) that computer use distances qualitative researchers from their data, and
- 4) that the introduction of computer-based analytic methods in qualitative research might encourage users to emulate some of the more problematic aspects of survey research.

Mehmetoglu and Dann (forthcoming), on the other hand, do not regard the two approaches as antagonistic. Instead, they consider manual and computer-assisted analyses as complementary approaches for conducting content analyses of all forms of tourism communication (including tourists' interviews and diaries), and their arguments, along with several examples, are spelt out in detail in appendix 1.

For that reason, manual techniques were, on some occasions, employed in order to avoid the possible automatization of analysis associated with the use of computer technology. However, since the merits of computer-assisted analysis well outweigh its disadvantages, the data in this study were analysed mainly with the use of software. Given that there are several programs that supply the foregoing advantages to qualitative investigators, a choice had to be made among them. The better known programs developed to meet the needs of the qualitative analyst are ATLAS/ti, NUD.IST, HyperRESEARCH, MAX, Kwalitan, AQUAD, The Etnograph and HyperQual.

Goulding (1997) claims that most of these programs are restricted to coding and retrieval exercises, which, while useful for working with structures, are limited in their analysis of content. However, Mehmetoglu and Dann (forthcoming; appendix 1) and Richardson and Richardson (1991) show that Atlas/ti and Nudist have extended the scope of computer analysis by aiming at theory construction and development through a range of flexible options (i.e., these packages have advantages of a theoretical/methodological nature). That is undoubtedly the

reason why Barry (2000) considers Atlas/ti and NUD.IST to be the two best types of software in meeting the requirements of qualitative researchers.

In the end, and for the following reasons Atlas/ti was selected as the computer software for the analysis purposes of this research. First and foremost, and as Lonkila (1995) observes, Atlas/ti is a software designed in accordance with the principles of Grounded Theory, which has been adopted as the overall methodology for the current study. Second, Atlas/ti serves all the general functions (creating databases, code-and-retrieval, memoing, data linking) that are supported by most of the alternative current software for text analysis (Barry, 1998; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Third, unlike these other programs, (e.g., Nud.ist), Atlas/ti allows non-textual (pictorial imagery and audio passages) to be used as data. Fourth, Atlas/ti offers some additional advanced features that facilitate theory development, including those which create conceptual networks (diagrams) by displaying links between emerging concepts (Barry, 1998; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Seale, 2000) (see also data analysis in chapters 6 and 7). Fifth, and as Barry (1998) suggests, Atlas/ti is more user-friendly since it is a software which is visually attractive with a well-designed interface that is used easily on screen and able to display all its features at once. An overview of some of these features (taken from Mehmetoglu and Dann (forthcoming; appendix 1)) is supplied below.

5.3.1. Atlas/ti and its principal features

Atlas/ti is a personal-computer program for analysing communicated messages. It was originally assembled for an interdisciplinary research project ATLAS (Archive for Technology, the Life-world and Everyday Language) at the Technical University of Berlin, (Muhr, 1991). The program was developed by a multidisciplinary network of researchers comprising computer scientists, psychologists and linguists. In order to increase its user-friendliness the team conducted a survey among potential users to ascertain their views on existing computer software and the desirable features of a program intended to assist qualitative textual analysis (Muhr, 1991).

In order to better understand how it has been used for the analytical purposes of the current study, a brief non-technical description of each of the main features is provided here. They include primary documents, hermeneutic units, *open-* and *in vivo* coding, memos, code families, networks and statistical operations.

A primary document is the text material or “raw data” that have been gathered. *A Hermeneutic Unit*, on the other hand, is a project which consists of primary documents (raw data) relevant to the topic that the researcher wishes to analyse. Atlas/ti allows the investigator to create as many Hermeneutic Units as required, but more importantly, to assign as many primary documents as necessary to more than one Hermeneutic Unit. Equally significant is the fact that each Hermeneutic Unit is treated as an independent file, including all its analytical components (e.g., primary documents and quotations).

Two of the principal classification techniques offered by Atlas/ti are *open-* and *in vivo* coding. The former is typically first level coding and uses the data to generate concepts (codes) for theory building. Employing concepts that are taken from the data ensures that they are grounded in those data, rather than derived from an *a priori* coding frame. *In vivo* coding is a sub-set of *open* coding. It is employed when a code label originates from a text segment in the respondent’s own words.

However, there is more to Atlas/ti than coding. Indeed, the software provides a feature that allows researchers to record *memos* containing the thoughts, ideas, interpretations and questions that occur to them during the analysis. Furthermore, they can assign these memos to other objects (e.g., codes or code families).

Code families are containers for grouped codes. The central purpose that families serve is to cope with large numbers of codes by classifying them into a smaller number of categories (theoretical codes).

Networks are the graphical displays of relationships (discovered by the researcher) between categories. A network is a set of nodes and links. Nodes represent categories, and links depict suggested relationships with sub-categories as well as with other categories.

Finally, Atlas/ti enables the analyst to carry out a whole range of *statistical operations* in the search for additional understanding and explanation. An elementary task would be the running of a cross-tabulation for two codes. A more complicated exercise would be exporting a list of created codes to *SPSS* (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) for advanced statistical treatment (e.g., path analysis).

5.3.2. Computer-assisted Grounded Theory analysis process

Since the activities involved in data analysis are inter-linked with each other as well as with data collection procedures, the former (data ordering, data display and theory development) are treated here under a single heading. Accordingly, the stages of analysis procedures are outlined in a framework, illustrated in figure 5.4, which incorporates the technical (Atlas/ti) and theoretical (Grounded Theory principles) elements of the analytical process.

Carrying out Grounded Theory analysis in Atlas/ti takes place on two interrelated levels. First, there is the textual level where the analyst segments the data, writes memos and codes the text, imagery and audio clips. Second, there is the more complex conceptual level where the researcher begins constructing theoretical models by linking the concepts (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) that have emerged from the textual phase. Below are the details of some of the activities involved at the textual and conceptual levels. As indicated earlier, these activities are cyclical rather than linear. However, for the sake simplicity, they are presented in a sequential order.

The combined data from the pilot and main studies of the solitary travellers and group tourists generated, in total, 833 and 187 pages of transcripts, respectively.

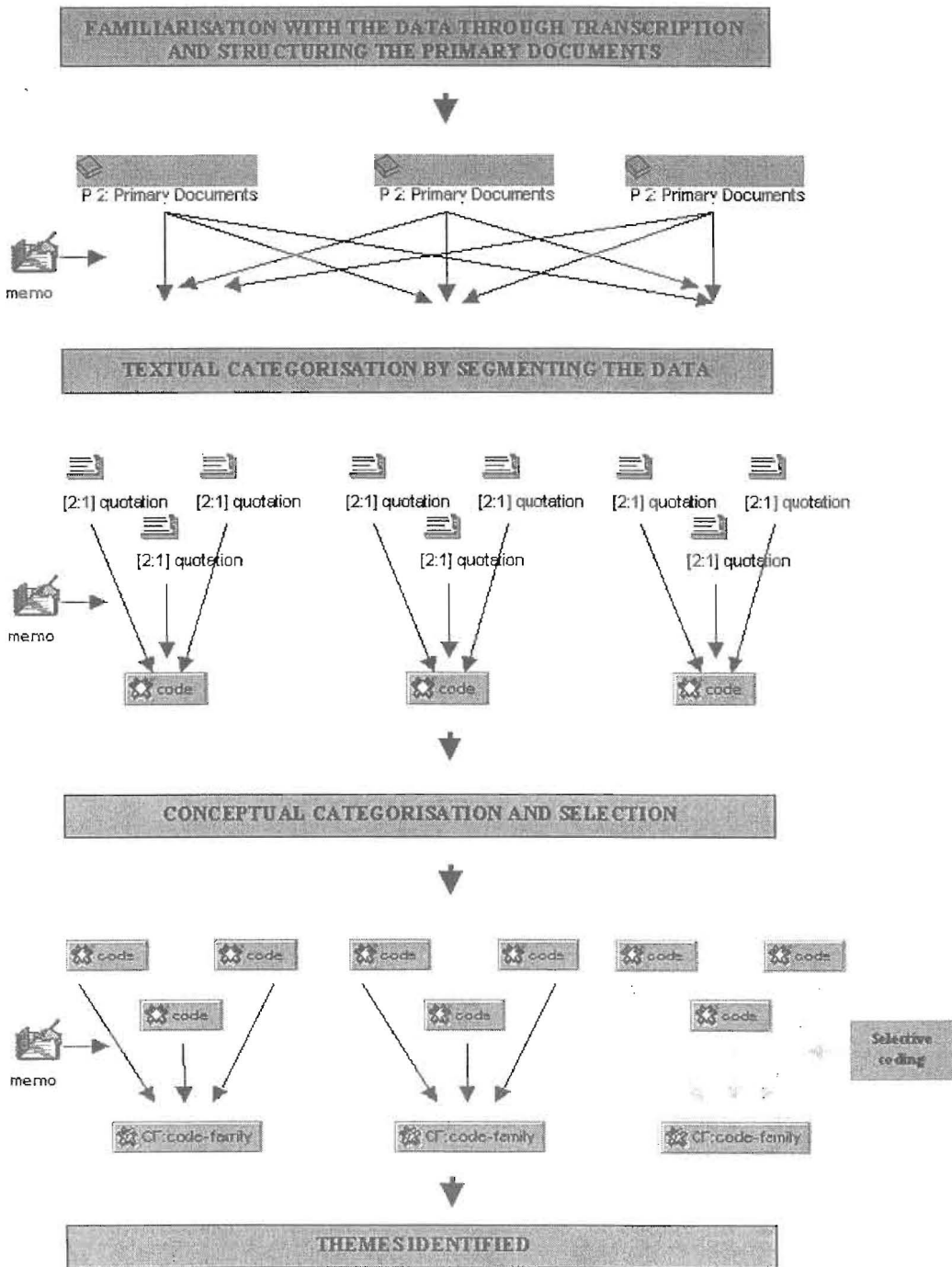


Figure 5.4. Computer-assisted Grounded Theory analysis process

First, and beginning at the textual level, the analysis commenced with a familiarisation with the data and the informants through the verbatim transcription process. Second, this awareness allowed the investigator to structure the data set in a meaningful fashion. That is to say, the researcher divided the large corpus of data into a small number of separate and manageable primary documents (i.e., a file for each respondent). Third, these primary documents were loaded on to Atlas/ti from the word processor. Fourth, since the data on the solitary travellers and group tourists were to be analysed separately, two independent hermeneutic units, constituted by their respective primary documents, were created for each of them, thereby permitting a “line-by-line” analysis, defined by Strauss and Corbin (1998, p. 58) as the “minute examination and interpretation of the data”. Fifth, the investigator began reading each of the primary documents in the two Hermeneutic Units in accordance with the respective research questions.

While scrutinising these primary documents (data files), as Glaser (1992) and Punch (1998) suggest, the researcher continually asked ‘What concept does this piece of empirical data (text segment) indicate?’ in order to locate the relevant information-rich text segments. The analyst subsequently marked these passages and assigned them appropriate codes. This procedure is known as ‘open coding’ in Grounded Theory, described by Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 61), as “the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualising and categorising data”.

However, the open coding procedure was not the same as simple indexing since, as the sixth step, the researcher created and assigned memos (e.g., insights) to the relevant codes, thereby making the coding procedure more in-depth and theoretical. Memoing was used as a means of preserving emerging hypotheses, analytical schemes, hunches and abstractions. As suggested by Stern (1980), the ideas that occurred to the researcher at certain points during the data coding process were simultaneously entered in Atlas/ti. In such a manner, memory loss could be avoided and subsequent retrieval in the write-up stage of the thesis was considerably facilitated.

Entering the conceptual level and having established a long list of codes at the initial stage of the analysis, the seventh step was to group these codes (also referred to as “abstracting”) into code families (i.e., more comprehensive categories). Eighth, as the quantum of main categories was reduced to a manageable size, the researcher started building relationships between these categories. This procedure is referred to as “axial” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) or “theoretical” coding (Glaser, 1978) in Grounded Theory. Axial coding means putting the data back together in new ways by making connections between a category and its sub-categories (Dey, 1999). The nature of each association was then defined in and illustrated through networks (graphical displays) (see data analysis in chapters 6 and 7). This phase is known as the “theory building stage” or “selective coding”. Selective coding reduces the data further into a core category which the researcher has to justify as the basis for the emergent theory (Goulding, 1997).

Codes and categories were continuously created until a saturation point was reached where no new information (codes or categories) emerged from the data (Creswell, 1998), that is to say, at the stage when the conceptual categories became repetitive. This principle is referred to by Grounded Theorists as “theoretical saturation”. Here ‘saturation means that no additional data are being found whereby the sociologist can develop the properties of the category’ (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 61). In this study it indicates that theoretical sampling continued until theoretical saturation was attained.

In addition to the analytical process, and given that statistical treatments can also be used in qualitative research, some tests (frequencies and cross-tabulations) were carried out during the analysis. Here the analyst used any information that was grounded in the data (including statistical patterns), to reinforce evolving theory.

Finally, while writing the report, the researcher easily located and then imported any information-rich text segments (after comparing, for instance, all quotations

assigned to a code), memos, or networks created during the analysis, from Atlas/ti to the word processor. This procedure enabled him to provide “thick descriptions” of the ideas explained (Gaskell and Bauer, 2000).

Since the entire analytical process was primarily inductive in nature, the literature used at the beginning of the study was only there to help the investigator develop some initial broad research questions. However, at the final stage, as also depicted in figure 5.1, the literature was utilized to a far greater extent in order to facilitate a comparison between the newly evolving “theories” and pre-existing theories.

In this chapter, and as suggested by Miles (1979) and Miles and Huberman (1994), the procedures employed in the current investigation have been outlined and justified within a framework (figure 5.1) that contained the three interlinked main stages of this study (research design, data collection and data analysis). First, details of the activities (e.g., literature review, research questions etc.) were provided. Second, data collection issues (e.g., methods, sampling, etc.) were discussed. Finally, the analytical procedures were explained in accordance with the computer-assisted Grounded Theory process used in the study. It now remains to see how these research procedures were put into practice in the two chapters on data analysis that follow.

CHAPTER 6

THE SOLITARY TRAVELLER

Since the main aim of the study was to investigate separately the solitary traveller and the group tourist before making a comparison between them, it was considered appropriate to present the findings on each in three chapters, that would constitute the “analysis and interpretation” of the thesis. The present chapter contains the data on the solitary traveller, while chapters seven and eight respectively focus on the group tourist and the comparison between the solitary traveller and the group tourist.

In order to accomplish the primary aim of the study (Why People Travel On Their Own?), several objectives (sub-aims) were established to be able to answer this question holistically. These objectives were: to construct socioeconomic and demographic profiles, to obtain data on trip features and to gather information on the psychographics of the solitary traveller. This chapter presents the findings on the factors that influence solo travel and the reasons why people travel alone. The factors are the conditions or circumstances which dispose such travel, and include demographics, trip features and psychographics. The reasons are the justifications which these people themselves articulate for undertaking this type of travel. When doing so, it also presents the findings on demographics, trip characteristics, and psychographics of the solitary traveller by explaining their relationships (i.e., whether or not any of these variables has any influence on the reasons why people travel alone) with respect to the study’s main question.

The central aim of a Grounded Theory study is to develop or generate a theory about the phenomenon being analysed. As Creswell (1998) suggests, in Grounded Theory studies, a theory can be put forward by employing three different styles: 1) the theory is articulated towards the end of the study and tends to assume the form of a narrative statement, 2) visual picture, or 3) a series of hypotheses or

propositions. In this chapter, both the first and the third styles have been adopted in the analysis and interpretation of the data. Having first provided a detailed account of demographics, trip variables and psychographics of the solitary traveller, the factors that influence the reasons why people travel solo are presented in narrative form. The chapter ends with an inductive model depicting the relationship between the factors and reasons.

SECTION I - THE WHO, WHEN, WHERE, AND HOW OF THE SOLITARY TRAVELLER

There is general consensus (Keng and Cheng, 1999; Mazanec, 1995; Mo et al., 1993; Morrison et al., 1994) that in order to fully comprehend people's travel behaviour (e.g., travel style) one needs information on demographics, trip variables and psychographics – the very purpose of this section. This information will contribute to a better understanding of the subsequent section (why people travel alone) which is interrelated with the current section.

6.1. Socioeconomic and demographics of the solitary traveller

Socioeconomic and demographic variables should be included in any social segmentation system (Kahle et al., 1986). In accordance with the research problem and as suggested by Cooper et al. (1993), a modified version of the socioeconomic variable list was adopted by this study. It included: age, gender, education, occupation, family composition (marital status), country of residence and language ability. These data provide invaluable information as to who the solitary is, as well as supplying background information for understanding some of the factors/reasons that may lead a person to travel solo.

Table 6.1 supplies the socioeconomic and demographics of the informants, each of whom was given a fictitious name in order to preserve the offered anonymity guarantee.

Gender. The data were collected following the “theoretical sampling” principle of Grounded Theory. That is to say, the data gathering was driven by the need to further elaborate the emerging theory, rather than according to pre-determined *a priori* criteria (e.g., demographic characteristics such as age, marital status, gender (Glaser, 1978)). Taking this into consideration, although gender was initially not a data collection criterion, the study actually contains data from an almost equal number of informants from both sexes, twenty-four females and twenty-eight males.

Age. Although not initially, during the course of data gathering age was included as one of the criteria for collecting further data. The aim was to try to locate and gain information from those above thirty years of age in order to make necessary comparisons between them and the younger travellers. As can be seen in table 6.1, more than half of the informants (thirty-two) were under the age of thirty, while a considerable number of travellers (seventeen) were between thirty and fifty years, and only a few (three) were over fifty years of age. The findings from this study are therefore consistent with the existing literature (Hsieh et al., 1993; Morrison et al., 1994) on independent travellers, to the extent that non-institutionalised solo travelling seems to be preferred mostly by younger people.

Marital Status. As empirically demonstrated elsewhere (Morrison et al., 1994), marital status affects travel style. Interestingly, in this study almost all of the informants (forty-three) were single; additionally one was just separated and one was divorced. Only, a few of them (seven) were in a permanent relationship at the time and of these just one was married. Whether this variable has any influence on solo travel choice is an issue to be looked into in the second main section of this chapter.

Table 6.1. Socioeconomic and demographics of the solitary traveller

Fictitious Name	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Occupation	University Education	Education Topic	Language Ability	Country of residence
1. Alan	Male	23	Single	To start working	4 years	Law	French/German	United Kingdom
2. Karl	Male	37	Single	Self-employed	Not finished	Chemistry	English	Germany
3. John	Male	66	Married	Retired	-	-	French	United Kingdom
4. Angelo	Male	35	Single	Professional waiter	2 years	Marketing	-	United States
5. Heidi	Female	22	Single	Student	3 years	Nutrition	English/French/Swedish	Germany
6. Stuart	Male	35	Single	None (on leave)	Open-university	Art	French/German	United Kingdom
7. Beate	Female	25	Single	Student	3 years	Social work	English/French/Swedish	Germany
8. Alexander	Male	40	Separated	Doctor (medical)	6 years	Medicine	English/French	Germany
9. Celine	Female	26	Single	Human Resource	5 years	Human Resource	-	New Zealand
10. Sophie	Female	27	Boyfriend	None (quit)	3 years	Psycho-education	English	Canada (French)
11. Margrethe	Female	24	Single	Student	2 years	Art	English/German/French	Netherlands
12. Mike	Male	19	Single	Student	Starting	Geography	French	United Kingdom
13. Robert	Male	28	Single	None (quit)	3 years	Marketing	Spanish	United States
14. Thomas	Male	25	Single	None (quit)	3 years	History	Spanish	United States
15. Melanie	Female	21	Boyfriend	None (quit)	3 years	Design	-	Australia
16. Dennis	Male	62	Single	Retired	3 years	Accountancy	Swedish	United Kingdom
17. Sharon	Female	37	Single	Doctor (medical)	6 years	Medicine	Swedish/French	New Zealand
18. Andrea	Female	27	Single	Physiotherapist	4 years	Physiotherapy	French/English/Italian	Switzerland
19. Martha	Female	20	Boyfriend	Student	2 years	Public policy	German/French	Netherlands
20. Elisa	Female	26	Boyfriend	To start working	4 years	Physiotherapy	French/English	Switzerland
21. Samantha	Female	25	Single	None (quit)	High school	-	French/Norwegian	Canada
22. Paul	Male	29	Single	Computer assistant	3 years	Electronics	French/English	Belgium
23. Nakata	Male	40	Single	Doctor (teaching)	10 years	Education	English/Chinese/French/ Korean	Japan
24. Brian	Male	57	Divorced	Retired	4 years	Education	German	United Kingdom

25. Andrew	Male	32	Single	None (quit)	7 years	Computer	Spanish	United States
26. Ian	Male	40	Single	Social worker	4 years	Sociology	French/Spanish	United Kingdom
27. Diane	Female	24	Single	Student	7 years	Law	French	Australia
28. Jonas	Male	27	Single	To start working	5 years	Economics	English/Spanish	Germany
29. Marie	Female	29	Single	Doctor (medical)	9 years	Medicine	English/French	Germany
30. Simon	Male	24	Single	Student	Starting	Philosophy	English	Israel
31. Claudia	Female	24	Single	Physiotherapist	3 years	Physiotherapy	English	Italy
32. Kevin	Male	36	Girlfriend	None (quit)	3 years	Leisure & Tourism	Polish	United Kingdom
33. Tim	Male	30	Single	Computer consultant	3 years	Information Tech.	English/French	Germany
34. James	Male	40	Single	None (on leave)	3 years	Engineering	-	Canada
35. Angela	Female	25	Single	None (quit)	4 years	Journalism	English/Spanish	Brazil
36. Lucy	Female	24	Single	Student	3 years	Art	English	Israel
37. Susan	Female	26	Girlfriend	None (quit)	8 years	History	English	Argentina
38. Jan	Male	34	Single	Electrician	High school	-	English/Norwegian	Germany
39. Marrku	Male	32	Single	Telecommunication	5 years	Elec. Engineering	English/Spanish/Swedish/ German	Finland
40. Emma	Female	30	Single	Pharmacist	4 years	Pharmacy	Hindi	Australia
41. Nicky	Male	25	Single	Student	Continuing	Operation Manag.	-	Australia
42. Judith	Female	22	Single	None (quit)	3 years	Sport Sciences	German/Japanese	Australia
43. Anna	Female	25	Single	Textile designer	5 years	Textile engineering	English/French/Finnish	Germany
44. Mark	Male	29	Single	Accountant	5 years	Business Admin.	-	Australia
45. Chang	Female	31	Single	None (quit)	4 years	Engineering	English/Chinese	Hong Kong
46. Alberto	Male	42	Single	School Administrator	5 years	Administration	English/French	Italy
47. Kate	Female	26	Single	Physiotherapist	4 years	Physiotherapy	-	Australia
48. Julia	Female	23	Single	Student	Starting	Horse-training	English/French/Icelandic	Germany
49. Richard	Male	35	Single	None (quit)	3 years	International studies	French/Spanish	United Kingdom
50. Michael	Male	24	Single	To start working	4 years	Mechanical engineer	English	Switzerland
51. Daniel	Male	25	Single	Chimney cleaner	High school	-	English	Germany
52. Sarah	Female	28	Single	Translator	4 years	Translation	English/French/Swedish	Germany

Occupation. As far as occupation is concerned, 21 of the informants had permanent jobs (that could be categorised as professional/technical), and 14 were unemployed at the time of travelling. However, some of the latter had quit their permanent jobs in order to have sufficient time to travel, while a considerable number could be classified as working-travellers (doing temporary jobs in different countries to finance their travels). Furthermore, four informants were planning on starting new jobs just after their trips, three were retired, and 10 were still studying or were going back to study.

Education. Education has also been identified as one of the factors having an impact on travel choice (Beatty et al., 1985). Thus, it was considered worthwhile to look into levels of education of the informants to gain more knowledge about the solitary traveller. Amazingly but hardly surprisingly, almost all of the informants (forty-eight) were either graduates, going to study/studying part/full time for a university degree while only a few (4) had lower schooling (secondary or high school). Those with university education had degrees ranging from the Bachelor to Doctoral level. Degree topics were more or less equally divided between the natural- and social- sciences.

Language ability. As several scholars (e.g., Evans and Stabler, 1995) have pointed out, linguistic skills influence style of travel. As most of the informants had higher education, it is not that surprising that apart from only seven (whose mother tongue was English) many possessed fluency in different languages. Indeed, exactly half of them (twenty-six) were multi-lingual, having a good command of two to four foreign languages, and some (seven) of these could speak a Scandinavian language (Norwegian or Swedish).

Country of residence. Like the other demographic variables, country of residence was not initially used as a data gathering criterion. However, the study included a large variety of different nationalities (sixteen). The informants were from Germany (twelve), United Kingdom (nine), Australia (seven), United States (four), Canada (three), Switzerland (three), Israel (two), Italy (two), Netherlands

(two), New Zealand (two), and one from each of the following countries: Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Finland, Hong Kong and Japan. Since nearly half of the informants were from countries outside Europe, they could thus be considered long-haul, multi-destination travellers.

6.2. Trip characteristics of the solitary traveller

Besides socioeconomic and demographics, trip characteristics are also included by tourism scholars (Keng and Cheng, 1999; Sheldon and Mak, 1987) when studying different types of travellers. Various trip variables can be found in tourism research (Morrison et al., 1994). Again, a modified set of general trip characteristics was adopted (size of travel party, information sources, nature of trip, length of trip, trip destination choice, mode of transportation, type of accommodation) suggested by Cooper et al. (1993) and Morrison et al. (1994). Additional variables (travel arrangements, past travel experience, travel planning, future travel patterns) were included for their relevance to the research problem.

Table 6.2 gives a detailed account of the general trip characteristics of the informants, while the remaining variables are subsequently presented in the form of explanations. Since all of the informants were travelling alone, the size of travel party was irrelevant.

Information sources. Information sources used by travellers form the basis for trip planning (McIntosh and Goeldner, 1986). Information searching takes place at different stages (mainly pre- and on trip) and for different purposes (e.g., booking, education) during a trip. The aim here is to provide the information sources employed by the informants, which may give further insight into the behaviour of the solitary traveller. All the information sources used by the informants are shown in table 6.2. For the sake of simplicity, they are summarised as information gained pre-trip and on-trip. The former includes guidebooks, library books, travel agencies, Internet, national tourist boards, travel exhibitions, past experience, friends and well-travelled people. The latter comprises local people, information offices and fellow travellers.

Table 6.2. Trip characteristics of the solitary traveller

Fictitious Name	Information sources	Nature of trip	Length of trip	Number of destinations	Mode of transportation	Type of accommodation
1) Alan	Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, Books, Internet	Only travelling	Two weeks	Single	Plane	Hostel
2) Karl	Books, Travel Exhibition	Only travelling	Two weeks	Single	Train	Hostel/Tent
3) John	Well-travelled people, Norwegian Tourist Office	Only travelling	Three weeks	Single	Ferry	Hostel/Hotel
4) Angelo	Norwegian Tourist Office, Hostel Guide, Michelin guide	Only travelling	Three weeks	Multiple	Plane	Hostel
5) Heidi	Information offices, Friends	Studying travelling	Three weeks	Single	Train	Hostel
6) Stuart	Thomas Cook Guidebook, Lonely Planet, Internet	Only travelling	One month	Multiple	Ferry	Hostel/Hotel
7) Beate	Information offices	Studying travelling	One month	Single	Train	Hostel
8) Alexander	Du Mont Guidebook, Hearing from people	Only travelling	Two weeks	Single	Plane	Hostel
9) Celine	Lonely Planet, Information Offices, Locals	Working travelling	Two months	Multiple	Train	Hostel
10) Sophie	Internet, Lonely Planet	Only travelling	Three weeks	Single	Plane	Hostel
11) Margrethe	Internet, Library back home, Well-travelled people	Only travelling	Three weeks	Multiple	Train	Hostel
12) Mike	Internet, Friends	Working-travelling	One year	Multiple	Ferry	Hostel/Tent
13) Robert	Lonely Planet, Internet	Only travelling	Five months	Multiple	Train	Hostel/Hotel
14) Thomas	Rough Guide, Lonely Planet, Internet, Norwegian Tourist Office, Travellers, Information Offices	Only travelling	Seven weeks	Multiple	Plane	Hostel/Tent
15) Melanie	Lonely Planet, Internet	Working-travelling	Two months	Multiple	Plane	Hostel
16) Dennis	Internet	Only travelling	Ten days	Single	Train	Hostel/Tent
17) Sharon	Friends, Internet	Working-travelling	1 ½ years	Multiple	Train	Hostel
18) Andrea	Internet, Friends, Global Tours	Only travelling	Three weeks	Single	Plane	Hostel
19) Martha	Lonely Planet, Information Offices, Internet	Working-travelling	Ten weeks	Single	Ferry	Hostel
20) Elisa	"know how" guidebook	Only travelling	Two months	Multiple	Train	Hostel
21) Samantha	Internet, Norwegian Tourist Office	Only travelling	Eleven months	Multiple	Plane	Hostel
22) Paul	Internet, Travel Agency	Only travelling	Three weeks	Multiple	Own car	Hostel
23) Nakata	Norwegian Tourist Office, Lonely Planet, Internet	Only travelling	Six weeks	Multiple	Train	Hostel
24) Brian	Friends, Rough Guide, Internet	Only travelling	Six weeks	Multiple	Ferry	Hostel

25) Andrew	Internet, Guidebook	Only travelling	Three months	Multiple	Train	Hostel
26) Jan	Previous stays, Internet	Only travelling	Two weeks	Single	Plane	Hostel/Tent
27) Diane	Lonely Planet	Studying-travelling	Four months	Multiple	Ferry	Hostel
28) Jonas	Lonely Planet, Internet	Only travelling	Two months	Multiple	Train	Hostel/Tent
29) Marie	Internet, Norwegian Tourist Office, Guidebook	Only travelling	One month	Single	Ferry	Hostel
30) Simon	Internet, Lonely Planet	Only travelling	Five months	Multiple	Train	Hostel
31) Claudia	Internet	Only travelling	One month	Multiple	Bus	Hostel
32) Kevin	Guidebook, Information Offices	Only travelling	Four months	Multiple	Train	Hostel
33) Tim	Books, Internet, Friends, Travellers	Only travelling	Three weeks	Multiple	Ferry	Hostel
34) James	Lonely Planet, Internet	Working-travelling	Five weeks	Single	Train	Hostel/Tent
35) Angela	Internet, Books	Studying-travelling	Ten months	Multiple	Motorbike	Hostel
36) Lucy	Internet	Only travelling	Six months	Multiple	Plane	Hostel
37) Susan	Lonely Planet, Internet, Books	Only travelling	Six months	Multiple	Plane	Hostel
38) Jan	Internet, Norwegian Tourist Offices	Only travelling	One month	Single	Train	Hostel
39) Marrku	Internet	Only travelling	One month	Single	Ferry	Hostel/Tent
40) Emma	Norwegian Tourist Office, Lonely Planet	Only travelling	Three weeks	Single	Bike	Hostel
41) Nicky	Lonely Planet, Internet	Working-travelling	Six weeks	Multiple	Plane	Hostel
42) Judith	Lonely Planet, Travellers, Information Offices	Working-travelling	One year	Multiple	Train	Hostel
43) Anna	Norwegian Tourist Office, Internet, Guidebook	Only travelling	Three weeks	Single	Plane	Hostel
44) Mark	Lonely Planet, Information Offices, Travellers	Working-travelling	Two years	Multiple	Plane	Hostel
45) Chang	Internet, Lonely Planet	Only travelling	Three weeks	Multiple	Bus	Hostel
46) Alberto	Internet, Rough Guide	Only travelling	Two weeks	Single	Plane	Hostel
47) Kate	Lonely Planet, Internet	Working-travelling	1 ½ years	Multiple	Plane	Hostel
48) Julia	Lonely Planet, Friends, Travellers, Internet	Only travelling	Five weeks	Single	Plane	Hostel/Tent
49) Richard	Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, Friends, Internet, Well-travelled people	Only travelling	Two years	Multiple	Ferry	Hostel
50) Michael	Travellers, Lonely Planet	Only travelling	Three weeks	Multiple	Ferry	Hostel/Tent
51) Daniel	Guidebook, Locals, Travellers	Only travelling	Six weeks	Single	Train	Hostel
52) Sarah	Lonely Planet, Internet	Only travelling	Two weeks	Single	Train	Hostel

However, in spite of this largely varied list of information sources, guidebooks and the Internet were the main sources used by most of the informants. The extensive use of the Internet may be related to the high educational level of the informants and the fact that they were young. It is quite consistent with studies (Kiel and Layton, 1981) that have explored linkages between information search activity and consumer characteristics. Furthermore, it should be noted that the Internet rather than guidebooks was more often employed for booking purposes. Although several types of guidebooks were mentioned, Lonely Planet was interestingly the one used by most of the informants in planning their trips. The national tourist boards of visited countries were also heavily used, particularly by long-distance travellers. Since most of these travellers had not wished to plan their travel prior to the trip, they also made frequent use of information offices at the destination as well as consulting locals and fellow travellers.

Nature of trip (trip type). Trip type is another factor which influences travel style. For the purpose of this study, trip type was classified as working-travelling, studying-travelling and only-travelling. Working-travelling informants were those who worked in one or more countries to finance their planned trips, while studying-travelling individuals were students living in a foreign country from where they travelled to different destinations. Finally, only-travellers journeyed directly from their home country without being involved in any work or study during the trip. As depicted in table 6.2, most of the informants (thirty-eight) were travelling mainly for pleasure purposes (i.e., only travelling). The remaining group (fourteen) comprised working-travelling (ten) and studying-travellers (four) individuals. Working-travellers usually stay in a specific country, which they use as a base for their travels, for a short period of time such as a year or two, undertaking either temporary casual work or permanent professional jobs. As might be expected, working-travellers and studying-travellers usually travel for a longer period than only-travellers.

Length of trip. This is another important trip characteristic and can be used as a segmentation criterion in a study of travellers. For instance, Hiseh et al. (1994)

have found that independent travellers take longer trips than package travellers. This assumption is supported also by the present research as duration of trip varied between ten days and two years. Only 19 of the entire group were travelling for less than three weeks, and a further 19 were on trips for periods between one and three months. Eight of them undertook more extensive travel for more than three months up to eleven months, and the remaining six had the longest trip duration of between a year and two years.

Number of destinations. Depending on the benefits sought from a trip people choose between single and multiple destinations (Lue et al., 1993). As this association implies possible effects of destination choice on travel behaviour, it is necessary to examine the solitary traveller in terms of the number of destinations visited. As can be seen in table 6.2, more than half (thirty-two) of the informants were multi-destination travellers, while the rest (twenty) were travelling to a single destination – in this case, Norway.

Mode of transportation. Cooper et al. (1993) claim that the relationship between transportation and tourism is a vital aspect of tourism studies. Transportation can be defined as “the means to reach the destination and also the means of movement at the destination” (Burkart and Medlik, 1981, p. 47). Table 6.2 presents only the former, i.e., the primary transportation mode used to reach Norway. Here nineteen had travelled by rail, seventeen had used a plane and eleven had chosen ferry. As these three were the main trip’s transportation there were only few remaining who had travelled by other means: one by car, two by bus, one by bicycle and one by motorbike. When asked about the reasons for choosing each of these transportation modes, one of the common replies (regardless of the means) was “relaxing”. This answer may also imply a possible linkage between transportation mode and benefits sought.

Type of accommodation. As Cooper et al. (1993) suggest, accommodation is the psychological base for travellers during their stay away. Loker-Murphy and Pearce (1995) have found that independent travellers (e.g., backpackers) use

mostly inexpensive accommodation like youth hostels. This finding, too, suggests that use of accommodation can segment different kinds of travellers. Not surprisingly, as can be observed in table 6.2, all of the solitary travellers had used primarily youth hostels as their accommodation, while some of them had also made use of tents when necessary or convenient. Only three had stayed at hotels, not so much out of preference, but rather for practical reasons (e.g., a fully-booked youth hostel). When asked about the reasons why they preferred youth hostels as their accommodation, the responses centred around three main themes: first, that it was the cheapest option, second that they could meet people, particularly like-minded fellow travellers, and finally that youth hostels functioned as information centres. This finding supports Murphy's (2001) contention that for independent travellers (e.g., budget travellers) social interaction is one of their main reasons for travelling. If he is correct, there may also be a relationship between the type of accommodation chosen and the benefits sought from a trip.

Having presented the general trip characteristics in a quantitative format (as shown in table 6.2), the next step is to explain the remaining research problem related travel characteristics, which will also be treated in section 6.4 where the reasons why people travel alone are discussed.

Travel arrangements. Travel arrangements have often been used as a criterion to distinguish between various types of travellers. For instance, Sheldon and Mak (1987, p. 13) define a package tourist, and Murphy (2001, p. 51) describes a backpacker in terms of travel arrangements. The data obtained in this study indicated that the solitary traveller was a type of traveller who made his/her arrangements on his/her own and directly with the establishment in question (e.g., accommodation, attraction) as none of them had used intermediaries for any other purpose than arranging primary transportation. As the respondents pointed out, they found arranging their travel independently to be more adventurous and flexible.

Travel planning. Poon (1993) claims that the “new tourist” is more spontaneous than the traditional tourist, with a lower level of vacation planning. Hyde (2000a) suggests that independent travellers purposively avoid planning because flexibility of action and encountering the unknown are the hedonic experiences they seek when they choose independent travel. This linkage also applied to the solitary traveller in the current investigation as most of them had not undertaken any strict planning at all. As Angelo typically remarked:

The only thing that I planned was the airline. Now when you get to the airline.. that has a specific time for specific place.. that is the only time that I am basically stuck to a certain time. Once I am in Europe I go to whichever town has a hostel and I get there and I hope they have a room. And they usually have a room. So it could be a 2 hour train ride or 10 hour train ride depending on when I want to get off the train. Or it can be some place I never even heard of, if I looked outside and it is beautiful and it has a hostel I will get off.

However, some of them had booked their accommodation and planned their travel route beforehand on account of the short time available to them. Yet even this segment of travellers did not travel according to a strict plan in sub-destinations (particularly when they were visiting attractions or undertaking other activities).

Past travel experience. Several authors (e.g., Mazursky, 1989) have pointed out the linkage between past experience and travel behaviour (e.g., repeat vacation). Two aspects of past experience were found relevant for this study: past travel experience and past solo travel experience. As far as the former was concerned, all of the informants had travelled considerably, whereas not many of them had experienced solo travelling before.

Future travel patterns. The discussion above also implies that the present travel experience of solo travelling might have effects on future travel style and behaviour. When asked about how they would travel in the future, a common answer was that they would prefer travelling both alone and with others, while

only one person said he would travel alone and five emphasised that they definitely would travel with others.

6.3 Psychographics of the solitary traveller

Although socio-demographics and travel characteristics can provide an understanding of various types of tourists (Hsieh et al., 1993), they still fall short in explaining why people travel and/or select specific travel modes. Therefore, psychographic variables are important to explore. However, as Plog (1994) notes, there are no standard or universally accepted psychographic categories for defining people. Despite this situation, according to the research problem, a list of psychographics for the study was derived from the existing social psychological literature in tourism (e.g., Madrigal, 1995; Mazanec, 1995; Morrison et al., 1994). This list included travel motives, benefits sought, personal values, personality, travel philosophy and travel product preferences.

For practical reasons the above variables are presented in separate tables: first, table 6.3 and 6.4 showing the respective travel motives and the benefits sought for each informant. Second, personal values and personality dimensions are presented in table 6.5, and table 6.6 includes the travel product preferences (activities and attractions) of the entire group. Finally, this main section ends with a discussion on the travel philosophy of the solitary traveller.

Travel motives. Although examining *general* travel motives of the informants was not the main issue of this research, *specific* “push” factors (see Dann, 1977) were however investigated in relation to solo travel, since motives are one of the variables which contribute to explaining travel behaviour (Crompton, 1979). The aim here then was to discover and classify the main motives of the solitary travellers. Table 6.3 provides a detailed account of the travel motives of each informant. Nine main motives emerged from the interpretation and categorisation of the data: Education/Learning, Escape/Freedom, Lifestyle, Novelty/Curiosity, Personal development, Prestige, Self-testing, Social interaction and Relaxation. Each of these main categories comprised several concepts (motives). As can be

seen, the most common motive for the solitary travellers was “Novelty/Curiosity” followed in importance by “Personal Development”. Subsequently, “Escape/Freedom” and “Social Interaction” played significant roles for some of them. When these comprehensive motives were evaluated on the “anomie and ego-enhancement” scale of Dann (1977) the solitary traveller appeared to be equally motivated by the factors of Novelty/Curiosity and Personal Development, respectively stemming from anomie and ego-enhancement. For most of the informants *Novelty/Curiosity* was expressed as a need, or as Alan put it: to see different places, different people, and experience different cultures. Being a curious and adventurous type of person was also a crucial factor. As Ian explained:

Adventure is very important, for me, a package holiday to, I don't know, Mediterranean or something has no interest at all because there is no real adventure or challenge...normally there must be some challenge and some unpredictable things and.....yeah independence. Travel is important rather than everything being organised in advance.

On the other hand, *Personal Development* included concepts like an investment in oneself, personal satisfaction and personal interest. The fact that travel was considered to broaden the mind was seen as a personal benefit, as clarified by Richard:

I think the old cliché that travel broadens the mind and I think it's true....the things that you haven't thought about before or angles of approaching things before...you might have studied something in great in-depth in a textbook but still there is angles that people will come along with and thinking, makes you think, oh yes! My knowledge wasn't quite as comprehensive as I thought it was.

Table 6.3. Travel motives of the solitary traveller

Fictitious Name		Education/ Learning	Escape/ Freedom	Lifestyle	Novelty/ Curiosity	Personal Development	Prestige	Self-testing	Social Interaction	Relaxation	Other
	Count	14	18	8	37	20	9	3	18	3	5
1.	Alan	X	X		X	X	X				
2.	Karl		X			X					
3.	John	X			X				X		
4.	Angelo		X	X	X	X			X		
5.	Heidi	X	X			X		X	X		
6.	Stuart		X		X	X	X				
7.	Beate				X					X	
8.	Alexander		X		X	X	X			X	
9.	Celine	X							X		X
10.	Sophie			X							
11.	Margrethe		X		X	X					
12.	Mike	X	X			X					
13.	Robert	X		X	X				X		
14.	Thomas						X		X		
15.	Melanie				X						
16.	Dennis										X
17.	Sharon		X		X	X					
18.	Andrea				X	X					
19.	Martha		X		X	X			X		X
20.	Elisa				X				X		
21.	Samantha				X						X
22.	Paul		X	X	X	X					
23.	Nakata		X			X					

24. Brian	2	X			X							X
25. Andrew	2			X	X							
26. Ian	1				X							
27. Diane	1				X							
28. Jonas	2	X			X							
29. Marie	1				X							
30. Simon	1	X										
31. Claudia	1						X					
32. Kevin	3	X			X					X		
33. Tim	2						X			X		
34. James	3	X			X					X		
35. Angela	4	X			X		X			X		
36. Lucy	1			X								
37. Susan	3		X		X	X	X					
38. Jan	1				X							
39. Marko	2				X					X		
40. Emma	1				X							
41. Nicky	1					X						
42. Judith	4	X	X	X	X	X				X		
43. Anna	1										X	
44. Mark	4		X		X	X				X		
45. Chang	1				X							
46. Alberto	3		X		X	X						
47. Kate	2				X			X				
48. Julia	3			X	X			X				
49. Richard	3	X						X		X		
50. Michael	2				X					X		
51. Daniel	3		X		X	X						
52. Sarah	4		X		X	X				X		

Travel benefits/reasons. As travel benefits/reasons are related to the present trip, and thus more specific, they are anticipated to provide additional insights into the reasons for solo travelling as opposed to the general travel motives of the foregoing sub-section. Thus, the trip benefits/reasons are presented in a more precise format in order to clearly show each of these factors' possible linkages with solo travel style in the subsequent main section. Table 6.4 provides all of the trip reasons for each informant. Although the aim here is not to classify all the reasons into comprehensive abstract categories, anomie and ego-enhancement factors (push factors) did play an equally important role in taking the current trip. Additionally, there were also pull factors (e.g., to see midnight-sun, the Lofoten Islands or to learn a language) that constituted reasons for some of the informants' trips as well as few practical reasons (e.g., arrange the trip in a short time, closeness to the destination). As might be expected, there was consistency between general travel motives and specific trip benefits/reasons as some of the latter overlapped the former. Here factors like escape/freedom and personal development/pleasure were the most dominant considerations.

Personal values. Pitts and Woodside (1986) suggest that values are important in understanding travel behaviour. Several scholars (Madrigal, 1995; Madrigal and Kahle, 1994; McCleary and Choi, 1999; Pizam and Calantone, 1987; Zins, 1998) have explored the relationship between personal values and travel behaviour. However, all of these studies have applied quantitative methods. By contrast, the aim in the current qualitative investigation was to examine the solitary traveller based on Kahle's (1983) value system (List of Values), consisting of two clusters – internal and external values. For the purpose of this study, two values from each of these clusters were chosen: sense of accomplishment and self respect (individualistic values), and being well-respected and close companionship (collectivistic values). Table 6.5 presents the values considered as the most important principles in their ordinary life. As can be seen, and interestingly, most of the informants (thirty-eight) considered individualistic values to be the most important; relatively few (14) admitted that collectivistic values mattered to them. This finding suggests the following theoretical proposition: those who consider

Table 6.4. Travel benefits/reasons of the solitary traveller

Name	Trip benefits/reasons	Name	Trip benefits/reasons
1. Alan	Had the opportunity, to do something different, to get away from city	27. Diane	To visit Scandinavia
2. Karl	To relax	28. Jonas	Had the opportunity, I just wanted to go, to see different countries, to meet other people, to enjoy yourself, curiosity
3. John	Curiosity, personal satisfaction	29. Marie	To see the Lofoten
4. Angelo	First-hand experience, novelty	30. Simon	Had the opportunity, to clear my head
5. Heidi	To seek silence, to get away from city	31. Claudia	To see different countries, to meet other people
6. Stuart	To visit Scandinavia	32. Kevin	I love travelling, freedom, to visit Scandinavia, curiosity
7. Beate	To be alone, to be with nature, to meet other people	33. Tim	Practical reasons, I like Northern countries
8. Alexander	To have some silence, to walk, personal situation	34. James	Left my job, available, had the opportunity
9. Celine	Had the opportunity	35. Angela	Freedom, to learn to do things by myself, to learn language, didn't like my job, curiosity, to think about my life
10. Sophie	Left my job, to get away from city	36. Lucy	Freedom, to see something new, to meet other people, to think about my life
11. Margrethe	I just wanted to go	37. Susan	Curiosity
12. Mike	Had the opportunity	38. Jan	To visit friends and relatives, to see the country, to learn a language
13. Robert	To get away from work	39. Marrku	To get away from home, to get away from work, to meet other people
14. Thomas	To visit Europe again, to visit friends and relatives, to take a break from my social life	40. Emma	To see the country, to see the midnight sun, to see the fjords
15. Melanie	To get away from work, to see a completely different culture, to have some fun, to visit friends and relatives, to relax	41. Nicky	I've always wanted to come here
16. Dennis	To hike, practical reasons	42. Judith	Had the opportunity, independence, curiosity, to see different countries, to meet other people, to get away from the city
17. Sharon	For holiday, to see different countries, to see something new	43. Anna	To get away from work, to get out of normal life,
18. Andrea	To see a completely different culture, to see different countries, to meet other people, to engage in physical activities	44. Mark	To visit Scandinavia, to see something new, to meet other people, to see a completely different country
19. Martha	Quit studying, to get away from home, to see something new, to meet other people	45. Chang	To get away from work
20. Elisa	Wanted to be alone, to think about my life	46. Alberto	Cycling tour
21. Samantha	To visit friends and relatives, to visit Scandinavia	47. Kate	Had the opportunity, practical reasons
22. Paul	To visit Scandinavia, less mass tourism	48. Julia	To meet other people, I love travelling
23. Nakata	To hike, to see the Lofoten	49. Richard	Had the opportunity, to meet other people, to see different countries, self-testing
24. Brian	To cycle	50. Michael	Available time
25. Andrew	Had the opportunity, to visit Europe again, didn't like my job	51. Daniel	To hike, to learn about myself
26. Ian	To get away from exams, healthy break	52. Sarah	To see the Lofoten, available time

individualistic values important tend to prefer an independent type of travel (e.g., solo travel).

Personality Dimensions. As noted by Gountas and Gountas (2000), few scholars have studied the personal characteristics associated with travel behaviour. One exception to this observation is Madrigal (1995) who suggests that there is an indirect linkage between personality type and travel style. Even so, there are several ways of identifying personality types (e.g., social behavioural, cognitive).

For the purpose of this study, a simple approach was adopted. The informants were studied according to the traits of extroversion and introversion, which, as pointed out by Nickerson and Ellis (1991), are respectively similar to the allocentric and psychocentric types of Plog (1974). Table 6.5 presents a profile of each informant along such a dichotomy, one that was created by listening to their own definitions of themselves and their experiences. Here the majority (thirty-four) were closer to the extrovert end of extroversion-introversion continuum. This result suggests that those who were extrovert oriented (allocentric) preferred an independent type of travel (e.g., solo travel), a finding which is consistent with the literature (e.g., Plog, 1991).

Travel product preference. As Lang and O'Leary (1997) point out, by combining activity participation with benefits sought, the choice of destination can provide useful information for understanding different types of travellers. For the purpose of the current study, activity preferences and attractions visited comprising the travel product preference, were used to gain further insights about the solitary traveller. Table 6.6 reveals the primary activities of and attractions visited by each informant on their trip in Norway. Although they are interrelated (i.e., the former can be derived from the latter and vice versa) they are presented separately. As can be clearly seen, in spite of the fact that several informants spoke of different types of activities and attractions, outdoor activities (e.g., hiking) and natural attractions (e.g., nature and scenery) were their primary preferences.

Table 6.5. Personal values and personality dimensions of the solitary traveller

Fictitious Name	Personal Values				Personality Dimensions	
	Individualistic values		Collectivist values		Near Extrovert (allocentric)	Near Introvert (psychocentric)
	Sense of accomplishment	Self-respect	Close companionship	Being well-respected		
Count	13	25	11	3	34	18
1. Alan	X					X
2. Karl			X		X	
3. John		X			X	
4. Angelo		X			X	
5. Heidi		X				X
6. Stuart		X				X
7. Beate			X		X	
8. Alexander			X			X
9. Celine	X				X	
10. Sophie		X			X	
11. Margrethe		X				X
12. Mike			X		X	
13. Robert		X			X	
14. Thomas		X				X
15. Melanie	X				X	
16. Dennis			X			X
17. Sharon			X		X	
18. Andrea	X				X	
19. Martha			X		X	
20. Elisa		X			X	
21. Samantha		X			X	
22. Paul	X				X	
23. Nakata			X		X	
24. Brian			X		X	

25. Andrew		X				X
26. Ian		X			X	
27. Diane	X				X	
28. Jonas	X				X	
29. Marie		X				X
30. Simon	X				X	
31. Claudia		X			X	
32. Kevin	X					X
33. Tim		X			X	
34. James				X		X
35. Angela				X	X	
36. Lucy			X		X	
37. Susan		X			X	
38. Jan				X		X
39. Marrku	X					X
40. Emma	X				X	
41. Nicky	X					X
42. Judith		X			X	
43. Anna			X		X	
44. Mark	X					X
45. Chang		X			X	
46. Alberto		X			X	
47. Kate		X			X	
48. Julia		X				X
49. Richard		X			X	
50. Michael		X				X
51. Daniel		X			X	
52. Sarah		X				X

On the other hand, activities like rafting and cultural attractions were, in Leiper's (1990) terms, considered to be secondary or tertiary. As nearly all of the informants had chosen Norway as a destination on account of its natural beauty, this finding suggests that there is a linkage between travel motives and activity/attraction preference. Furthermore, it underlines the usefulness of examining the relationship between travel product preference and travel style (e.g., solitary travel).

Travel philosophy. This psychographic variable reflects attitudes to travel (i.e., why/how/where to travel). In this regard, Hsieh et al. (1994) have discovered that package travellers prefer to have matters arranged well in advance, whereas independent travellers enjoy making their own vacation arrangements as they go along. This association was also supported by the current study. Indeed, the informants were quite negative about package or group travel, as John, for instance, explained:

Travel broadens one's experience and personality. They say 'travel broadens the mind' and it must do. Well, it depends whether you are talking about travelling in a package group from the same town, same bus, staying at the same hotels. That does not broaden anything. But if you travel independently and you meet people, you try to talk to people and you observe how the people in that particular country do things. Then it does broaden your experience. If you give thought to how we do it at home, whether it could be improved or not if we follow their example. For example, until today I did not know that they dried fish and exported it to Italy. So yes, it broadens my mind to a certain extent.

Also several informants distanced themselves from package travelling by making remarks like 'it's not my thing', 'I can't imagine me in a group, travelling', 'I hate being organised by others', in spite of the fact that a considerable number of them still considered themselves to be tourists rather than travellers.

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Also several informants distanced themselves from package travelling by making remarks like 'it's not my thing', 'I can't imagine me in a group, travelling', 'I hate being organised by others', in spite of the fact that a considerable number of them still considered themselves to be tourists rather than travellers.

Table 6.6. Travel Product Preferences of the Solitary Traveller

Name	Travel Activities	Travel Attractions
1. Alan	Hiking, climbing	Flåm railway
2. Karl	Climbing	Nature, museums
3. John	Cycling, photographing, talking to people	Local village, museums
4. Angelo	Hiking, cycling	Flåm railway
5. Heidi	Hiking, cycling, boat excursion	Museums, nature, mountains
6. Stuart	Cycling, fishing	Art galleries, churches, museums, Flåm railway
7. Beate	Walking, fishing	Art galleries, museums
8. Alexander	Walking, talking to people	Landscape, Trollfjord
9. Celine	Walking, seeing everyday things	Flåm railway, art galleries, museums
10. Sophie	Hiking, cycling	Museums, mountains
11. Margrethe	Hiking, cycling	Nature, museums
12. Mike	Photographing, talking to people, cycling	Glacier, rock carvings, museum
13. Robert	Hiking, cycling	Nature, waterfalls, museums
14. Thomas	Hiking	Nature, museums
15. Melanie	Hiking	Scenery, cathedral, museums
16. Dennis	Hiking	Scenery
17. Sharon	Hiking, boat trip	Being in the Lofoten Islands
18. Andrea	Hiking, fishing	Museums
19. Martha	Hiking	Nature
20. Elisa	Hiking, boat trip	Museums, scenery
21. Samantha	Hiking, seeing everyday things	Nature, museums
22. Paul	Hiking	Nature
23. Nakata	Hiking	Historical sights, mountains
24. Brian	Cycling	Landscape
25. Andrew	Hiking, seeing everyday things	Museums

26. Ian	Hiking	Nature
27. Diane	Hiking, seeing everyday things	Scenery
28. Jonas	Hiking, tracking, seeing everyday things	Nature
29. Marie	Hiking, cycling, boat trip	Whale-watching,
30. Simon	Going out with travellers, hiking, boat trip	Museums, glaciers
31. Claudia	Seeing everyday things	Cities, museums
32. Kevin	Hiking	Scenery, cathedral, glaciers
33. Tim	Hiking	Museums
34. James	Hiking	Museums, waterfalls, glaciers
35. Angela	Hiking, cycling	Historical sights, museums
36. Lucy	Hiking	Northcape, festivals
37. Susan	Reading, hiking, tracking	Visit interesting places, cities
38. Jan	Hiking	Museums
39. Marrku	Hiking, cycling, seeing everyday things	Museums, nature
40. Emma	Hiking	Scenery, glaciers, waterfalls
41. Nicky	Hiking	Museums
42. Judith	Hiking, kayaking	Glaciers, cities
43. Anna	Hiking, seeing everyday things	Museums
44. Mark	Hiking, cycling, fishing, canoeing	Nature, mountains, tourist attractions
45. Chang	Hiking, rafting	Tourist attractions
46. Alberto	Hiking, cycling	Scenery
47. Kate	Hiking, boat trip	Scenery, museums
48. Julia	Hiking	Mountains, nature
49. Richard	Hiking	Visit interesting places
50. Michael	Hiking	Museums, being in the Lofoten Islands
51. Daniel	Hiking	Nature
52. Sarah	Hiking, seeing everyday things	Museums

More significantly, they preferred to make a distinction between holidaying and travelling. For them, package tours were “holidaying”, whereas the way they moved around was “travelling”, something far more genuine and adventurous. An interesting corollary is that the solitary traveller is an allocentric, who regards himself/herself as a traveller on account of the travel style chosen.

The foregoing section has endeavoured to answer the who, when, where and how of the solitary traveller by providing associated socioeconomic and demographic information, trip characteristics and psychographics. This task was conducted in a *descriptive* fashion since the aim here was merely to provide an overview. However, some of these data can be further linked to the reasons/factors that induce people travel alone, a matter treated in the following in terms of *explanation*.

SECTION II – THE WHY OF THE SOLITARY TRAVELLER

Fodness (1994) notes that the whole area of motivation and demand has been one of the least researched areas of tourism to date. Crompton (1979) indicates that, whereas it is possible to describe the “who”, “when”, “where” and “how” of tourism, together with the socio-economic profiles of tourists, it is far more difficult to answer the question “why”. As stated also by McIntosh et al. (2000), the “why” question has been expressed simply as ‘why do tourists travel?’, which is a very broad and thus, not a particularly enlightening research query. Instead, it is necessary to think of why certain groups of people prefer specific travel experiences (McIntosh et al., 2000). It is the aim of this main section to explain solo travel experiences and, more importantly, to discover the reasons why people travel on their own.

6.4 Why people travel on their own

Strauss and Corbin (1998) state that when presenting findings derived from qualitative data, the researcher should rely on two procedures: (a) developing a clear analytic story (b) working out a main outline that fully incorporates all the important elements of that narrative. These assumptions require that the research should be reported inductively rather than deductively, the case for most qualitative research in the social sciences (Richardson, 1994). Micro-analysis, also referred to as “line-by-line analysis”, involves a very careful, often minute examination and interpretation of the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p.58). This close inspection comprises three levels of analysis: (a) the discourse, as supplied by informants’ recounting of actual events and actions (b) the researcher’s interpretations of those occurrences and (c) the interplay between data and research, a process which cannot be entirely objective (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). A microanalysis of the current study’s entire data set of in-depth interviews and diaries initially generated ninety factors/reasons for travelling alone. Table 6.7 depicts the similarities and differences by showing the count of a factor/reason with a corresponding number.

Table 6.7. Differences and similarities of factors/reasons for travelling alone (part 1)

Factors/reasons	S/NS	Count	Alan	Karl	John	Angelo	Heidi	Stuart	Beate	Alexander	Caline	Sophie	Margrethe	Mike
1. Temporal Consideration	NS/S	42				X	X		X	X		X	X	X
2. Freedom	S	31				X				X	X		X	X
3. Selective Contact	S	25		X					X		X	X		X
4. Personal development	S	18								X	X			
5. Absence of a travel companion	S	16	X		X				X			X		
6. Flexibility	S	14	X			X	X				X			
7. Nature of the trip	NS	14					X		X		X			X
8. Solitude	S	11			X		X			X		X		
9. Circumstances	S	10	X				X	X		X				
10. Experience	S	10							X					
11. Avoid confrontations/guilt/complaints	S	8		X	X	X		X		X				
12. Past experience	S	8											X	
13. Escape	S/NS	7								X		X		
14. Destination	NS/S	6				X			X					
15. Travel product preference	NS/S	5									X			
16. Exploration	S	4				X						X		X
17. Independent/confident person	S/NS	4			X								X	
18. Travel companion on route	S	4												
19. Prestige	S/NS	4							X		X			
20. Trip reason/benefit	S/NS	4				X						X		
21. Language	NS/S	2	X											
22. Marital status	NS/S	3												
23. Travelling is common	S/NS	2												
24. Future travel behaviour	S	1												
25. Length of trip	NS	3												
26. Romance/sex	NS	1						X						
27. Travel philosophy	NS	4			X				X		X			
28. Personal values	NS	2												
29. Personality	NS	2				X					X			
30. Age	NS	2												X
31. Education	NS	1									X			

Table 6. 7. Differences and similarities of factors/reasons for travelling alone (part 2)

Factors/reasons	Robert	Thomas	Melanie	Dennis	Sharon	Andrea	Martha	Elisa	Samantha	Paul	Nakata	Brian
1. Temporal Consideration	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
2. Freedom	X	X			X			X	X		X	X
3. Selective Contact	X		X			X	X					X
4. Personal development	X		X					X		X		
5. Absence of a travel companion					X		X				X	
6. Flexibility		X	X									
7. Nature of the trip			X		X		X					
8. Solitude		X						X			X	
9. Circumstances		X					X					
10. Experience	X					X						X
11. Avoid confrontations/guilt/complaints												
12. Past experience	X	X										
13. Escape								X			X	X
14. Destination			X				X			X		
15. Travel product preference	X											
16. Exploration												
17. Independent/confident person				X								
18. Travel companion on route												
19. Prestige												
20. Trip reason/benefit							X					
21. Language			X									
22. Marital status												
23. Travelling is common						X						
24. Future travel behaviour												
25. Length of trip												
26. Romance/sex												
27. Travel philosophy									X			
28. Personal values	X							X				
29. Personality												
30. Age												
31. Education												

Table 6. 7. Differences and similarities of factors/reasons for travelling alone (part 3)

Factors/reasons	Andrew	Ian	Diane	Jonas	Marie	Simon	Claudia	Kevin	Tim	James	Angela	Luey	Susan	Jan
1. Temporal Consideration	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
2. Freedom		X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X
3. Selective Contact	X							X	X			X	X	X
4. Personal development	X	X				X		X			X	X	X	
5. Absence of a travel companion	X				X	X								
6. Flexibility	X				X		X							X
7. Nature of the trip			X							X	X			
8. Solitude		X						X					X	
9. Circumstances								X						
10. Experience					X				X					X
11. Avoid confrontations/guilt/complaints											X			
12. Past experience									X			X		
13. Escape				X								X		
14. Destination														
15. Travel product preference							X							
16. Exploration	X													
17. Independent/confident person														
18. Travel companion on route			X						X					
19. Prestige		X												
20. Trip reason/benefit														
21. Language														
22. Marital status										X				
23. Travelling is common	X													
24. Future travel behaviour														
25. Length of trip	X		X						X					
26. Romance/sex														
27. Travel philosophy														
28. Personal values														
29. Personality														
30. Age														
31. Education														

Table 6. 7. Differences and similarities of factors/reasons for travelling alone (part 4)

Factors/reasons	Macrku	Emma	Nicky	Judith	Anna	Mark	Chang	Alberto	Kate	Julia	Richard	Michael	Daniel	Sarah
1. Temporal Consideration	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
2. Freedom	X		X	X				X	X	X	X	X		
3. Selective Contact	X			X	X		X		X	X		X	X	X
4. Personal development				X	X	X				X			X	
5. Absence of a travel companion	X	X	X			X			X	X				
6. Flexibility		X		X			X	X						
7. Nature of the trip			X	X		X			X					
8. Solitude			X											
9. Circumstances		X		X								X		
10. Experience										X	X		X	
11. Avoid confrontations/guilt/complaints				X							X			
12. Past experience					X		X							X
13. Escape														
14. Destination									X					X
15. Travel product preference								X						
16. Exploration														
17. Independent/confident person		X												
18. Travel companion on route		X			X									
19. Prestige										X				
20. Trip reason/benefit														X
21. Language					X									
22. Marital status					X									
23. Travelling is common														
24. Future travel behaviour												X		
25. Length of trip														
26. Romance/sex														
27. Travel philosophy														
28. Personal values														
29. Personality														
30. Age											X			
31. Education														

For example, “42” indicates a reason supplied at least once by forty-two informants, and “1” indicates that a reason had been given by only one respondent. Table 6.7. also illustrates the categories, according to whether or not they had been evoked as reactions to interviewer stimuli. Stimulus response (S) was generated by the researcher’s direct question about a phenomenon, and non-stimulus (NS) information was obtained from the interpretation of ancillary data provided by informants. As its title implies, table 6.7 contains both factors that influence and reasons why people travel alone. For theoretical and practical considerations, factors and reasons are distinguished and also elaborated in two separate sub-sections: first, socioeconomics, trip characteristics and psychographics which make up the factors in table 6.7 are treated in relation to the research problem. Second, the remaining (reasons) are explained thoroughly by illustrating (i.e., networking) each reason’s relation to the factors. In other words, following the suggestion of Hsieh et al. (1993), the data of the current study indicate that socioeconomics, trip characteristics and psychographics should be treated as independent variables, whereas reasons for choice of travel mode (i.e., solo travel) should be considered as dependent variables.

6.4.1. Factors that influence solo travel

In the same sequence as in the previous main section, first socioeconomic, second trip and finally psychographic factors that influence solo travel are presented here. These factors include: language, age, marital status and education (socioeconomic), nature of trip, length of trip, past experience, destination and future travel behaviour (trip characteristics), and travel product preference, personal values, personality, independent/confident person, trip reason/benefit, and travel philosophy (psychographics).

Language. Although the linguistic skills of the informants could not be considered to have a direct impact on the decision to select solo travel, it was however a significant factor that was taken into consideration, particularly when deciding where to travel. As Alan put it, when talking about how it had been travelling solo in Norway:

Norway has mainly been fine. The other thing, in Spain I don't speak Spanish either, and the Spanish don't speak English. So it really was.....Trying to book accommodation, I will get up the phone and speak French which is my third language. So I turned up at these places and was not sure if I booked it or not. You know things like that, whereas in that sense Norway has been much easier because the majority of people would speak very good English. So that has made it easier.

The importance of language was further emphasised as some (even though they were anti-group travel) claimed that, in order to avoid language problems, they had to/would join a group tour when travelling to destinations whose language they could not speak. For instance, Melanie explained in the following excerpt:

I: So it's not your type of holiday, like package tour?

R: No...I don't like to do it. I think in some countries you probably need to do that because of safety factors, language barriers, but in a country like this I feel very, very safe, almost safer than I do in Australia which is pretty a safe place.

This assumption was also supported by a study carried out by Hsieh et al. (1994) which concluded that group travellers had limited language abilities when contrasted with independent travellers.

Age. Although age was not given by the informants as a reason for travelling solo, it was noted in a memo during the analysis that age did have some influence on solo travel, since most of the informants were young adults. In this regard, Richard observed:

.....If I don't do it now then I'm not going to do it... I'm gonna get too old to endure the hardships like going around with rucksack and I'll end up having to do it with five-star hotels (laughter), and if you do it things like that you don't meet enough people locally and that's possibly the biggest attraction of the whole thing. It's meeting people from different countries and finding out what the differences are and seeing if they're real or superficial.

Here, Richard interestingly made a clear classification of travellers based on age, consistent with several studies (e.g., Quiroga, 1990), when he suggested that he would rather go on an all-inclusive tour when he was older. At the same time he revealed his motivation for solo travel, which was to gain more insights into the culture visited. In another conversation, Mike also related his comparative youthfulness to his travel motives and accordingly to the travel style he chose:

I: May I ask you why?

R: Mmm because I am nineteen years old and I prefer something a bit more adventurous. And I have been travelling in Asia where things are not packaged and are not organised to an extent. So I enjoy much more being able to just organise things as I go along and change my plans as I want to and just go different directions when I feel like it and I find the end result pretty good.

Marital status. The family life cycle is an established concept used to explain consumer behaviour (Lawson, 1991). Its application has also been studied in tourism and leisure (e.g., Cosenza and Davis, 1981). For instance, Morrison et al. (1994) have explored differences between independent and escorted travellers in terms of marital status.

This association was reinforced in the current study when some of the informants related their marital status to their travel style choice. Having said that, being single could make them travel alone by-choice or by-default. Richard, for instance, represented the by-choice travellers by noting that at this point of his life it was more appropriate to travel the way he did as he was not married and did not have any children. On the other hand, there were some informants (by-default) who preferred travelling with others but could not do so since they were single and their friends were in relationships. They were thus more or less left with the lone option of travelling solo, as Anna clarified:

I: Can you tell about the reasons why you are travelling on your own on this trip?

R: Yes I can. Actually there are some reasons. The first reason is that after kind of an age you know, everybody is couple and I'm single (laughter) that's one of the reasons.

I: Because you're single?

R: Yes, you know they've just planned their trip already and they're not free to travel with me (laughter) so it is maybe one point, and then I found out that...the holiday or vacation has become rather important now while working because it's only a few weeks, it's important to me to be able to do, have the freedom to decide...

Although some of these travellers were travelling solo out of preference and were not opposed to travelling with a few others they did not like the idea of group travel with a lot of people which James expressed as follows:

I: Do you like or prefer travelling on your own?

R: ...Well I travel on my own not out of preference but out of the fact that I'm not married, I don't have a girl friend so.....I don't actually, I would rather be travelling with somebody else..... I wouldn't mind travelling on my own or in a small group, not a bus load of people but one or two others.

Education. Poon (1993) suggests that one of the central characteristics of the "new tourist" is that s/he is well-educated. Damm (1995) goes on to imply that this feature applies to independent travellers, more specifically to backpackers (e.g., Big OE travellers, see Mason, 2002). Furthermore, Morrison et al. (1994) have empirically verified this assumption by discovering linkages between travel arrangements (package or independent) and educational level.

Thus, it is not surprising that in this study too there was an indirect relationship between the educational level of the informants and the factors that enabled them to travel solo. Education impacted on several factors, including language ability, travel philosophy and travel motives all of which directly influence travel behaviour (e.g., travel style). Indeed, and as pointed out previously, the language abilities of the informants were both extensive and of high quality, an asset that

could be considered a result of, or as forming a part of their education (see table 6.1). This study also revealed that education had an impact on the travel motives of some of the informants. This association was strengthened by the reasons given by Celine for her travel:

Learning about things and mmm learning about different cultures and understanding the different parts of the world and seeing things. I studied history at one stage. I am really interested in cultural things like art exhibitions, different exhibitions. You are learning and understanding, mmm enriching my life.

Celine further related one of her reasons for travelling alone to the above motive as follows:

...like I like to go to historical sights and I don't really have any friends who would like to do the same kind of things that I do, who are in London at the moment. So I am.... so my other friends prefer different styles of travel, like they like to go on package tours, and I just couldn't stand a package tour, or they want to spend a different amount of money.

Education, therefore, though not directly, nevertheless indirectly influences travel style and thus should be considered as a significant independent factor.

Nature of trip. During the analysis one of the memos noted: the fact that some of the informants were away from their ordinary home environment and were established in foreign countries either for work (working-travelling) or study (studying-travelling) purposes meant that they might not have known many people to ask to travel with. Indeed, quite a few of them had declared that the reason, though not the only or primary reason, why they were travelling on their own was that they had no travel companion to travel with because such a person resided in another country. A typical case was Celine from New Zealand who explained '.....like I like to go to historical sights and I don't really have any friends who would like to do the same kind of things that I do who are in London at the moment.' Mark also stated that he knew that he would be travelling on his own when he left Australia for the United Kingdom, even though he actually

preferred travelling with someone else. The same applied to those who had been studying in foreign countries, from where, during or after their education, they were travelling to nearby countries. Like Mark, they also did not have a social milieu (friends) which would make it easier to find a travel companion for their respective trips.

Length of trip. Crossley and Lee (1994) have found differences between eco-tourists and mass tourists in terms of trip duration. Hsieh et al. (1994) and Sheldon and Mak (1987) confirm this finding by stating that independent travellers (e.g., non-package) take longer trips.

This association was also supported by the current study as most of the informants were on relatively longer trips (i.e., more than three-four weeks). Furthermore, it was also noted in a few memos, the longer the trip the more likely it was that they would travel alone. This hypothesis was reinforced by several informants' explanations when talking about their reasons for travelling alone. For instance, Andrew explained in the following conversation:

I: Do you prefer travelling on your own?

R: I prefer it, but sometimes it's nice to travel with someone else, because something like this.. I like travelling on my own but there would be times, on this type of vacation I think I would rather be alone.... Maybe for a shorter vacation, like a week or two I think it might be better going with someone else. Because for one or two weeks you have to plan every little detail so you can see everything. Because you have such a short time. But for a longer vacation like this, yeah, I'd like it much better on my own because things can be flexible and I can just change ten times a day what I want to do.

This excerpt shows that the reason why these travellers chose to travel alone for a longer period was clearly the freedom and flexibility (reasons why a considerable number of the travellers chose to travel solo) inherent in solo travelling. As Tim relatedly pointed out:

I: So you prefer travelling on your own?

R: Yeah, for a longer time yes. I have no problems going with friends for a week or ten days...

I: What do you mean by longer time?

R: Three or four weeks. I wouldn't like it if I've to travel with someone for eight weeks, it's horrible...it doesn't work.

Past experience. There is general consensus (Mazursky, 1989; Mo et al., 1993; Sonmez and Graefe, 1998) that past travel experience influences future travel behaviour.

In the current investigation, three aspects of past travel experience had an indirect impact on the decision to travel solo. First, as some of the informants revealed, their unfortunate experiences of travelling with others had played an important role, as Anna revealed:

....The holiday or vacation has become rather important now while working because it's only a few weeks, it's important to me to be able to do, have the freedom to decide...I did a trip last year with a friend of mine whom I thought would be fine but I found out that we have different ideas of having holiday and...it was the thing in the year like getting away and I'm maybe not too tolerant like...I may compromise I have no problems with that but in the end I just, I don't want to join somebody in such a time...and I'm not sure if I am able to communicate my wishes, I always say 'okay, let's do that!' I get along with the other person.

Secondly, as Chang explained, having travelled solo previously and having been satisfied with the experience, encouraged her to travel solo again:

I enjoy travelling alone as well because, as I said, I travelled around in Europe for seven months before alone as well. I met different people on the way and...I met local people, and also other backpackers or travellers... If you travel with friends your friends may not have the same holiday period and they might not want to go the same places as you do. So I guess travelling alone is more flexible in a way. If I like a

place and if I want to stay for an extra day then I can do it so...that's why I like to travel alone, yeah.

Thirdly, there was the realisation that most of the informants were well-travelled people. It was this factor, as Sonmez and Graefe (1998) imply, that increased their confidence in travel, and accordingly played a part when deciding on travel style.

Destination. The data indicated that there was a strong relationship between a given destination and solo travel. However, it should be noted here that, several elements constituted the concept of "destination" used in this study. These elements included destination choice, the perceived safety of a destination, the geographical features of a destination (domestic or overseas) and the number of destinations to visit (single or multiple). All of these factors, in one way or another have an impact on solo travel. First, some of the informants preferred travelling to certain types of destination alone. As Martha explained:

I: So far you like being a solo traveller?

R: Yeah, but I also like travelling with somebody else. I like it both.

It's not like....I really prefer something, it depends!.....it depends on my mood, on the circumstances, which country I am in and so on.

On the other hand, there were some who had travelled alone by-default, which, according to Kate, for instance, was due to her choice of destination:

Because I wanted to come to Norway and I would have preferred to travel with one of my friends. One of my friends was thinking about it.

Furthermore, although Hyde (2000a) claims that independent travellers at times display risk-taking, in this study, by contrast, safety was considered as a factor which also affected the decision to travel alone. As Beate put it: 'Travelling to Norway alone is really not that unsafe. But I would not have travelled on my own to India or China.' This statement clearly supported the memo, indicating that the safer the destination was perceived the more likely it was that the travellers would choose to travel alone. This hypothesis was also reinforced by Melanie:

I: How do you think that you will travel in the future, alone or with others?

R: In the near future, I would say probably alone. I would like to do something with friends at home as well because it's...you can still have a lot of fun with somebody else, but it would probably be more planned than if you're travelling by yourself, I think. I think I might do a bit of travelling with other people especially to countries that are not quite safe....

Another consideration, in some cases also related to the foregoing one, was the geographical aspect (domestic or overseas destination) which played an important role when deciding whether to travel solo. For instance, Angelo claimed:

....I have to travel alone when I travel in Europe. Because I am on an expedition. At home it is a different story, we are going out we are going to spend four-five days in the mountains or we are gonna go fishing, we gonna cook, fire etc. It is a different story.

Here, Angelo made a distinction between domestic and overseas travel based on the purpose of his trip. It suggested that some of the informants preferred travelling abroad alone for several reasons, including length of trip, type of destination and so on. As far as the number of destinations was concerned, a memo stated that those who were travelling on longer trips and visiting multiple destinations preferred travelling alone. As Diane revealed:

...The main advantages, that you can do what you want when you want and you don't have to...it's selfish isn't it? You don't have to have regard to what someone else wants to do (laughter). It sounds really awful but if you wanna go different places you're restricted to time, you know...I just figured out if I've come all the way from Australia to Europe and I really wanna go to a place I'm gonna go there irrespective of whether someone else doesn't want to....

Some of them did not want to compromise on what destinations to see and preferred travelling alone in order to have the freedom of choice.

Future travel behaviour. Although much has been said about the effects of past experience on future travel behaviour, none has explicitly suggested the reverse. In other words, and again as a memo stated, future travel style can shape present

travel mode. This memo was derived from a talk with Michael who said that one of the reasons why he was travelling alone now was that he actually was planning a much longer solitary trip in the near future. Thus he regarded his present trip as preparatory for his subsequent “grand” solo travel.

Travel product preference. The travel product preference variable in this study comprised two components, namely travel activity and attractions visited. Travel product preference has also been utilised as a segmentation criterion in an attempt to distinguish between travellers (Hsieh et al., 1992). Without suggesting that the solitary traveller differs from other type of travellers in terms of travel activities and/or attractions visited, it may, however, be said that travel product preference can, to some extent, influence the decision to travel solo.

In the current investigation, some informants had to/wanted to travel on their own as they couldn't/wouldn't find travel companions who were prepared to undertake/visit the same sort of activities or attractions as themselves. This connection became clearer when listening to Alexander:

....Yes, I prefer it. It is voluntary for me. I could also travel with other people and,..... it is great you are on your own, you can make your own decisions, you don't have to talk to other people. Very often I feel when I am in company that others are not of the same idea or when we make physical activities they are not as fit as I am (laughter). So I can go as long as I want to, I can climb as high as I want and also it is a test for yourself, a psychological test.

Also, some of the solitary travellers were interested in different kinds of attractions for which they had intended spending time. As Jonas explained:

As I said I... If you go to a theme park or go to a museum or somewhere you need some time. And as I just wanted to explore the city or the country in the first part, that's why I decided not to go to museums and....

I: So you want to spend your time on other things?

Thus, they needed the time and flexibility to be able to realise their desires, as in the case of Jonas:

... Well the good thing about travelling is that you can really decide what you want to do and don't have to ask somebody else 'is it okay with you?'... Yeah, I like to travel alone.

For that reason, as Stuart suggested, some preferred to travel alone:

...I do not know something which interests me maybe, say the museum about the Norwegian resistance during the war which quite interests me. If I was there with somebody who was not interested then it becomes...you feel guilty because you are using their time.

Personal Values. As Sharpley (1999) suggests, personal values constitute one of the factors that shape tourist preferences and behaviour. As a memo stated, in this study, too, personal values had an influence on both travel motive and travel style (i.e., solo travel). This hypothesis was derived from stimuli- and non-stimuli responses with respect to personal values. First, stimuli-responses included the informants' explanations as to what personal values were the most important in their lives, whereas, the second, non-stimuli responses contained conversations related to personal values when talking about the reasons why they were travelling on their own. As the former was treated in the earlier section, concluding that the solitary traveller puts more emphasis on individualistic values, the focus here is on the latter. Interestingly, a considerable number of informants claimed that their primary reason for choosing to travel solo was "personal development" which centred around two principal individualistic values, namely self-respect and sense of accomplishment. For instance, Robert showed that his motive for solo travel was influenced by his value system:

I: You travelled on your own voluntarily?

R: Yes.

I: So far, how is it?

R: It is good! I've enjoyed it. It is long enough now that I have a sense of accomplishment that I have done...that I can travel alone and I know that in the future I can do it again.

Another informant, Elisa, reinforced this connection in the following extract:

I: You said that you started this trip alone because you wanted to travel on your own. Can you now explain more about why you wanted to travel on your own?

R: (laughter) Yeah, it's also perhaps for my self-respect (laughter). For me it's something about self-respect because.....for example, I can say that I did this particular trip only for myself and alone, I learnt much, I met many people....

These incidents are typical examples confirming the impact of personal values on travel behaviour. However, following Sharpley's (1999) advice, this association does not necessarily mean that travel motive or solo travel is affected directly or only by the values possessed by the individual.

Personality. As indicated previously, most of this study's informants fell into Plog's (1974) allocentric category of personality. Nearly, all of the characteristics of allocentric persons listed by Plog (1991, pp-66-67) were possessed by the solitary travellers. For instance, the solitary traveller chose a simple type of accommodation such as a hostel in preference to a chain hotel, arranged only basics like transportation and accommodation in order to allow for greater freedom and flexibility, was curious about the world and its people, and so on. Here, some more of Plog's allocentric characteristics of the solitary were found: First, the solitary traveller, not surprisingly, did not like crowds and touristy areas. As Angelo put it:

I do not like being around crowds, I do not like being around things that are trying to cater to people's way that they know back home. Because that is too familiar and another thing that designates the tourist destination is when it is frequently advertised. I will not go to places that have a programme because that goes against my personality. I am more of an as it happens and I kind of get a sense of where I want to be. As things happen, some really great things happen you could never have planned for. And that is just my way of travel.

Second, the solitary traveller was said to be an active type of traveller, one typified by Andrea who had looked for a country where she could travel actively (walking, biking, rowing). Third, the solitary traveller sought off-the-beaten-track contact with locals, as Celine elaborated:

Mmm I prefer somewhere where there aren't as many tourists, where I can mmm where there aren't so many New Zealanders for example, where I can have encounters with the local population. And I find that is really good travelling by myself because I find that if I am looking at something and am interested in it and often people would just come up to me and give me information and tell me things. So I really enjoy those encounters with the local population. I also like to see a lot of nature. I have done some. I am cycling and am, just outside of Trondheim [a city in Norway], which was absolutely amazing mmm. And that was really important because it was something different, it was a little bit off the beaten track.

As can be concluded from the above conversations, the solitary traveller was a typically allocentric person. More importantly, being an allocentric type influenced some of the informants' decision to travel solo.

Independent/confident person. Related to the above issue, Plog (1991) also claims that the allocentric type is a self-confident or an independent person. This association applied to the solitary traveller in this study, when John, for instance, explained the reasons why he travelled alone:

I: Do you think there are advantages of travelling with a group?

R: Well...yes...for some people, for a lot of people, they would never venture, be on their own on their doorstep or local shop unless they were sure.....When travelling in group....a group gives them security, whereas they haven't got the self-confidence to travel on their own or in a small group.

Emma added by claiming that:

You've to be independent if you're travelling on your own so...you do that, you don't really go and ask people 'do you think it's a good idea for me to travel?' You just do it because you want to.

I: It's part of your personality?

R: I guess so (laughter), something a bit scary but it is.

Trip reason/benefit. Travel motives influence and explain travel behaviour (Crompton, 1979; Dann, 1981; Mayo and Jarvis, 1981; Sharpley, 1994). Although, in this research, both general and specific travel motives were examined, the latter seemed to be more closely related to solo travel. Indeed, for several of the informants, the trip reason/benefit was instrumental in the decision to travel alone. This association was based on the simple cross-tabulation between trip reasons/benefits (table 6.4) and reasons for solo travel (table 6.7). As can be seen, several informants had given reasons for their trip which were identical to that for solo travel. Heidi, for instance, gave the following answer as to why she had come on the present trip: 'I want to be on my own. That is why I came here!' Another informant who confirmed this hypothesis was Angelo, who again related his reason for the trip to his travel style in the following extract:

....So in terms of being with someone when travelling I do not have that problem [taking others into consideration]. That is why I travel alone....I have to travel alone when I travel in Europe. Because I am on an expedition.

Another trip reason for some of the informants was to get away from their personal situations. Such was the case of Alexander, who claimed that one of the reasons why he was travelling alone was that he recently had experienced some personal problems in his marriage. He thus felt that he had to travel solo in order to have some time alone to contemplate. Another fairly common reason for travelling solo was "contact" which appeared to be the most important factor which made most of the informants travel solo, as Sophie elaborated further:

I: Why did you think that it was best that you would go on this trip on your own?

R: Because I wanted to be with myself and meet people here. I wanted that challenge. For me, this is a kind of adventure to travel alone. But, I will not spend a holiday alone, now I am travelling which is not a holiday. Because a holiday is more like going to restaurants as I talked about before. Then, I would want to be with somebody for instance with my boy friend or a friend. Travelling, I prefer to do alone because I can meet more people, more possibilities to be invited to homes, hitchhike....

Travel philosophy. Travel philosophy is probably the most influential psychographic factor which shapes travel behaviour. As there exists no standard definition of travel philosophy, for the purposes of this study, it was taken to include informants' perspectives on travel and tourism (i.e., independent travelling versus mass tourism). Although travel philosophy did not appear to influence travel style (solo travelling) directly, the reasons for travelling solo were affected by travel philosophy. This situation was best explained by some of the by-default solitary travellers (i.e., those who preferred having a travel companion) when they were asked why they had not contemplated joining a package/group tour. Here John typically replied:

I should hate to travel in a group on a coach. I would.... I have never been on a package travel in my life and I never will. On package holidays you always get the bores and the people who dominate things, the people who want to organise things. Some people in life, it is the same with the group society I am a member of, and there are always some people who always get more satisfaction out of life by organising other people, whether they are ex-managers or whatever. There are always people like that.....and I do not like people being organised.

This excerpt shows that for many, indeed all of these travellers, the choice was either travelling in a small group (ideally two people) or solo travelling. The idea of a package was simply not on, as Beate explained:

I: What are the differences between you and a tourist?

R: A typical tourist....they are just going after attractions and moving in groups.

I: Would you travel in such a group?

R: No. I think it is much better to travel individually or with a friend.

Celine further pointed out why it was better to travel individually:

I: Talking about package tours, why wouldn't you stand.....?

R: I just find them superficial often. Have you heard the saying? We have a saying 'It is Wednesday we must be in Rome.' Mmm I just feel that is really superficial you don't get the same, because you are so large a group, you don't.....you kind of stand out....and I don't think you get the interaction with locals because if you are one on one I think locals would be more likely to approach you. A local won't approach a large group. So that is the reason I don't like package tours and because there is not the flexibility. You can't, if you like somewhere, you can't stay because you have to get back on the bus at 3 o'clock or whatever.

One of the central reasons why Celine, like several other informants, was so negative about group tours was that for her travelling in a group did not provide the opportunity to have contact/interaction with locals. This sentiment implied, as Cocker (1992) suggests, that independent travellers want to interface with destination people. Thus, the need to contact locals was assumed to be influenced by the travel philosophy of these respondents. Like Beate and Celine, several others made a distinction between travelling (traveller) and tourism (tourist), and, as anticipated in the literature (e.g. Vogt, 1976), most of the informants considered themselves to be the former. Samantha gave her reasons as follows:

.... Because a traveller is somebody who actually is travelling, seeing different things. I think a tourist is more there to see the statue, the museum, to do things that they are supposed to do. Whereas a traveller, you pick what you wanna do, you don't necessarily go to a museum you're supposed to see but maybe you'll go to the local pub and you'll have a beer, you'll talk to a local person and you'll find out

more about what life is really like there rather than having a camera on your neck and taking millions of photos.

Consequently, it can be suggested that the travel behaviour of solitary travellers is also shaped by the travel philosophy associated with the typical non-institutionalised traveller.

Until now, there has been an examination of the socioeconomic, trip, and psychographic factors which have influenced the informants' decision to travel solo. These factors were illustrated as a hypothetical model in figure 6.1, which was a way of presenting findings particularly germane to qualitative and Grounded Theory studies (Creswell, 1998). The factors marked with a minus (-) had no effect, whereas those with a plus sign (+) had a relationship and correspondingly an impact on solo travel. It should be reemphasised that this model was generated, following the core principle of Grounded Theory, purely from the empirical data obtained from the informants in this study. As can further be seen in figure 6.1, socioeconomic, trip and psychographic factors influenced one another as well as having an effect on solo travel style. Thus, and as suggested by the tourism literature (Keng and Cheng, 1999; Mo et al., 1993), combining all these three groups of factors provided invaluable information for studying the solitary traveller. However, as advocates of psychographics (Backman et al., 1999; Blazey, 1991; Plog, 1994; Schewe and Calantone, 1978; Zins, 1998) claim, precisely why people travel alone is mainly attributable to psychographic factors.

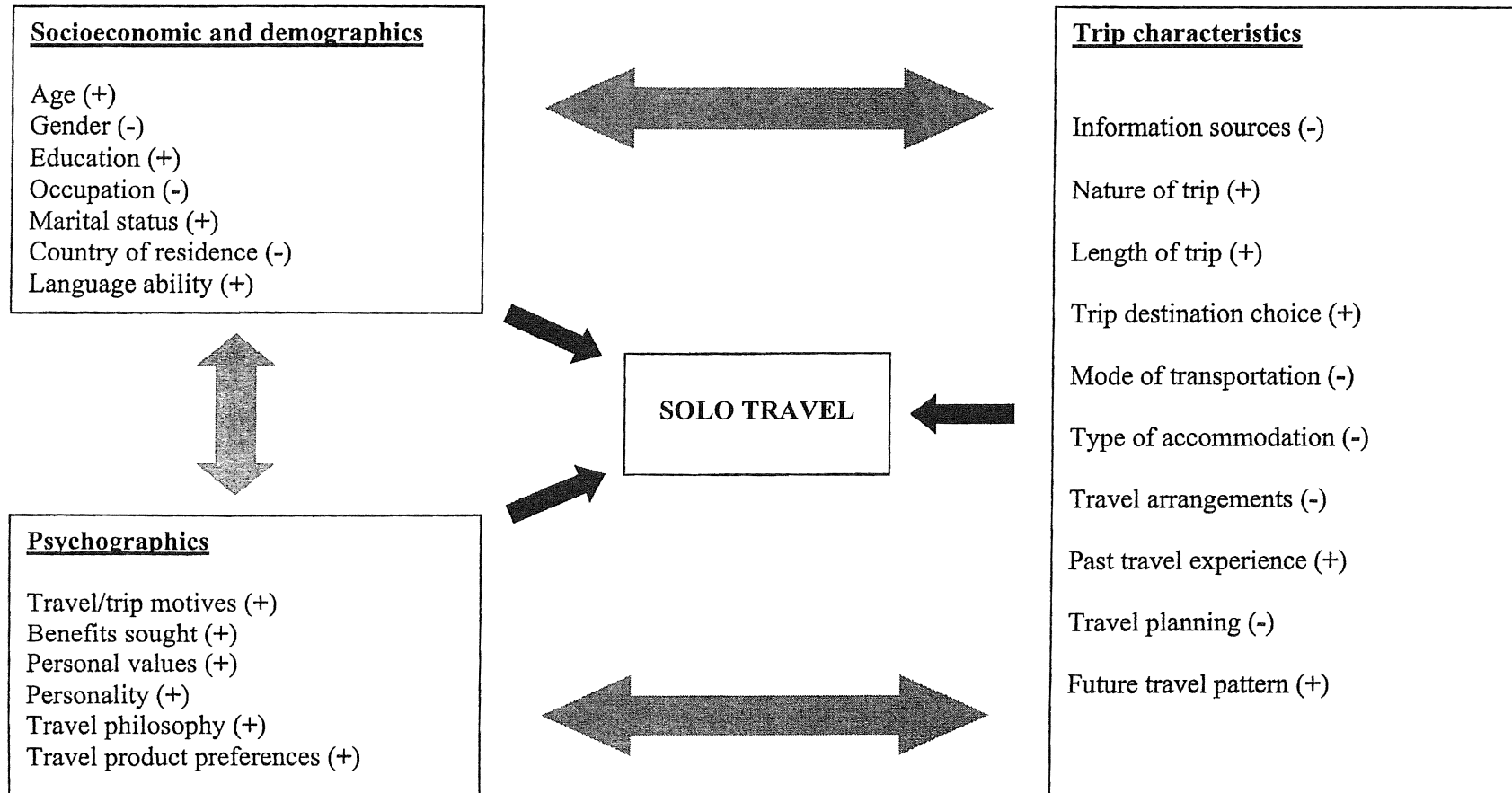


Figure 6.1. Relationship between socioeconomic, trip and psychographic factors with solo travel style

6.4.2. Reasons for travelling solo

Having presented the factors which influence solo travel, the aim here is to elucidate the reasons, what Gilbert (1991) refers to as “energisers”, for travelling solo. Here are the reasons that emerged from the data: temporal considerations, freedom, selective contact, personal development, absence of a travel companion, flexibility, solitude, circumstances, experience, avoidance of confrontation/guilt/complaint, escape, exploration, travel companion en route, prestige, travelling as commonplace, romance/sex. To further elaborate these reasons, the relationships between them and the relevant factors (e.g., socioeconomic) are also illustrated through networks (graphical display).

Temporal considerations. Findings obtained from the stimuli- and non-stimuli responses indicated that the reason why most of the informants travelled on their own was “temporal consideration”. This finding was consistent with the work of Riley (1988), who, in her study of budget travellers, observed that some of these people were at one of life’s junctures and thus needed time to contemplate what they wanted to do with their lives. As depicted in figure 6.2, the need to contemplate was also related to other factors. For instance, circumstances (e.g., study) or personal values (e.g., self-respect) of an individual necessitated a trip, during which s/he could have the time needed to contemplate her/his life.

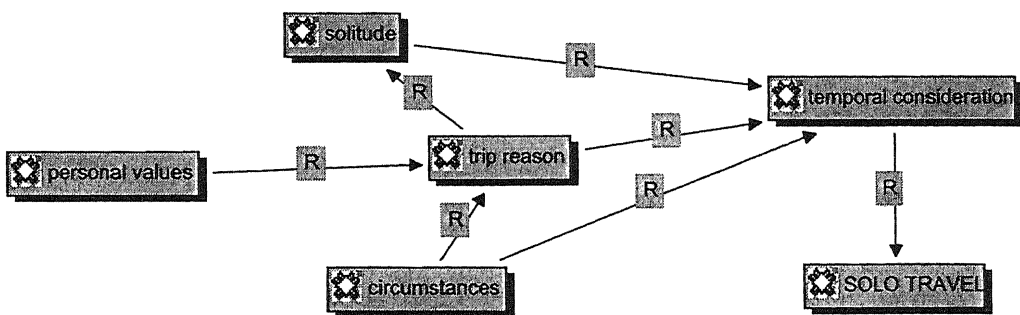


Figure 6.2. Temporal considerations and solo travel

One of Riley’s (1988) informants had admitted that ‘travel gives you endless time to think.’ A similar expression was also used in the current study by a female informant, Heidi, when trying to account for why she travelled alone:

You have more time for yourself, for thinking about almost anything; life etc. Since when I get back home I will start a new life, I have to work and move etc.....since I have been in Sweden for almost 10 months [for study purposes], now I can put it all in a perspective.....

Susan also regarded her solo travel as an opportunity to contemplate what to do in her life:

Oh...it's very important, yes because I've finished my university studies and then I quit my job. So now I have nothing, I have no job, no study (laughter) and no boyfriend (laughter). And so I have to make up my mind about what I have to do when I get back.... So I think this trip will be like a revelation, it will be like to see what to do....

For several of these travellers, as Neumann (1992) suggests, travel provided the opportunity to acquire experiences which, they themselves claimed, had become the basis for discovering and transforming their selves. As Lucy put it 'I learn more about myself because I'm travelling alone.' Interestingly, Daniel went on to imply that a need to get to know himself was driven by personal values, when he declared 'I enjoy to stay, maybe a week alone in the mountain, to find myself, self-respect.' In some cases also, the circumstances (e.g., family situation) of a person prior to trip had required some time alone to be able to think of the problems from a distance, as in the case of Alexander, who had just had difficulties in his marriage which he wanted to think over on a trip where he could have sufficient time away from the scene. He emphasised this need by continuously saying 'I wanted to have some silence' throughout the interview.

Freedom. As theoretically (see Samdahl, 1988) and empirically (Crompton, 1979) supported, freedom (being free from the duties and responsibilities of home) has been one of the most fundamental socio-psychological factors underpinning pleasure vacation behaviour.

Some informants, as well as recognising it as a general motive for travel, expressed another facet of freedom to be a justification also for their solitary travel. This feature included the idea that informants were free from having to

take others into consideration when making decisions *en route* since they were travelling alone. This aspect appeared to be influenced by the trip (e.g., length of trip) and the psychographic (e.g., travel activities) characteristics of the informants (see figure 6.3). For instance, Brian explained that not having to consider others made his travel experience all the richer:

Yes...I think it's easier to get involved in activities and have experiences on your own. I suppose it's also a little bit selfish. You can please yourself exactly what you do and where you go and that's rather nice really. You don't have to be considering other people..... Yeah, I think I quite like that aspect of it.

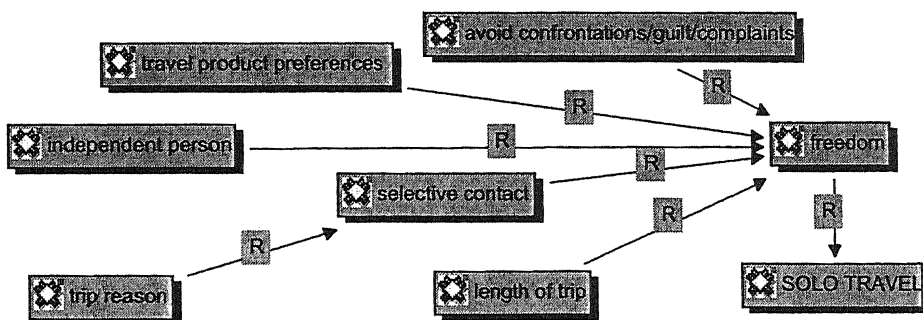


Figure 6.3. Freedom and solo travel

Angelo, too, when he was invited to talk about why he was travelling alone, spontaneously mentioned ‘freedom and the fact that I don’t have to make decisions for somebody else.’ Subsequently, he clarified his position:

I travel alone, because if you are with somebody you always have to think about the other person. Do they want to take night train? Do they want to stay here? Do they want to go there? If they do, that is fine, but if it is time for me to go or time to do something..... I have a hard time keeping up with myself sometimes. So in terms of being with someone when travelling, I don’t have that problem. That is why I travel alone....

One of the female informants, Heidi, emphasised this issue further with the following observation:

Sometimes it is just more comfortable to be on my own, because I can make my own decisions, because I don't have to discuss it with others and just can live my own rhythm.

Selective contact. The extent to which travellers have interaction with locals has been a criterion used to distinguish between different types of travellers (Cohen, 1972). It has been asserted that independent travellers (i.e., non-institutionalised) seek and engage in more contact (Cohen, 1972; Gottlieb, 1982; Plog, 1991), a proposition which has also been empirically verified by Mo et al. (1993) and Loker-Murphy and Pearce (1995). However, as Murphy (2001) observes, it is not the contact merely with locals but also interaction with fellow travellers that is an important motive for independently organised travellers.

Both of these assumptions were correct for the travellers in the current study. Furthermore, as can be seen in figure 6.4, it was this particular reason or motive (i.e. interaction with locals and other travellers) which also influenced the preference for solo travel. Here most of the informants indicated that not having a travel companion gave them more opportunity to have contact with or meet new people in different locations. This view was well expressed by Karl who stated:

It is easier if you are not in a group. You are getting more contact with other travellers and locals. If you are in a group you are already talking to those who travel with you, but if you are travelling alone then you are looking for some other travellers or locals to talk to. It is much easier then.

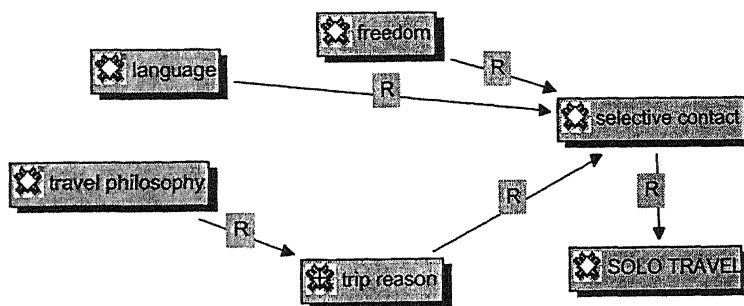


Figure 6.4. Selective contact and solo travel

Being a solo traveller, as well as allowing these travellers to take the initiative in having contact with locals, also received the attention of local people which, according to several informants, was a reason why they could easily meet locals and even be offered their hospitality. As Sophie explained: 'When I am alone it is easier for me to meet people. If I was with another traveller it would have been more difficult to hitchhike, and people wouldn't invite us to their homes.' Andrew explained that this was the case when having contact with fellow travellers too:

You are more approachable, you're not as fearful here. There is a whole pack of people, guys or girls, other travellers, other locals. Other people in general will be less inclined to communicate with you. If you're sitting at a table alone somebody might come up and start talking to you. I've had that happened to me many times and that is really good. The only time that ever happened in the past was we, it was like me and my brother, approached other people, other locals and then we got conversation, you know, pretty fast we had to make the effort. Now if I'm just sitting somewhere a local will come up to me and start talking. Actually it happens a lot in trains.

Moreover the need for and importance of interaction for these people were rooted in their travel philosophy (e.g., what travel meant to them), a point which was evident in Judith's additional thoughts about travelling alone:

....A single traveller, it is easier to meet offered hospitality, more often included into other groups if they want to. By travelling alone you meet a wider variety of people, I think. Someone explained the difference between a traveller and a tourist this way: 'a traveller is interested in the journey, a tourist in places and names.' I agree. Travelling alone means that you become good at meeting people, you don't have to be alone all the time.

Yet from these responses, it was clear that meeting new people did not imply that anyone or everyone was the object of this quest. It was a discriminatory activity. In other words, sociability was a selective process.

Personal development. Personal development, as well as being an important motive for travel, was also an equally significant reason for travelling solo. This finding was consistent with Vogt's (1976) study of wanderers, which showed that these independent or non-institutionalised type of travellers were motivated mainly by a quest for personal growth. As illustrated in figure 6.5, personal development was gained through ego-enhancement driven travel benefits (e.g., sense of achievement).

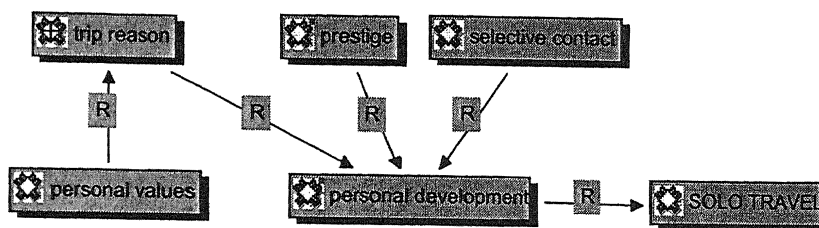


Figure 6.5. Personal development and solo travel

Several of the informants related, for instance, the benefits of travelling solo to their individualistic personal values. Robert was a case in point:

It is good! I've enjoyed it [travelling alone]. It is long enough now that I have a sense of accomplishment that I have done...that I can travel alone and I know that in the future I can do it again.

Elisa strengthened this statement by adding:

.... Yeah, it's also perhaps for my self-respect. For me it's something about self-respect because.....for example, I can say that I did this particular trip only for myself and alone, I learnt much, I met many people.

For some of the informants, the trip was considered as a personal property or what Walter (1982) refers to as a "positional good". Daniel explained the situation perfectly:

It's [travelling alone] like you spend a lot of time building a house and when you finish you can go in say 'hey, that's my house I built it alone.' Then you have a good feeling. For me maybe it's a little bit the same when I go up to the mountains, hiking. I have a destination, goal

which I have to reach....and when I'm on the top I forget every pain,
every sweat....

Vogt (1976) suggests that travel involves psychological difficulties, through which, and due to being alone, Melanie claimed that she had gained personal development:

.... I think that you go through a lot of personal challenges when you are travelling alone. I mean you have times when you are happy and you have times when you are sad. You are missing your friends and family. Mmmm, you sort of need to go through it. And times like today when you go up dangerous mountains, you think you are going to die (laughter). And yeah, I guess it is personal development.

Furthermore, these psychological difficulties which these solitary travellers encountered throughout the journey added new personal qualities (e.g., management skills) to their repertoires. As Lucy and Celine respectively put it: 'Because I'm travelling alone, I get more confidence about myself, and also I know that I can count on myself to manage in all kinds of situations,' and, 'I travel a lot by myself which I enjoy, mmmm. And I think it makes you kind of tough enough....and a lot of challenges.'

Absence of a travel companion. The data suggested that some of the solitary travellers did not really prefer solo travel. On the contrary, they were more or less reduced to this option. As can be seen in figure 6.6, the reason why they could not find travel companions had also to do with the length of the trip, nature of the trip or, as mentioned earlier, trip activities, as for instance, Nakata explained in the following conversation:

I: May I ask you why you travel on your own this time?

R: This time?...it's very easy (laughter) because most of my friends work for companies. It's impossible to take six weeks holiday (laughter) unless they quit the job (laughter).

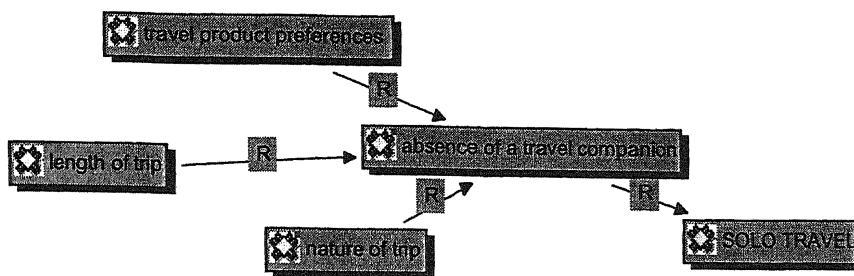


Figure 6.6. Absence of a travel companion and solo travel

Alan, too, admitted that ‘I didn’t really want to travel on my own, but none of my friends could get time off at the same time as me....’ In fact, some had even tried to persuade the person(s) they wanted to have as travel partners (friends, wife). In this vein, John commented that:

She [his wife] agreed at night, at that time she would come with me.

But then when I acquired a map and she saw the Arctic circle and she thought of midges, a tiny little fly that we get in Scotland, she said ‘no, thank you.’

It was interesting to note that none of these solo travellers considered even for a moment joining a package tour, in spite of the fact that some claimed to prefer having a travel-companion. This apparent contradiction dissolved because all informants had a clear negative attitude towards the group travelling style, as opposed to travelling with just one or two significant others. The latter was a voluntary arrangement based on friendship and compatibility. The former was an anonymous arrangement organised externally.

Flexibility. Poon (1993) and Hyde (2000a) suggest that the independent traveller is more spontaneous than the institutionalised traveller, with a lower level of vacation planning, and a desire to do what comes on the spur of the moment.

These features, according to Angelo, are what made his travel experience more exciting with full of surprises:

I: What are the disadvantages of not having things pre-arranged?

R: For me no. No, because I like the element of surprise... hahaha...and I like things to happen as they happen. For me personally it is the best way. Because the best things happen when it is unexpected.

Thus, several of the travellers sought and enjoyed the spontaneity inherent in solo travelling. As Heidi said ‘I would say travelling on my own includes that I can be as spontaneous as I like to be, that is one big plus.’ Spontaneity in turn allowed greater flexibility, as in the case of Thomas:

...I mean, I am on my own. I can change my travel plans. I can change... For instance, I’ve met this guy from England who told me about, Tallinn which is a nice city in Estonia, and I never considered even going to the Baltics on this trip. He said it was a great place to go and it’s easier to get to from Helsinki. So now I am probably gonna go there. I think it is easier to do anything I want....

As shown in figure 6.7, flexibility too was related to several other factors like trip reason, length of trip or travel activities, as Alan noted when he was asked to elaborate on the advantages of travelling alone:

You can choose your destination firstly wherever you want to go and then, when you are there, you can choose exactly what you want to do, what sites you are going to see, where to stay and how long you are staying in a place, how you travel – all that kind of things.

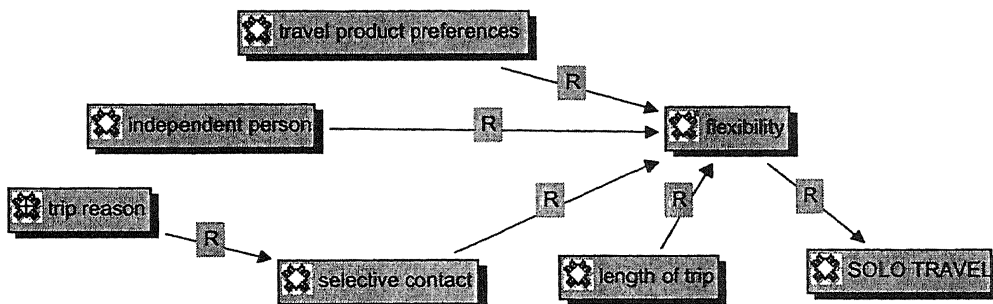


Figure 6.7. Flexibility and solo travel

Some had also undertaken solo travel for practical considerations which made their travel that much easier. As Heidi noted ‘it is much easier to get a room, for example, if you are on your own.’

Solitude. Damm (1995) anticipated that one of the significant characteristics of 90’s tourism would be to consume unspoiled nature in solitary contemplation. This quality was evident among solo travellers of the current investigation as some claimed this to be the primary motive for their travel. For instance, as Karl explained when he was asked to talk about his reasons for coming to Norway:

Because of nature. In Germany, especially where I am living, in Berlin, there is not so much nature and too many people. Especially like the midnight sun and the mountains. Especially here in Lofoten, the sea and mountains are very fantastic.

Heidi contributed to this picture by adding:

The primary purpose on this trip?... It was to get the possibility of having some calm days in the nature and be able walk around a lot....and not being disturbed by too many cars, cities or...

As figure 6.8 illustrates, to be amid nature or, in the informants’ words “calm days in the nature” (trip reason) was a necessary, if not a sufficient condition for solo travel.

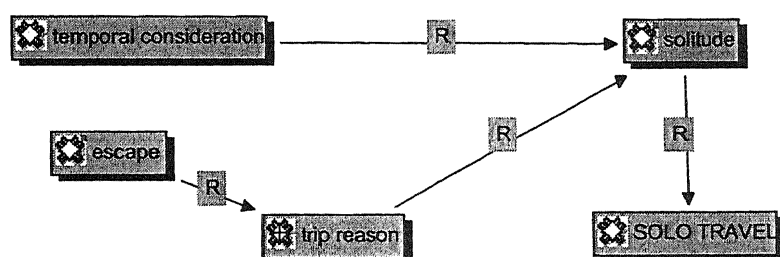


Figure 6.8. Solitude and solo travel

This awareness was clearly expressed by Ian who said, ‘I like to have time away from people, my own space you know, to kind of re-assess and think about things,’ and Nakata who stated, ‘I can have some time, time on my own, reading, just watching the scenery.’ However, these travellers did not mean that they

preferred to be alone throughout the entire trip, rather that they would have liked to have had the choice, as Heidi explained as far as contact with other people was concerned:

Mmmm....there are quite a lot. As I said, I would like to have some calm moments and the nature. Being able to relax and, mmmm.... Another point is that I want to have the choice, I want to be able to have calm moments but also meeting other people. And I suppose that is really easy here up in the North. Because there are quite a lot of alternatives of people travelling around....searching contact is quite easy.

As Angelo pointed out, 'I am alone on this trip, but I am never really alone,' something which implies that for some of these solitary travellers, travelling alone, as indicated earlier, was ironically a reason to have contact with locals and/or fellow travellers.

Circumstances. This was another by-default reason for travelling alone as some of the informants, due to circumstances prior to their trips, did not prefer or could not find people with whom to travel. Such was the case of Judith, who explained her justifications for travelling solo:

I: Can you explain once again the reasons why you started to travel on your own on this trip?

R: Well, firstly it was by default because I was gonna travel with other people. I was gonna travel with two other people and then they pulled out. So then I was, well it usually worked out... You know I asked people 'do you wanna come, I'm going here or there,' kept people informing about where I was going and I'd like to have people to join me, it's fun... But, you know, they're usually busy with something. So I might well ask 'am I gonna sit at home and not get to go because no one else is going or am I gonna go and see it anyway?' And I always decided well I wanna go and see anyway so.

As depicted in figure 6.9, circumstances also included change of marital status as a consequence of divorce or separation, a situation which again resulted in a need

to travel, and more specifically to travel alone, a circumstance which typified Alexander. Other kinds of personal circumstances also played an important role, as in the case of Thomas:

Some of the reasons were a little bit more personal. I was just...things where I come from were just getting a little too crazy... My personal life was getting a little just, not wild, but just partying all the time and things like that; so I just needed some time for myself. Also I thought maybe it would be a good chance for me to think about my future a little bit, whether I want...what kind of job I wanna look for next, whether I wanna go back to school and get a graduate degree.

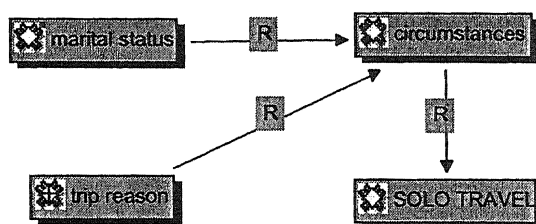


Figure 6.9. Circumstances and solo travel

Furthermore, for some of the informants, the trip and in particular travelling solo were necessitated by their work situations. Stuart clarified why he was alone on his travels:

The reason why I am on my own here is because I have had a month's holiday which is a situation.....well six months' holiday from the company. I do not ever see that will happen again and it is a chance in a lifetime. So it would have been foolish not to grab it. You know, there was nobody else who could take a month or two months off from work to spend time. So it was the logical thing to do.

Experience. Some of the travellers preferred travelling alone because of experiences inherent in solo travelling (see figure 6.10). As Beate relatedly pointed out, solitary travel was not an alternative to travelling with others. Rather it was considered a different type of travel experience:

I can't say that it is better or worse travelling alone. I think it would have been nice to travel with a friend to share the experience. But on the other hand it is good experience to have travelled alone as well. Now it seems to be good travelling on my own, but it doesn't mean that I will do it again. If I had the option, next time I would travel with a friend because just to be able to share the experience and do things together. It doesn't mean that it is not good to travel alone because, although you travel alone, you meet other people....So it is really two different travel styles.

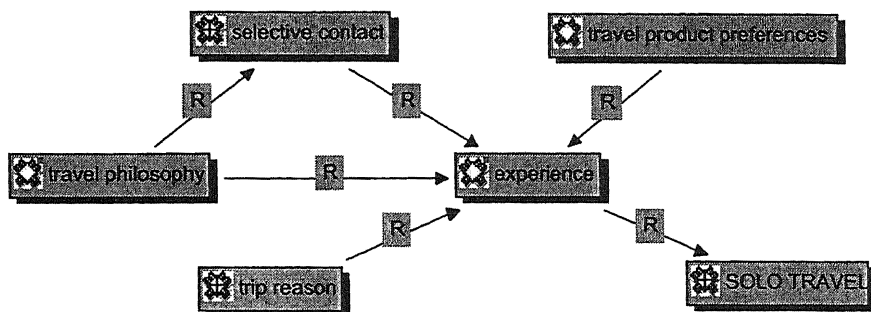


Figure 6.10. Experience and solo travel

Brian elaborated further by saying ‘if you are on your own you can have experiences that you wouldn't perhaps otherwise have. And, yes, I think that's the essence of it.’ Some of these unique experiences centred around being able to enjoy nature in solitude and to meet other people easily, particularly locals. As Julia put it, ‘when I'm out and hiking I quite like it, when you're sort of alone with the nature....,’ and as Andrea explained:

....I think when travelling alone, locals and their culture become more important for your travel, whereas when you are travelling with friends then they and what you do together become important.

Robert agreed with the above statement and added another interesting feature of the solo travelling experience:

Like I was saying when you are travelling alone and you can see a new site or experience a new culture....you really are not influenced...If you are travelling with someone else and you talk about it, sometimes

you can be influenced by what they are saying and, if it sounds right, then you kind of change your perspective to fit that definition. Whereas when you are alone you really are forced to come to your own conclusions, and in that sense it is more pure.

All these incidents reinforced the fact that experiences inherent in travelling alone did make, as they themselves suggested, their travel experience more worthwhile and richer, as opposed to travelling with others or in a group.

Avoidance of confrontation/guilt/complaint. As depicted in figure 6.11, on account of several factors (e.g., past travel experience) some of the informants had travelled on their own by choice in order to avoid conflict which might have arisen if they had travelled with companions.

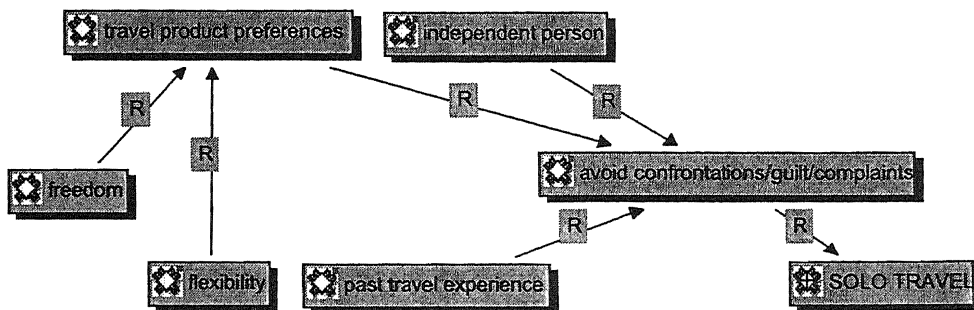


Figure 6.11. Avoid confrontations/guilt/complaints

In fact, these travellers also avoided long term relationships with fellow travellers they met en route, again to avoid any kind of confrontation. Such was the case of Angelo who apparently had met some friends on his trip whose company he had quite appreciated. Yet he still wanted to continue his trip single-handedly:

It is kind of unspoken expectation or feeling that once you have met up with someone and found a little relationship, they can happen very fast and unexpectedly. It could have been a social *faux pas*, but at the same time it is understood that we are individuals going in our own directions and we all respect travellers who are seeking their destiny. It really is a nice day today. Perhaps this is one of the reasons that I travel alone. I stay away from confrontation.

He re-emphasised this issue once again in his diary in the middle of his journey in Norway as follows:

.... Looks like I have plenty of time to get acquainted with Narvik [a city in Norway]. Good thing I am alone. Having complaints right now would not be very good.

Stuart also supported Angelo's point of view. He too said that he would rather travel alone to avoid having the feeling of guilt which might occur if he had to travel with someone and taken part in an activity which the travel companion did not really enjoy. Avoiding confrontation contributed to providing freedom and flexibility, elements which the solitary traveller sought.

Escape. This is a push or social-psychological travel motive, stemming from the anomic condition of society (Crompton, 1979; Dann, 1977; Lundberg, 1990; Mannell and Iso-Ahola, 1987; Sharpley, 1994; Uysal and Hagan, 1993). As Sharpley (1994) suggests, this extrinsic motivation is stimulated by the need to relax, to rest, to have a change and to get away from the constraints of everyday life. Here "escape" was one of the most significant motives for this particular group of travellers. As Marrku explained:

Well...I like to spend my holiday like.....when I go on holiday I really want to get rid of everything at home, everything that I want to forget what's home and my work and everything what's there and I want to completely for a few weeks take off and go to do something different.....I've done that a couple of times and after such a holiday you feel really great and you've forgotten all your passwords and that kind of thing from work (laughter).

As figure 6.12 depicts, the trip reason was one of the factors which necessitated solo travel. For some of the travellers the need to escape was best fulfilled when travelling alone as they did not want to have anything or anyone along which could have reminded them of home. Brian was a typical case:

... It's not often I travel actually with groups of people other than for short breaks back in England. When I travel to distant places it is either with just one other friend or on my own. If I travel with my

other friend I as much enjoy his company, he is a very experienced traveller...I do feel in a way as though there is a sense which you don't leave England when you are with somebody else.... You know, there is a kind of constant reminder, you know, you are with somebody from home and....

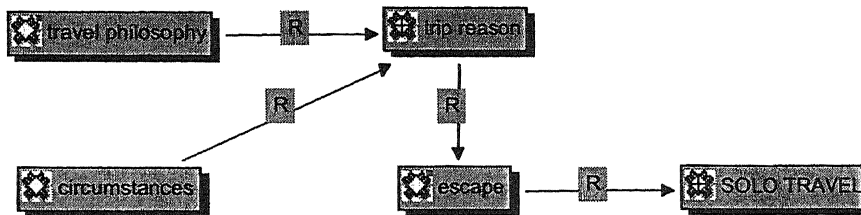


Figure 6.12. Escape and solo travel

Anonymity was another important benefit which was sought by these solo travellers since it provided them with the opportunity to escape from their interpersonal world (see Iso-Ahola, 1982). This point was thus clarified by Lucy ‘... I felt so much freedom. Like I could do whatever I wanted to and be whatever I wanted to be because nobody knew me,’ and strengthened by Nakata as follows ‘Usually when I live in Tokyo of course I know all the neighbours and (laughter) when I go to the university.....when I am travelling I am just myself, completely free from others.’

Exploration. Novelty has been shown to be an established motive for most travellers (Crompton, 1979; Yuan and McDonald, 1990), especially the more independently organised types (Vogt, 1976). Indeed, Cohen (1972) used novelty as the single criterion in his well-known typology to differentiate traveller types, which later was empirically reinforced by Snepenger (1987) and Mo et al. (1993). Novelty, in the current study, included a sense of adventure which allowed for exploration, something which was the main reason for some of the informants to travel solo as well for their trip at all. As illustrated in figure 6.13, exploration was influenced by several trip and psychographic factors, such as travel product preference and personal values.

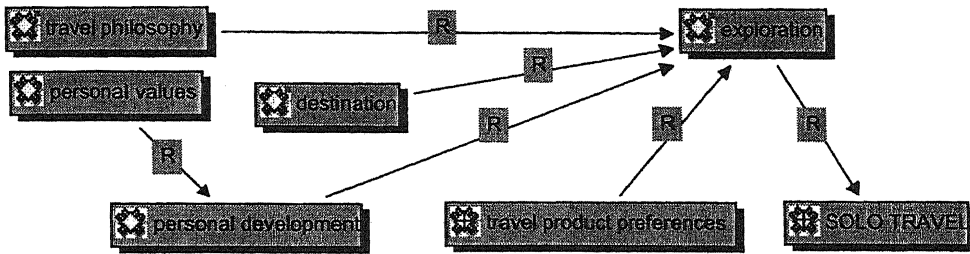


Figure 6.13. Exploration and solo travel

A sense of adventure was associated with the spontaneity involved in the travel style of these people. It was the impulsive decision made without necessarily any rationale, which made this type of travel more adventurous. As Mike commented:

So the actual getting around isn't particularly adventurous but the ability to go somewhere on a whim ...just go anywhere you like, spend as long as you like in certain places. If you like them to stay there and do activities with people you meet. Not to go with any group of like a package tour where you go with a predetermined group, normally people with the same socio-economic group and cultural sort of origin. So you are meeting different people which is.... as I said, the word "adventurous" sums up that experience.

Mike considered his travel experience more adventurous particularly when compared to that of package tourists since, according to many of the informants, organised tours removed the novelty of the experience (see Crompton, 1979). Thus, as some of the informants commented, they preferred travelling independently, and particularly solo, which Angelo reasoned as, '...I have to travel alone when I travel in Europe. Because I am on an expedition.' Here, Angelo clearly suggested that by travelling alone, he could achieve such goals as exploring the unknown. This statement was supported by Andrew, who explained it further:

..... A relaxing vacation, I'd rather go with someone else. If I'm going on an adventure vacation like I'm doing right now, like Costa Rica, Malaysia, it might be better to go alone to those places. It's just to experience it, I think you experience more of it when you are on your own, I think. I don't know why?

One of the elements which obviously made these people's travels more adventurous when travelling alone, was the experience they gained when they tested themselves against the various tasks (e.g., travel arrangements, social interaction) of travelling. As Sophie put it:

I: Why did you think that it was best that you would go on this holiday on your own?

R: Because I wanted to be with myself and meet people here. I wanted that challenge. For me, this is a kind of adventure to travel alone....

Travel companion en route. The other factor which made the decision to travel alone easier was the fact that some of these travellers had already planned to meet up with some of their friends along the way, as Diane explained when asked about how it was to be a solitary traveller:

I mean sometimes you think it would've been nice to have a good friend here that you can do something with or talk to or.....you know.

I'm gonna meet up friends along the way. Yeah, It doesn't worry me at all! I like it.

They also believed that there was always the possibility of contacting and meeting new people en route, as observed in figure 6.14.

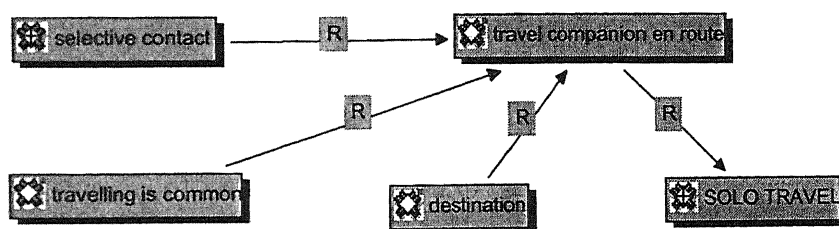


Figure 6.14. Travel companion en route and solo travel

Two assumptions made the informants believe that it was easy to meet and establish friendships with new people en route. First, was the fact that these travellers followed almost the identical travel route as recommended by guidebooks, and particularly *Lonely Planet*, which James approved of by saying ‘....every couple of days I’ll look in the *Lonely Planet* guide, find the nice spots that they recommend and then make my way towards them.....’ Secondly, and as

stated earlier, these travellers preferred staying at youth hostels which provided an excellent opportunity for meeting fellow travellers, as also noted by Alan, 'When you stay in hostels....you meet other travellers.' Considering these assumptions, some of the travellers had no particular problems deciding to travel solo, as revealed by Diane:

I like meeting any other backpackers. You meet people in hostels. That's why I don't mind travelling by myself because I can please myself and go wherever I want to. But at the same time I'm meeting different people and spend a day here with someone, with another person and I like meeting Australians that are travelling too. When I was in Bergen there were nine of us in the hostel (laughter). So that was kind of fun because you've got that being common, you know....

Indeed, Anna claimed that these assumptions constituted one of the reasons why she had travelled alone:

I enjoy somehow being able to do my own decisions and then of course I found out that it's easier to meet people somewhere else while travelling alone. These are the three points [reasons for travelling alone].

It was also noted that several of these travellers had found travel companions on their tour on different occasions, as Nicky confirmed, 'you meet someone who is going to the same place as you're then you hang out for a while.' Some others too had shared both negative and positive experiences with their temporary travel companions, which they had noted in their diaries.

Prestige. Some of informants indicated that prestige was not a motivating factor for their vacations, with a typical comment that 'It [travelling] has become usual and normal,' i.e., there was no longer any prestige involved in travelling. In Crompton's words (1979, p. 417), travel might have become part of the indigenous lifestyle rather than symbolising a higher lifestyle. By contrast, and according to Beate, there was still a degree of prestige involved in travelling (c.f. Dann, 1977) that was attributable to travel style, since she commented 'that I have travelled alone which is special....other than that everyone travels really to

different places.’ As she further elaborated:

Well, most of them [her friends] would say they could never travel alone. They think that I am quite bold as I am travelling alone.

Interestingly, as depicted in figure 6.15, some also suggested that they might gain a kind of prestige as they had not undertaken a traditional passive type of holiday (see travel philosophy) as elaborated by Ian:

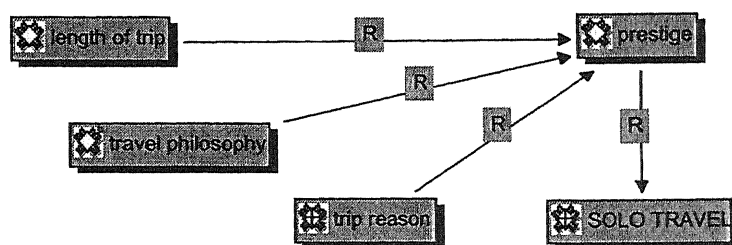


Figure 6.15. Prestige and solo travel

Prestige?...yeah, from other people, I mean in a funny sort of way, I think they probably do, you know. Not that it would be something I'll be looking for. But, you know, if you go back to the office and you say, you tell people what type of holiday you've had on your own, then I think people are quite impressed in a way because they think 'well he is a bit more dynamic than just going on a package holiday to Majorca or something.' So I suppose there is some sort of strange status prestige thing...yeah.

This factor was also associated with the length of their stay away from home alone, which Julia explained:

... Because it's quite a lot, I mean when you're away from home like I'm almost away from home for like two years. So I think when other people see that you just make your own way, leave your home or whatever....

Travelling is commonplace. As well as possibilities of easily meeting new travel companions en route, the fact that travelling is today considered quite

commonplace also had encouraged some of these travellers to make the decision to travel on their own.

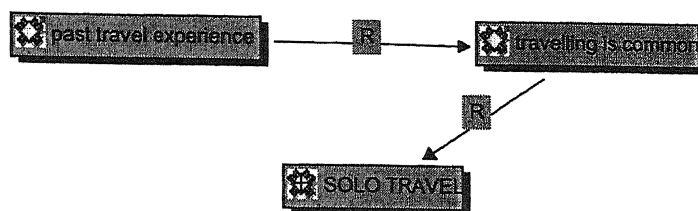


Figure 6.16. Travelling is common and solo travel

As depicted in figure 6.16, the past travel experience of the person or his/her family also had an impact on the travel style decision. Andrea provided a good example of this factor when explaining what kind of influence her family had on her travel decision:

(laughter) oh, my sister is a big traveller. Now she is in Australia, she now comes back for a week and travels to Central America again... Before she went to Australia she did travel alone for two weeks... So I thought if she can manage to travel alone I can also do it! (laughter) so she has an influence on my travel behaviour (laughter).

This excerpt suggests that the more commonplace the travelling or travelling in a specific way, the easier it was for people to make a similar decision.

Romance/sex. According to Ryan (1991), travel provides sexual opportunity through social interaction. Indeed, the possibility of romance was one of the traditional appeals of the trans-Atlantic ships of the 1930s. Although some of these travellers related that they had enjoyed romance en route on several occasions, they did not consider it a direct reason for travelling alone as they, at the same time, claimed that romance came with travelling solo especially if they were single and met (see figure 6.17) and interacted with different people with whom they might consider having a short-term relationship. Romance as a reason for travel was expressed quite explicitly by Stuart, when he wrote in his diary:

One subject you did not raise during the interview was sex. Everybody would agree that people go to beach resorts of Southern Europe for

sea, sex and sand. Is this maybe a factor for many other tourists too? Your subject [John in this study] whom I met, said to me, if only I had been younger, when he was talking about some encounter with a young woman. Clearly sex was not far from his mind. Although I have no intention of trying to seduce either of these women [whom he met], I do wonder if I would have agreed to join them if they were boring, ugly or male.

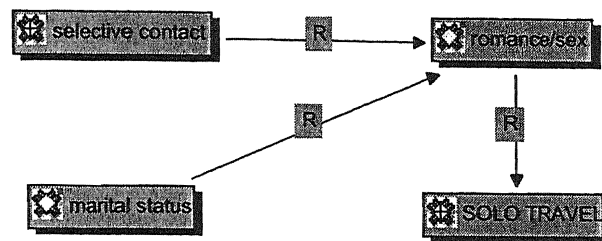


Figure 6.17. Romance/sex and solo travel

In an attempt to discover the reasons why people travelled alone, at the initial stage of the analysis, ninety concepts (codes) emerged. These first-order concepts were subsequently reduced to thirty-one more comprehensive categories, fifteen of which were defined as the factors that influenced, and the remaining sixteen were considered reasons why people travelled alone. Those elements described as factors, stemmed from the socioeconomic, trip and psychographic characteristics of the informants, and had indirect effects on solo travel style which also contributed to the reasons why people travelled alone. First, these factors were treated in a narrative form and their relation to solo travel (e.g., the longer the trip the more likely it was to choose solo travel) was shown in a hypothesis-model. Second, the reasons for solitary travel were elucidated, and illustrated with the use of networks depicting the relations (e.g., effects) between the factors and reasons.

Now, it simply remained to create a conceptual model (figure 6.18) depicting all the factors and reasons for travelling alone and the interrelationship between them

by aggregating the individual networks used to explain the reasons in the previous part. Here it emerged that nearly all the factors had in some way and in varying degrees association with the reasons for travelling solo. The factors that did not have any kind of connection were, as shown at the right bottom of the model: age, education, personality and future travel behaviour. However, it should be re-emphasised, that as this is a Grounded Theory study, the model was built up based on the quotations (text segments) derived from the informants' own explanations (i.e., emic view) rather than the researcher's rationalisations (i.e., etic view).

When this conceptual network is examined, one can see that there were sixteen reasons for solitary travel (shown with arrows pointing to the solo travel icon in the middle). Also, as only four of the factors did not have any influence on these reasons, the remaining eleven factors were included in the model, with their relations to the reasons being depicted. As the relation between the factors and reasons was covered earlier, instead of explaining the entire model all over again and in order to clarify the logic behind the creation of the model, only one example of a factors-reason relation is explained. For instance, the reason "temporal consideration" was connected to several factors in different ways. That is to say, the factor "personal values" contributed to establishing a trip reason which could have been "time to contemplate". "Temporal consideration" as a reason for travelling alone could also have been caused by people's circumstances (e.g., separation). And finally, time to contemplate was facilitated by solitude.

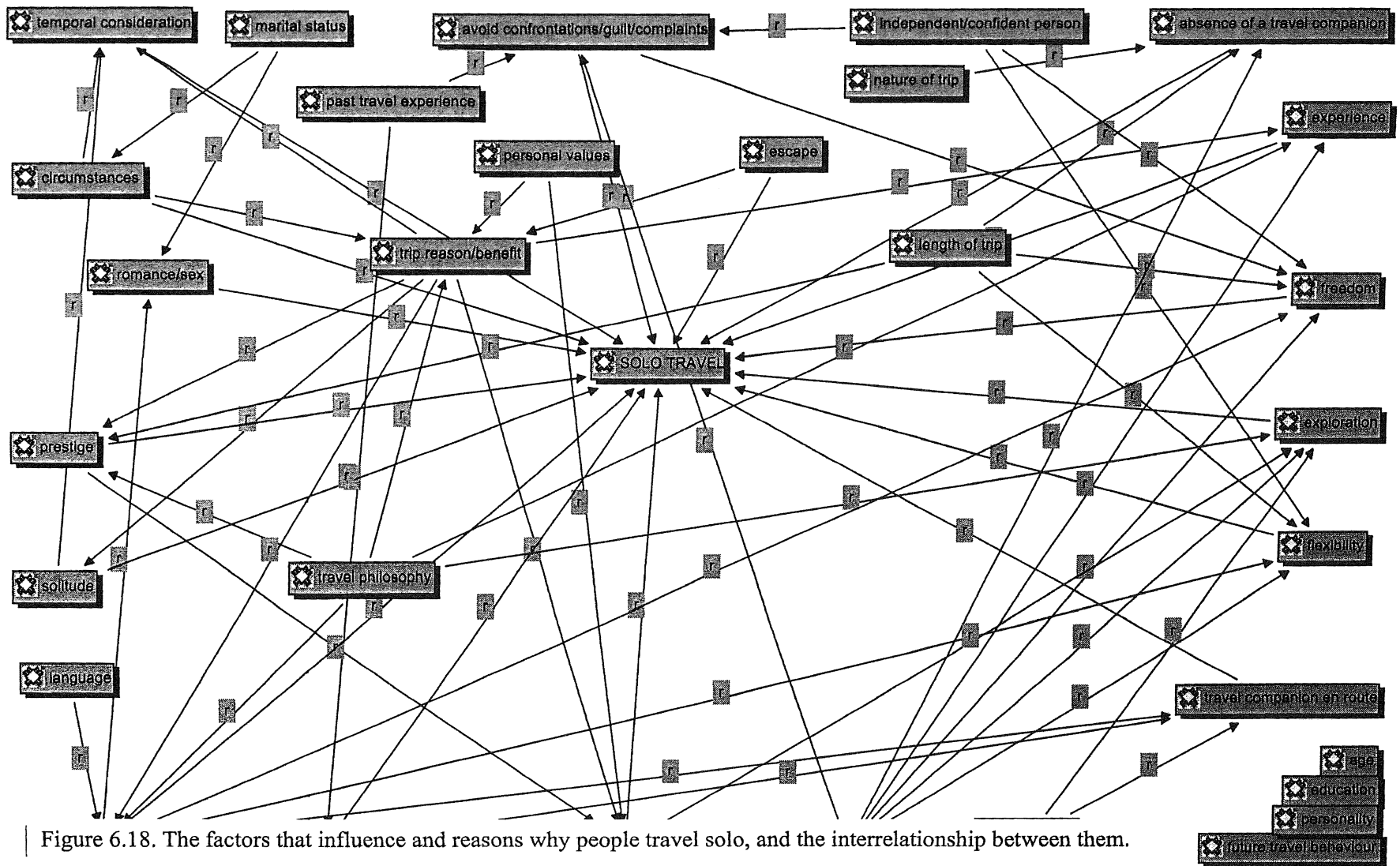


Figure 6.18. The factors that influence and reasons why people travel solo, and the interrelationship between them.

6.5 TRAVELLING SOLO BUT NOT ALONE

As seen earlier in this chapter, several factors and reasons played important roles in the decision to travel solo. As the literature suggests (Keng and Cheng, 1999; Mo et al., 1993; Morrison et al., 1994), some of these factors and reasons emerged from an examination of the socioeconomic, trip and psychographic characteristics of the informants. When looking into these factors and particularly the reasons, one can observe that, in spite of the fact that these travellers had chosen to travel solo, they did not necessarily seek solitude on their travels. As seen in table 6.7, only one-fifth of the informants claimed that they had travelled alone in order to experience solitude. They additionally mentioned that solitude was not the only reason for their trip, but rather an element to which they wanted to have access en route when needed. That is to say, even this group of people, as well as the rest of the group, highly valued contact with others (locals and fellow travellers) as a travel benefit. John, for instance, one of whose trip reasons was “solitude” spoke as follows:

I: What are the benefits that you seek from travel?

R: It is difficult to put into words. Do not forget I am 66. So I am 2-3 times older than most of the people I have met. But I have thoroughly enjoyed talking to the people, the other travellers that I have met...

I: Which travellers?

R: Well, when I stayed at the Stamsund youth hostel, there was a girl from Meløye whom I thought was 18 or so. She turned out to be 34 and a registrar in a hospital – a charming lady. And there was a German couple who were also keen on photography who had hired bicycles in Svolvær. And we spent about two days to find photographic hotspots, nearly stopping always at the same place. Again we exchanged addresses.

I: So you look at these encounters as a benefit?

R: Ohhh....definitely. Culturally, and interesting. It has just been totally delightful.

Furthermore and more interestingly, they suggested that they were travelling alone, to indeed be able to meet new people on their trip. For instance, as Sophie further elaborated:

..... And when I am alone it is easier for me to meet people. If I was with another traveller it would have been more difficult to hitchhike, and people wouldn't invite us to their homes. But when I am alone people will see me less vulnerable. So it is easier to make contact with people here.

Indeed, the majority of these travellers deliberately sought places where they could meet new people, particularly other travellers. For instance, Ian said, '....you can meet other people as well' and Susan suggested, '...it's the best way to meet people' when asked about the reasons for staying at youth hostels. Nicky explained further:

... And, yeah, you meet nice people generally, my age. I'm travelling by myself so it's like you wanna meet people and hostels, good way to do that if you're in a hotel you get your own room and you don't meet anyone and....you do that in hostels. I don't mind sharing room with others, it's fine.

The term "meeting people" included finding travel companions to travel with, conversations, romance, information exchange and sharing experiences. Angela, for instance, wrote in her diary about her relationship with the new friend she had made en route:

More funny was the trip in the Hurtigruten [ship] when I found out that one of those guys [the two guys she had met] was interested in me. I didn't mind because I've been feeling alone these days. And kissing someone who is quite nice can be a very "practical" solution. Yes! That's what I call the fact of kissing someone whom I'll never see again. We, three of us, were staying together these two days in Tromsø. and maybe tomorrow, me and the guy whom I'm staying with (kissing....) are going to travel to another city. OK, I think this is a concession that I am doing to myself: travel with someone else. Let's find out if this is gonna be interesting for me.

From these incidents (stories) it can be concluded that these people *travelled alone but they were never alone* and were always in search for contact with travellers and/or locals, whom they considered an important aspect of and motive for travelling, as Angelo explained:

I: Do you like others' company?

R: Well sure. But you have to remember, even though I am alone on this trip, I am never really alone. I am talking to you right now....I just got off the bus. I just met two women there... I love the girls. On the train you meet people, in the hostels. Hostels are a wonderful network for meeting people. There are people from all over the world in the same situation that I am in that are going out to explore the world. And everybody is on the same level, it is an informal atmosphere.... Breakfast, room, toilets are provided, and it feels like you are in a dormitory on a college campus. Basically, you can communicate with words, pictures, hands if you cannot speak the language, and everybody has something to offer. Basically, I just like to mention that a hostel with people, everyone has something to share whether it would be maps or ideas. For instance, I just found out today that there is a ferry from Svolvær to Narvik which is not in any timetable. I found out....word of mouth, and that is a tremendous asset to me. These are the types of things that make hostelling and travel unique and rewarding.

This chapter began by presenting the socioeconomic, trip, and psychographic characteristics of the solitary travellers in its first main section. Characteristics related to the research problem (Why do people travel alone?) were then elucidated together with the reasons for travelling solo in the second main section. Later, a conceptual network was inductively developed to depict the interrelationship between the factors that influence and reasons why people travelled on their own. Finally, it was emphasised that these people, although they travelled solo, were never really alone.

CHAPTER 7

THE GROUP TOURIST

As one of the aims of this study is to compare the solitary traveller with the group tourist, parallel data on the latter need to be presented – the very purpose of this chapter.

As in chapter six, in order to accomplish the secondary aim of the study (Why People Travel in a Group?), the objectives were to gather information on socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, to obtain data on trip characteristics, and to establish psychographic profiles of the group tourist.

As before, Grounded Theory is employed. In other words, after providing demographics, trip, and psychographic profiles of the group tourists in detail, first, the factors that influenced group travel and second, reasons why people chose to travel in a group are explained in narrative form, again followed by a conceptual network illustrating the relationship between the factors and reasons. As the theoretical background incorporated into the analysis and interpretation in the previous chapter covers and applies to the issues treated here, in order to avoid needless repetition the technical literature is only referred to in this chapter for purposes of comparison (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

SECTION I - THE WHO, WHEN, WHERE, AND HOW OF THE GROUP TOURIST

This section presents information on the demographics, trip features, and psychographics of the group tourist. The respective lists of these characteristics are derived from the tourism literature (Cooper et al., 1993; Hsieh et al., 1994; Hsieh et al., 1993; Morrison et al., 1994; Quiroga, 1990; Sheldon and Mak, 1987). Again, this information is related to the research problem and is expected to

provide further insight into the group tourist, more specifically the factors that influence and the reasons why people travel in a group.

7.1. Socioeconomic and demographics of the group tourist

As before, first the socioeconomic profiles of the informants are provided, which include age, gender, education, occupation, family composition (marital status), country of residence, language ability variables, as depicted in table 7.1. However, it should be reemphasised that on account of several external factors (e.g., restrictions imposed by the tour operators) it was not possible to obtain the same comprehensiveness of data from all of the group tourists. Thus, blank areas in the tables of this section marked with (-) mean that corresponding data (e.g., education) were not available from that particular informant. As with the solitary travellers, each interviewee was given a fictitious name in order to preserve anonymity. The details of the entire group are explained below, along with their relevance to the research problem.

Gender. The gender distribution of the informants is provided not so much to show its statistical spread as to gain more information on the sample's complexity. Firstly, among those (nine) who were not travelling as married couples only two were males, whereas the remaining seven were females, only one of whom was married. This finding was consistent with empirical work (e.g., Schuchat, 1983; Sheldon and Mak, 1987) concluding that single women prefer to travel on package tour for safety and security reasons.

Table 7.1. Socioeconomic and demographics of the group tourist

Fictitious Name	Gender	Age	Family Composition	Occupation	University Education	Language Ability	Nationality
1. Sam	Male	35	Single	Printing	None	None	American
2. Wendy	Female	50	Single	Database marketing	University	-	American
3. Nicole	Female	50	Single	Teacher	None	-	American
4. Linda	Female	35	Single	Solicitor	University	-	American
5. Mrs. Murphy	Female	55	Married	-	None	-	American
6. Mrs. Archer	Female	80	Married	Retired	None	None	British
7. Mr. Baker	Male	71	Married	Retired	None	None	British
8. Mr. Cooper	Male	64	Married	Retired	None	None	British
9. Mrs. Wood	Female	68	Married	Retired	None	None	British
10. Mrs. Hughes	Female	64	Married	Retired	None	None	British
11. Mrs. Day	Female	65	Married	Retired	None	None	British
12. Mrs. Wright	Female	52	Married	Librarian	None	Little German	British
13. Mr. Morris	Male	51	Partner	Lecturer	University	None	British
14. Helen	Female	70	Single	Retired	None	None	British
15. Mr. Smith	Male	75	Married	Retired	None	None	British
16. Caroline	Female	70	Single	Retired	None	Little French	British
17. Jennifer	Female	70	Single	Retired	University	Little French	British
18. Matt	Male	75	Single	Retired	None	None	British
19. Mr. Brown	Male	52	Married	Self-employed	University	None	British
20. Betty	Female	79	Single	Retired	University	Little French	British

When it came to the couples who were travelling together, only one gender (the more active during the interview) was selected from each couple, although in most cases both parties provided information. Overall virtually equal gender representation was obtained from the couples – six females and five males.

Age. There is general consensus (Askari, 1971; Evans and Stabler, 1995; Hsieh et al., 1994; Quiroga, 1990; Sheldon and Mak, 1987) that package or group tours appeal to a relatively older segment of tourists. More specifically, as Quiroga (1990) and Anderson and Langmeyer (1982) observe, they tend to attract those above 50 years of age. This trend was also evident in the current study, since among the twenty informants, just two were under forty-five, while the ages of the remainder ranged from 50 to 80 years. It thus became interesting to discover the reasons why the elderly choose package tours – an issue treated in the subsequent section.

Family composition. As seen in table 7.1, nine of the informants were single, some of whom were widows, while the remaining were married couples, with only one couple living in common law union. These characteristics have also been found in other studies of package tourists. For instance, Morrison et al. (1994) have discovered that escorted tours disproportionately attract persons living with an adult 55 years or older. Furthermore, they note that couples with children prefer non-escorted packages, a finding consistent with the present study whose group of informants did not include any couple accompanied by children.

Occupation. As the age spread of the group also revealed, most of the informants (fifteen) were retired, the remaining five having professional jobs.

Education. Mak and Moncur (1980) indicate that there is a relationship between the education level of tourists and their use of travel agents (i.e., for package tours). Quiroga (1990), in her investigation of package tours in Europe, has found out that most of this type of respondent are from lower educational levels. This

association was borne out by the educational profiles of the informants in the current research where only six group members had university degrees.

Language ability. Closely related to the above issue, none of the informants claimed that s(he) spoke any foreign language fluently. This finding reinforces another fact, which has been discovered in the literature (e.g., Morrison et al., 1994) on package tourists, that people with limited language ability choose escorted tours.

Nationality. As explained earlier, the data were obtained from two package tours originating in the United States and United Kingdom. Here, the first five informants listed in table 7.1 were from the US and the rest from the UK.

7.2. Trip characteristics of the group tourist

As with the solitary traveller, trip characteristics of the group tourist were also required. Again, a modified set of trip characteristics that had been employed in similar package tourist studies (Askari, 1971; Quiroga, 1990; Schuchat, 1983; Wu, 2001) was created, which included touring companions (party composition), information sources, past travel experience, travel planning and arrangements, trip duration, destination choice, type of accommodation and mode of transportation. As the last four variables were identical for the whole group they are only mentioned briefly.

Table 7.2 provides an account of trip variables, touring companions and information sources, while past travel experience and travel planning information take the form of an explanation.

Touring Companions (party composition). Hsieh et al. (1994) discover, in their study of package travellers, that they prefer to travel with relatives and friends in small parties.

This finding applied to the informants of the current research, since, as depicted in table 7.2, most of them were travelling in small groups either with spouse or friends. Furthermore, two of those who travelled alone had already been to the area and indeed had taken a similar trip previously. Sharpley (1994) suggests that the family plays a salient role in choosing a tourism product. Whether this variable has any influence on choice of group travel is an issue to be examined in the second main section of this chapter.

Information sources. Wu (2001) and Hsieh et al. (1994) observe that package tourists collect information for their trips from travel agents, or family/relatives and brochures. This characteristic was replicated by this study's informants. As seen in table 7.2, all of them had obtained information mainly from travel agents and brochures. However, a few had also utilised other sources such as the Internet, books and previous visits.

Past travel experience. For the purposes of the present research, past travel experience included both the person's travel experience generally as well as in the destination visited and his/her group travel experience. Gitelson and Crompton (1984) claim that past travel experience of a destination can lead to repeat visitation. Indeed, some of the informants mentioned that they had been to the country (Norway) previously, and also emphasised that the prior visit was one of the salient factors which influenced their decision to travel to the same destination again. Furthermore, in spite of the old age of some of the informants, not many of them had extensive travel experience. Interestingly, they had undertaken trips mostly with groups. These findings suggest that there may have been linkages with these people's past travel experience and their present travel style (i.e., group tour), a topic examined later.

Travel planning and arrangements. Bodur and Yavas (1988) observe that tourists on organised tours are more deliberate planners compared to independent travellers.

This association was upheld for the group participants in this investigation since most of them had arranged/booked their trips long before departure date. One of the impetuses for preferring to have the trip pre-planned was the circumstances (e.g., work), as Wendy explained:

I: When did you plan the tour?

R: We planned the tour already by the end of 1999 [a year prior to the trip] because if you did not book it that early you would not get a guaranteed place. Since we have our vacations in particular periods of the year [work influence], we almost have to plan it so that we would not end up with any surprises, such as finding it fully booked.

Several of the informants stated that not having to worry about the planning and arrangements associated with travel was the attractive side of group travelling which was an important factor in choosing this travel style, an issue to be further elaborated in the subsequent section.

Since both of the group tours were all-inclusive packages, the trip duration, type of accommodation and mode of transportation were identical for all the informants. As far as length was concerned, the first and second trip lasted for seven and twelve days respectively, details of which were supplied in the methodology chapter. As regards the type of lodging, on both trips high standard accommodation units were used, which, according to some of the informants, constituted a significant element of the travel experience (cf. Crossley and Lee, 1994). This feature was evident in Murphy's thoughts about the hotel he stayed at on the tour:

Well, we would for example want to stay one more day at the xxxxxxxxx hotel because it was a beautiful hotel really. We could just sit and relax the whole day at that hotel.

In terms of transportation, as these were coach tours, the secondary (in-destination) mode of transportation was road, whereas the primary (to-destination) transportation means for both groups was air.

Table 7.2. Trip characteristics of the group tourists

Fictitious Name	Touring companions	Information sources
1. Sam	With family (mother)	Brochures, travel agent
2. Wendy	With a friend	Brochures, travel agent
3. Nicole	With a friend	Brochures, travel agent
4. Linda	Alone	Brochures, travel agent
5. Mrs. Murphy	With spouse	Brochures, travel agent
6. Mrs. Archer	With spouse	Brochures, travel agent
7. Mr. Baker	With spouse	Brochures, travel agent
8. Mr. Cooper	With spouse	Video-film, Brochures, travel agent
9. Mrs. Wood	With spouse	Brochures, travel agent
10. Mrs. Hughes	With spouse	Brochures, travel agent
11. Mrs. Day	With spouse	Brochures, travel agent, books
12. Mrs. Wright	With family (father)	Internet, books, Brochures, travel agent
13. Mr. Morris	With spouse	Brochures, travel agent
14. Helen	With a friend	Friends, Brochures, travel agent
15. Mr. Smith	With spouse	Internet, Brochures, travel agent, Norwegian tourism board
16. Caroline	With a friend	Brochures, travel agent
17. Jennifer	With a friend	Previous visits, Brochures, travel agent
18. Matt	Alone	Previous visits, Brochures, travel agent, guidebook
19. Mr. Brown	With spouse	Guidebooks, Brochures, travel agent
20. Betty	Alone	Brochures, travel agent

Destination. There is general consensus (e.g., Josiam et al., 1999) that the destination influences the motivation for travelling as well as the type of travel selected (i.e., group travel). However, there are several aspects of a destination among which is what Cooper et al. (1993) refer to as “cultural difference”, which affects tourist consumption. It is consequently the aim of the subsequent section (7.4.1) to explore what destination aspects impacted on these tourists’ decision to travel in a group rather than independently.

7.3. Psychographics of the group tourist

Yoon and Shafer (1997) found in their investigation of tour participants that psychographics (e.g., lifestyle information) was a better indicator than demographics in explaining tourist preferences. Here, too, in order to better understand why people chose package tour travel, the psychographic profiles of the group tourists were needed. Again, because there were no generally accepted categories of psychographics for the group tourist, in line with the research problem, a set of psychographics for the current research was obtained from the tourism literature (e.g., Blazey, 1991; Madrigal, 1995; Mayo and Jarvis, 1981; Mazanec, 1995; Morrison et al., 1994), which included travel motives, trip reasons/benefits, personal values, personality, travel philosophy and travel product preferences.

These variables are depicted in separate tables: first, table 7.3 and 7.4 respectively showing the general travel motives and the specific trip reasons/benefits of each informant. Second, personal values and personality dimensions are presented in table 7.5. Since both of the tours were of an all-inclusive character, the travel product preferences (activities and attractions) of the group were mainly pre-determined. Thus, just a brief explanation regarding the travel product preference is provided. Finally, the current section concludes with a discussion on the travel philosophy of the group tourist.

Travel motives. As there is a linkage between travel motives and travel style (Taylor, 1994), it is necessary to provide an overview, if not a detailed account, of

the social-psychological motives of the group tourists in order to better understand the influences for choosing a package style of travelling. Table 7.3 presents the travel motives of the group tourists in this study. As can be observed, seven comprehensive categories of motives were generated by the data: Novelty, Escape, Social Interaction, Learning, Longitudinal Experience, Relaxation and Pleasure and Enjoyment. Interestingly and consistent with the literature (Crompton, 1979; Hsieh et al., 1994; Quiroga, 1990; Schuchat, 1983; Yoon and Shafer, 1997; Yuan and McDonald, 1990), these group tourists were primarily motivated by anomic factors (novelty, escape and social interaction). The *Novelty* motive was usually referred to as seeing new places, new people and new cultures. As Wendy put it, 'The reasons why I travel are: to see new countries, to meet new people and see the way these people live.' The *Escape* motive included expressions like 'it is nice to get away from the routine (job etc.),' '...away from your usual routine'. Finally *Social interaction* was stated as a need to, as Linda had it: 'meet people' or as Betty related: 'have company'. It was evident that for some of these tourists the travel was rather, in Crompton's (1979, p. 418) words "people oriented" rather than "place oriented".

Trip reasons/benefits. In the previous paragraph, the general motives of the group tourists were presented. The aim here is to be more specific and accordingly reveal all the reasons that they themselves gave as to why they had taken this particular trip. This information will in the following section be used to see whether or not specific trip motives have any kind of influence on the travel style chosen, namely group travel. Interestingly, there was a consistency between the general motives and specific reasons for the current trip of the group tourists, since again they were motivated by anomic factors. These factors can be grouped under three major categories: escape, novelty and relaxation. As might have been expected, the escape factor was mentioned not only by those who were still working, but also by those who were retired or engaged in doing mundane things (e.g., housework) back home.

Table 7.3. Travel motives of the group tourist

Motives Fictitious Name	Count	Novelty	Escape	Social interaction	Learning	Longitudinal Experience	Relaxation	Pleasure & enjoyment	Other
	17	7	5	3	3	2	1	1	
1. Sam	1	X							
2. Wendy	2	X	X						
3. Nicole	4	X		X			X	X	
4. Linda	2	X		X					
5. Mrs. Murphy	2			X	X				
6. Mrs. Archer	1	X							
7. Mr. Baker	1					X			
8. Mr. Cooper	1	X							
9. Mrs. Wood	1	X							
10. Mrs. Hughes	1	X							
11. Mrs. Day	2	X	X						
12. Mrs. Wright	2	X	X						
13. Mr. Morris	3	X	X			X			
14. Helen	2	X		X					
15. Mr. Smith	3	X	X				X		
16. Caroline	3	X	X						X
17. Jennifer	2	X			X				
18. Matt	2	X			X				
19. Mr. Brown	1	X							
20. Betty	3		X	X		X			

For these people the trip was an opportunity to escape temporarily from routine and to have social interaction with other people, particularly fellow tourists. As explained by Mrs. Morris:

I said that I wanted to go away for a week, at least, because... I no longer work now. Being at home, I said I wanted to get away from the house for a week at least. I don't mind where we go as long as it's not too hot. Then we sort of discussed a few things, places but I suppose really it was my sort of insistence that I wanted to get away from the house for a week (laughter).

Personal Values. One of the salient psychographic characteristics of tourists is personal values as they influence travel preferences and behaviour (Dalen, 1989; Goodrich, 1978; Madrigal and Kahle, 1994; McCleary and Choi, 1999; Pitts, 1986). Table 7.5 contains the values deemed the most important principles in the ordinary lives of the group members. Since on the first tour data on such issues as values were not collected from an informant, the first five are not included in the table. However, for the remainder both individualistic and collectivistic values were considered equally important. Initially, and consonant with the literature, it was expected that the group participants would be closer to the collectivistic end of the value system continuum. However, that was not the case here. A possible reason for this divergence could have been the fact that, although some of these people travelled in a group, they were not really group types since they only travelled by-default for a variety of circumstances. Thus, in the section in which the reasons for travelling in a group are treated, it will be worthwhile investigating whether those in the group who stressed individualistic values (self-respect and sense of accomplishment) were also by-default tourists. If so, then it still can be asserted that group tourists essentially are collectivistically oriented.

Personality dimensions. Since personality is influenced by an individual's value system, which in turn affects travel patterns (Madrigal, 1995), the group tourists in this study were examined in the same way as the solitary travellers according to Plog's (1974) personality scale of allocentric and psychocentric.

Table 7.4. Trip reasons/benefits of the group tourist

Fictitious Name	Trip reasons/benefits
1. Sam	A break from work
2. Wendy	Kinship
3. Nicole	To have seen this part of the world
4. Linda	Change of pace
5. Mrs. Murphy	Ancestors from Norway, recommended
6. Mrs. Archer	I've always had a wanderlust
7. Mr. Baker	To see as much of the world as possible, to relax
8. Mr. Cooper	To see how other people live, To see as much of the world as possible, social interaction
9. Mrs. Wood	It's our holiday, to see something new
10. Mrs. Hughes	A break from everything and everybody
11. Mrs. Day	We've always wanted to do it
12. Mrs. Wright	A break from work
13. Mr. Morris	To get away from the house, to relax
14. Helen	Able to travel now getting older, walking
15. Mr. Smith	To celebrate this special year
16. Caroline	To see the countryside
17. Jennifer	Always go on holiday
18. Matt	Re/seeing places
19. Mr. Brown	A break from work, to relax
20. Betty	A break from ordinary life

Table 7.5 classifies the informants according to this scale, and, as can be seen, most were closer to the psychocentric end of the continuum. This finding is consistent with Plog's (1991) work, which categorised group or escorted tourists as psychocentrics.

Travel product preference. As indicated previously, both of the group tours were strictly pre-organised. Thus, the travel activities of and attractions visited by the group members did not differ appreciably. General activities on tour included shopping (e.g., for souvenirs), socialising with fellow participants, walking and visiting those attractions decided in advance by the respective tour operators. Although some of the informants wished that they could have experienced more contact with local people, they were not able to do so on account of the tight schedule of the tour programme, as was evident in Matt's explanation:

I think that's [meeting locals] a good thing...and...I've done elsewhere a bit...when I had a smattering of European language...I think it's difficult here by virtue of the fact that it's a conducted tour and the opportunities to meet local people in villages or whatever other than tourist industry persons are limited.

Travel philosophy. Taylor (1994) suggests that travel philosophy should be used as a segmentation criterion for a better understanding of the tourist as consumer. He goes further to claim that travel philosophy is particularly pertinent to style of travel. Thus, as the current study also dealt with the reasons why people chose a specific type of travel (e.g., group travel) it was necessary to examine their travel philosophy. As Taylor (1994) explains, travel philosophy is concerned with how people think about travel in terms of its value to them, how they go about organising travel and how they actually travel.

Table 7.5. Personal values and personality dimensions of the group tourist

Fictitious Name	Personal Values				Personality Dimensions	
	Individualistic values		Collectivist values		Near Extrovert (allocentric)	Near Introvert (psychocentric)
	Sense of accomplishment	Self-respect	Close companionship	Being well-respected		
Count						
1. Sam	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Wendy	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Nicole	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Linda	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Mrs. Murphy	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Mrs. Archer		X			X	
7. Mr. Baker				X		X
8. Mr. Cooper				X		X
9. Mrs. Wood				X		X
10. Mrs. Hughes			X			X
11. Mrs. Day				X		X
12. Mrs. Wright		X				X
13. Mr. Morris		X				X
14. Helen		X				X
15. Mr. Smith			X			X
16. Caroline		X			X	
17. Jennifer					X	
18. Matt	X					X
19. Mr. Brown			X			X

It was clear that the advantages of travelling in a group were quite consistent with many of the group members' motives for travelling. For instance, Mr. and Mrs. Baker claimed that they travelled to meet other people as well as for purposes of relaxation, both of which were provided by joining a group tour:

R-woman: We like to meet a lot of nice people, you know. I think that's probably the one reason.....We like everything done.

R-man: Everything is organised so that we can relax.

Furthermore, it became evident that this type of person did not seek elements of surprise or spontaneity in travelling. Indeed, for some of the informants, as Mr. Morris suggested, the fact of not having to encounter any surprises was one of the principal reasons for travelling in a group:

I don't know, now we're given the itinerary and there will be no surprises...all in all we've got the group, you know, I'd expected.

For some of the informants it did not matter where they went on the trip, as was clear in the expression like 'I don't mind where we go as long as....' This statement implied that some travel was not necessarily destination oriented (culture, people and so on) *per se*. In other words, it was not motivated by pull factors but rather by push factors – they looked upon travel as a temporary escape in time and space from their everyday lives. As far as the travel arrangements were concerned, most of these people considered such a task to be a serious burden, in contrast to independent travellers who regarded it as a part of the travelling process. Thus there was a linkage between the group participants' travel philosophy and their reasons for travelling in a group, a point that is developed in the following section.

SECTION II – THE WHY OF THE GROUP TOURIST

Since the main aim this research is to study the reasons why certain groups of people select certain types of travel experiences, namely solitary travel and group travel experiences, the purpose of the current section is to examine the latter by exploring the factors that influence and the reasons why people travel in a group.

7.4. Why people travel in a group

A microanalysis (i.e., line-by-line) of the study's data obtained across the entire data set of in-depth interviews and diaries initially generated forty-five factors/reasons for choosing a group tour. Table 7.6 shows the similarities and differences by giving the count of a factor/reason with a corresponding number. That is to say, "18" indicates a reason supplied at least once by eighteen informants, and "1" shows that a reason had been provided by only one respondent. Table 7.6. also illustrates the categories, according to whether or not they had been evoked as reactions to interviewer stimuli. Stimulus response was generated by the researcher's direct question about a phenomenon, and non-stimulus information was obtained from the interpretation of other data supplied by the informants (see S/NS in last row).

Table 7.6 includes both factors that influence and the reasons why people travel in a group. For theoretical and practical considerations factors and reasons are separated and treated in two separate sub-sections: first, socioeconomics, trip characteristics and psychographics which make up the factors in table 7.6 are dealt with in line with the research problem. Second, the rest (reasons) are elucidated by illustrating (i.e., networking) each reason's relation to these factors as done in the previous chapter.

Table 7.6. Differences and similarities of factors/reasons for travelling in a group (part 1)

Factors/reasons Fictitious name	Ease and organisation	Social interaction	Security and safety	Seeing more	Cost/price	By-default	Age	Language
1. Sam	X			X				
2. Wendy	X		X	X			X	X
3. Nicole	X		X					
4. Linda	X			X				
5. Mrs. Murphy	X		X	X				
6. Mrs. Archer			X				X	
7. Mr. Baker	X	X	X	X			X	
8. Mr. Cooper	X	X	X	X				
9. Mrs. Wood	X	X		X				X
10. Mrs. Hughes	X		X				X	X
11. Mrs. Day	X			X		X		
12. Mrs. Wright	X	X						X
13. Mr. Morris	X				X			
14. Helen		X						X
15. Mr. Smith	X			X	X	X		
16. Caroline	X						X	
17. Jennifer	X	X					X	
18. Matt	X			X	X			
19. Mr. Brown	X				X			
20. Betty	X	X		X				
Count	18	7	7	11	4	2	6	5
S/NS	S/NS	S/NS	S	S	S	S	S	S/NS

Table 7. 6. Differences and similarities of factors/reasons for travelling in a group (part 2)

Factors/reasons Fictitious name	Length of trip	Touring companion	Past travel exp.	Future travel behaviour	Destination	Travel philosophy	Travel product preference	Personality	Personal values
1. Sam	X	X		X					
2. Wendy									
3. Nicole					X				
4. Linda					X				
5. Mrs. Murphy					X				
6. Mrs. Archer			X						
7. Mr. Baker									X
8. Mr. Cooper						X			
9. Mrs. Wood						X			
10. Mrs. Hughes			X	X					
11. Mrs. Day									
12. Mrs. Wright		X		X	X			X	
13. Mr. Morris					X	X		X	
14. Helen		X	X					X	
15. Mr. Smith					X		X		
16. Caroline		X						X	
17. Jennifer									
18. Matt	X						X		
19. Mr. Brown									
20. Betty									
Count	2	4	3	3	6	3	2	4	1
S/NS	NS	S/NS	S	S	S	NS	S	S	NS

7.4.1. Factors that influence group travel

As in the previous chapter, first socioeconomic, second trip and finally psychographic factors that influence group travel are presented here. These factors include: age and language (socioeconomic), touring companions, length of trip, past travel experience, future travel behaviour and destination (trip characteristics), and travel product preference, personal values, personality, trip reason/benefit, and travel philosophy (psychographics).

Age. Several scholars (e.g., Yoon and Shafer, 1997) have explored the linkage between age and travel style, indicating that older people choose package tours while younger persons prefer the independent travel mode. This association, however, has not been explained sufficiently. In other words, the reasons why older people choose package tours have not been systematically explained.

In the current study only some of the informants had chosen group travel because of their relatively old age. As Mr. Hughes put it: ‘...we’re not getting any younger...so you settle into the idea that somebody organises the tour and you can go.....’ Wendy, in the following excerpt, elaborated this connection further.

Whether one travels with a group or individually depends really on the age of the person. If you are at a young age you would probably prefer travelling individually. And if you are old you would then want to travel independently, because then you are able to arrange and organise your travel much more easily.

For them, age was the main factor which made them decide on travelling in a group. Although they did not actually relish the idea of travelling in a group, they did so on account of their age. Jennifer explained the situation as follows:

I: But you obviously did not favour this type of holiday [group travel]?

R: Oh no, not at all. We were fearlessly independent...usually always with a friend. On the whole, I didn’t go on my own, but we would make our own way and book our accommodation and find out the local buses and trains.... Yes, that was the part of the fun of it!

I: But you haven’t got it now!

R: Yeah, but you got luggage to carry...and I'm not as fit as I once was. You know, when you're young you go with rucksack on your back and that's it!

I: You did that?

R: Oh yeah...we youth-hostelled and camped and so on.

Language. Evans and Stabler (1995) assert that package tours appeal mostly to a tourist population lacking linguistic skills. Such was a situation for the group tourists in the current study. Indeed, several mentioned that one of the reasons why they had joined a group was the fact that they had thought that, since they did not speak any foreign languages, including the language spoken at the destination (Norway), it would be problematic to travel there in any other way. As Wendy explained:

Apart from this [age] I myself wanted to travel with a group due to possible language difficulties. You know, if you travel to a destination where people do not speak English and you do not speak the local language, then you have serious problems. Thus, it is advantage to travel with a group. I love travelling.

The fact that language is a factor that influences group travel became more evident when some of the informants explained that if they had known that English was so widely spoken in the destination (Norway) then they might have considered travelling independently. As Mrs. Morris put it when asked whether she and her husband would travel to Norway independently in the future: '....so many people have a smattering of English that we could get by....' This proposition (language handicap) was further reinforced when a few of the group members claimed that they went on their domestic trips independently precisely because everyone spoke the same language. As Mrs. Wood elaborated:

..... Well, no. At home it is easy to talk to everyone because we all speak the same language. But coming here it isn't so easy and that's why it's an advantage to be part of the group because you've got someone who is sorting out the language, the accommodation and everything for you. So that's a plus side.

Touring companions. The data indicated that some of the informants, though not primarily, were influenced by their touring companions (e.g., family and friends) to travel in a group. Such was the case of Caroline who explained that she had no knowledge of the tour whatsoever, given that it had been entirely arranged and booked by her friend and travel companion:

I: What is it about Norway that made you decide to come here again?

R: ...I didn't decide on the place. Jennifer [the companion] decided what she wanted to do and she asked if I would join her. I am in a position now, being widow, and so I haven't had holidays for a long time. So I'm catching up on lost time. If anybody asks me and if I think I can afford it then I go, that's why I liked to see Norway again.

I: So Jennifer was the one who wanted come over here?

R: Yes. She had found this holiday which she will tell you about, and I just joined her. I never saw the leaflet or anything. She just sent me a photocopy of where it was. Then I thought, if she is going, I'm going too. I have known her for nearly fifty years or so....

Length of trip. As noted in a memo during the analysis, length of trip had an influence on the decision to travel in a group as some of the tourists pointed out that they preferred travelling in a package tour on short vacations, a point that Sam made when talking about how he would travel in the future:

I: How do you think you will be travelling in the future?

R: Well, it is actually a matter of time. If I am going to travel for a week or two then it is probably okay to choose group travel. But if I shall go on holiday for more than two weeks time then I would prefer travelling individually. I do not really like spending a lot of my time planning a tour.

Another interesting aspect linked to the length of the trip was that, as the period of vacation was short, these people thought that they would get to see and do more when travelling in a group. As Matt observed:

Unless you're able to travel completely independently...then a package tour is...not necessarily the only option but an escorted tour is

a very happy medium I think. And ...it's a medium of getting to know an area perhaps rather more quickly in a relatively short time than you would otherwise....

Past travel experience. As the literature (e.g., Mo et al., 1993) suggests, and as the travellers in this study admitted, past travel experience had a significant effect on their current travel style, namely group travel. Three aspects of past travel experience influenced their decision. First, since some of the group members had suffered unpleasant experiences when travelling individually, they had for this trip chosen to travel in an organised tour in order to avoid some of the problems encountered by Mrs. Archer:

R: I would much prefer to be independent but we have a few hair-raising experiences when we travelled independent whereas with the party and backing of a tour agent you wouldn't get into such a panic anyway (laughter)

I: Experiences such as?

R: Well, once we got off the ferry somewhere...and we would be picked up by bus and taken to Loen we were going to stay. And nobody told us, it was a school holiday so the buses didn't run. So 'what do we do?' apart from panicking (laughter) we hang about and a bus came in with the driver who spoke no English...and I think he realised what had happened... The next thing, in sign language, he said, 'stay where you are.' So the bus company sent a taxi to take to the next place without any extra charge. Now they wouldn't do that in England would they? That was the worst occasion I think.... And it was the same occasion when we were booked in at the xxxxxxxx Hotel [four star] at Loen and....they refused our booking. They said, 'we're full up.' So we were a bit disturbed by that.... But the manager, they offered to take us to the next hotel which was nothing like as good and the food was nothing like as good but he gave us a refund and a bottle of wine. It was just for two nights and then....he took us in his own car to a beauty spot where we could look around and...they were very

helpful in a way. But when we got back home we wrote to [Travel Agent] and told them about this and they sent us £90 refund. Now that was very good.

The second aspect was related to the fact that some had made their decision based on their habit of travelling in a group, something which appealed to Helen, for instance:

Well I've always been used to tours from an early age, not as a child but when I left school. We've toured England obviously and then we started coming abroad and it was coach tours. But the person that used to run the tour used to hire a coach and map his own tour. So I've done this for years, sort of toured for years and years throughout my life.

The final aspect of past travel experience was the realisation that for several of these tourists this was their first trip to Norway, and thus some of them had chosen to travel rather in a group than individually, as explained by Mrs. Hughes:

I: Was there any particular reason for choosing this package holiday?

R-woman: ...as usually this type of holiday is to be with, you know, a group of people, rather than on our own and especially somewhere for the first time. To get a real...feel of the area as possible without feeling too strange, because you've got somebody with a lot of knowledge of the area.

Future travel behaviour. Future travel plans also influenced present travel behaviour, just as it had in the case of the solitary travellers. Here some of the informants indirectly revealed that they were on the current trip, gaining the necessary background knowledge to be able to travel to the same destination on their own some time in the future. In this regard Sam stated that:

On this tour I am also learning a lot which may be very useful when/if I will travel back to Norway individually.

Indeed, a few of the group members had travelled to a destination first with an organised tour and later independently, as was the case of Mr. and Mrs. Hughes:

R-man: You go and come back to a country if you've done something like a package holiday, on your own because you've already been

there and we've done that with Italy. We've been to Italy on a package tour and gone back on our own.

R-woman: And to France as well.

Mr. Wright further explained the importance of gaining travel experience with a group:

Because they can take you to places you can see what they're like. And then maybe in two years you can choose where you would like to go... So I think it's a good idea...they give you like a taste of the country and you can sort of go from there you know. You could say 'I like that place' or 'I wasn't too keen on that area.' But if you hadn't been with a tour you wouldn't know.

Destination. Cohen (1972) in his well-known typology used the familiarity-novelty dichotomy in order to distinguish between different types of tourists, stating that the closer the mass tourist end of the continuum, the less was the desire to experience the unfamiliar. Plog (1974) went further and suggested that the mass tourist (e.g., package tourist) preferred the familiar in travel destinations or else wished to experience the unknown in a familiar environment (Plog, 1991). This association applied to the tourists in the present study since some of them had chosen to travel on a package tour precisely because they were not familiar with the destination and had limited knowledge about the country, as noted by Mr. Morris in the following excerpt.

I: Was there any particular reason for choosing this package holiday?

R-man: Yes, not knowing the country, not liking to drive on the wrong side....it seems more sensible to do something that was all inclusive so I didn't have to worry about where we were going the next day, worry about food, worry about...the whole thing.... It seems more sensible to do it that way rather than struggle around by yourself.

Mr. Smith, too, emphasised the need to join an organised tour in an unknown destination by saying:

I think basically we didn't know enough about the country to decide to go to a particular place, and if we did we would still have problems –

how do we see other places? So we decided the best way of doing it was to have a package where we visit different places, organised...

Although these examples may have also related to the safety factor, they also revealed that this type of tourist was not motivated by the need to have experiences of travelling in an unfamiliar destination.

Travel product preference. As mentioned earlier, travel product preference includes travel activities and attractions visited. For some of the informants this was an influential factor in choosing to travel in a group since some had come to the decision simply because the itinerary (e.g., attractions visited) of the trip suited them. As Matt clarified:

I: This particular time why did you prefer travelling in a group?

R: Well, because I chose this escorted tour, and it happens to be a group doesn't it?.... The fact that it's a group wasn't the key factor.

The fact that it was a type of tour that I fancied was really the key factor, not the group itself.

Interestingly, this statement indicates that the travel product preference was not a criterion used to choose between two different package tours, but the fact that it was coincidentally a group tour which provided the same type of travel product as the tourists desired. This conclusion applied even to those who defined themselves as not a group type, like Mr. Smith, who wrote in his diary:

As explained in our interview, travelling in a group was not part of our motive for booking this particular holiday. We booked it because it offered us the opportunity to stay at a representative selection of venues in the Western fjords. Nevertheless, it was an easy and friendly group to join and we enjoyed a number of very interesting conversations.

Personal values. Earlier, it was found that precisely half of the informants considered individualistic values to be the most salient principles in their lives. Thus, it could not be inferred that there was a one-to-one positive relationship between these tourists' personal values and travel style. Moreover, it was also

observed that not all of the group members were, as they themselves pointed out, group type of people. Instead they travelled in an organised tour on account of their circumstances rather than as a matter of choice. The purpose here then was to see whether those who had revealed individualistic values were those who joined the group tour not out of preference. Here, it was found that most of the out-of-preference or not group-type of people were the ones who also considered individualistic values to be important. This finding lends support to the proposition of Madrigal (1995) that there is a linkage between personal values and travel style selected. In other words, it can be suggested that those who place more emphasis on collectivist values are more likely to prefer group type of travel. Mr. and Mrs. Baker were a typical case particularly as they considered the collectivistic value of being well-respected extremely important, along with the realisation that their travel motive was primarily collective-oriented (socialisation).

Personality. As indicated previously, scholars (Howard, 1976; Hoxter and Lester, 1988; Madrigal, 1995; Ross, 1994) agree that tourist behaviour is influenced by personality. Plog (1991) suggests that psychocentrics are likely to travel in escorted tours as they lack the necessary confidence to arrange their trip and travel independently.

This association applied to some of the informants in the current study since “lack of confidence” was revealed as one of the reasons why they had not considered alternative styles of travelling to a group tour. As Mrs. Wright explained:

I: But this particular time, when you decided that you would go on holiday to Norway, why did you not consider travelling independently, like not necessarily by car but by using local transport etc.?

R-woman: I think it's just lack of confidence...as I say it's a long time since I've been here...1967 was long time ago. Things could have changed. We weren't sure. You know, we haven't that confidence to come and do it on our own....

Helen's companion agreed. She also claimed that being a member of the group provided her with the confidence needed to engage in different activities on tour which they would not have considered doing otherwise:

I: What other advantages are there in travelling in a group?

R-Helen's companion:I think confidence again because some hotels, you see, you go to, like they have entertainment at night and Helen and I dance, don't we?...and play music, and no one will go on to the floor.... If you travel independently you won't go alone if there is a group of you. You give each other confidence. Sometimes there is eight of us and we'll go onto dance floor – no problem. But if there is only two of us, we wouldn't....

Trip reason/benefit. In order to find out whether travel motives had had any influence on travel style decision, the specific travel motives listed in table 7.4 were compared with the reasons for travelling in a group in table 7.6. Here it could be seen that some of the informants had preferred joining an organised tour mainly due to their trip motives (c.f. Mayo and Jarvis, 1981). Two primary trip needs "social interaction" and "relaxation" influenced some in their decision to choose a group tour, needs which, according to them, could only be fulfilled by travelling in a group. Although several mentioned that the facilitation of social interaction (e.g., Schuchat, 1983) was one of the attractions of group travel, Mr. Cooper declared it to be the primary reason for joining the group, indeed his main reason for travelling:

I: Do you prefer or like travelling in a group?

R-man: I like other people's companionship, yeah, I do, as I explained before, to exchange views. I prefer companionship of other people.

Furthermore, relaxation, as some of the group members suggested, was a reason for taking a trip. They also added that having the tour organised by someone else, and thus not having to undertake any arrangements, made travel relaxing. Mr. and Mrs. Baker were a typical example:

I: May I ask you what the reasons are for travelling in group tours?

R-man: Well, we meet a lot of nice people, you know. I think that's probably the one reason.

R-woman: We like everything done.

R-man: Everything is organised so that we can relax.

Travel philosophy. As indicated in the previous sub-section, travel philosophy was the most significant factor that influenced people's travel behaviour (e.g., travel style chosen). As some examples have already been provided as to the relationship between travel philosophy and travel style, the purpose here is to reinforce this hypothesis by supplying some additional instances. For example, it was evident in Mr. Wood's account of his most positive experiences, that tourists like himself were mainly concerned about the tour itinerary *per se* rather than the attributes of the destination (e.g., locals).

I: Can you please mention the most positive incident you've experienced so far on this tour?

R-man: It is the organisation, well-planned. And the courier has so much information and she is such a good speaker and announcer. And she makes sure that every individual is at home and if they have any problem she needs to know what it is.

Furthermore, although due to the tightly-scheduled tour programme none of the group members had the chance to make in-depth contact with the locals, very few mentioned that it was a loss. Indeed, for the majority of the group it was not found amongst the reasons for travelling at all, and local people were regarded as last resort sources of information. Mr. Morris, for example, felt:

I: But is it [contact with locals] something you've thought of doing?

R-man: No not really. I think if there were things I wanted to know and they [locals] were the only source yes, but really there is nothing I desperately want to know.... It's almost like a later-base. So we can think of Norway and say, 'we've been there, we know what the food is like, we know what the roads are like, we know what to expect in terms of driving, we know some hotels that we can contact.' So it won't be quite as daunting if we hadn't been before. And I mean again

I would like to further north. Whether we would do that....singly or as a group, I don't know.

So far, the socioeconomic, trip, and psychographic factors which influenced the informants' decision to travel in a group have been examined. These factors are laid out as a hypothesis-model in figure 7.1. As explained in the previous chapter, factors marked with a minus (-) had no effect, whereas those with a plus (+) did have a relationship and accordingly affected group travel style. It should be re-emphasised that this model is based, following the most salient principle of Grounded Theory, on the empirical data obtained from the informants. As can be observed, socioeconomic, trip and psychographic factors also affected one another as well as influencing the decision to travel in a group. As also found in the tourism literature (Keng and Cheng, 1999; Mo et al., 1993), when all three groups of factors were considered, they yielded useful information for the study of the group traveller. However, as research on psychographics (Backman et al., 1999; Blazey, 1991; Plog, 1994; Schewe and Calantone, 1978; Zins, 1998) demonstrates, just why people travel in a group is best explained by psychographic factors.

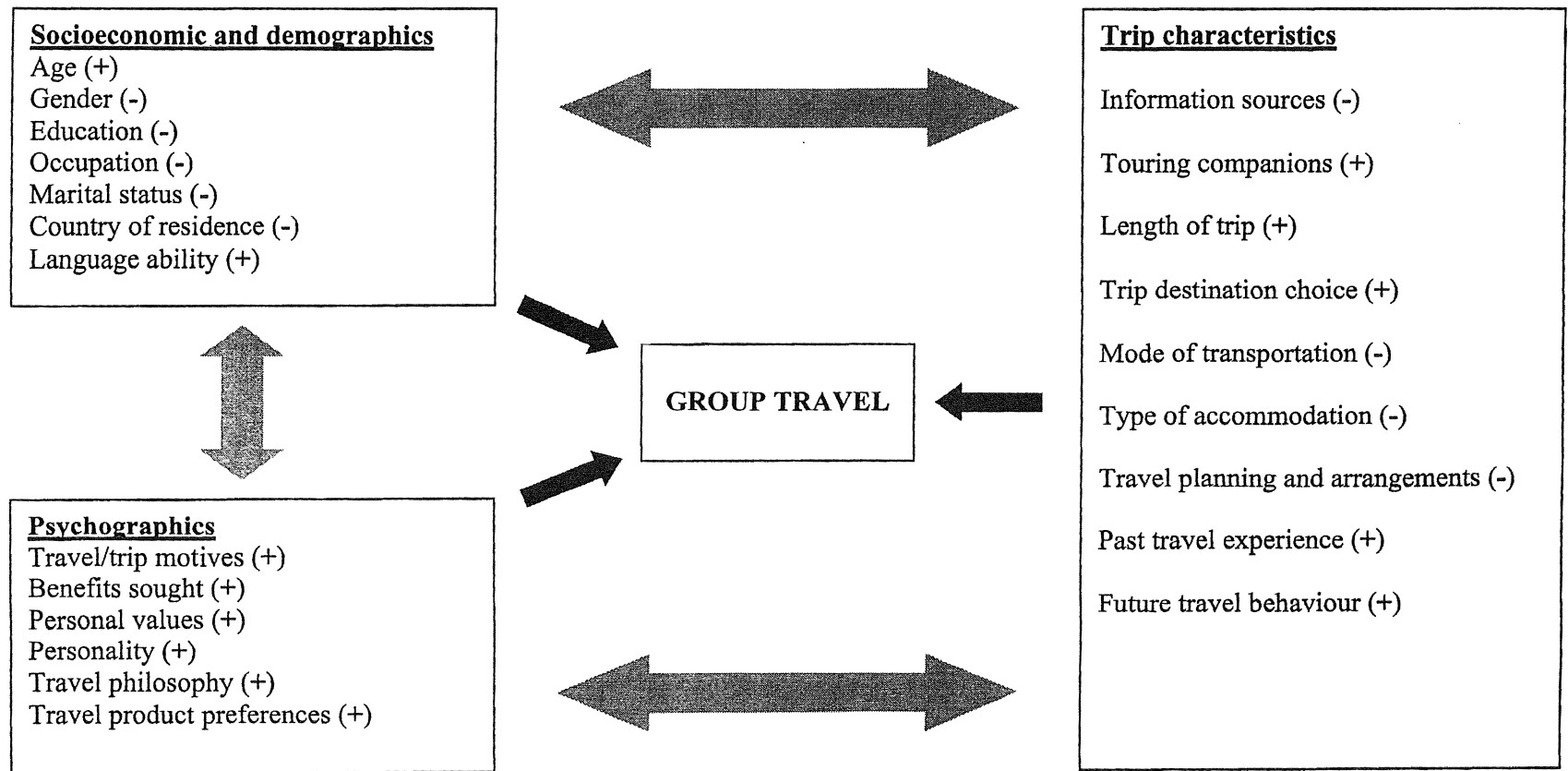


Figure 7.1. Relationship between socioeconomic, trip, and psychographics factors, and group travel style

7.4.2. Reasons for travelling in a group

The aim of this sub-section is to elaborate the reasons why people travel in a group. Six central reasons emerged from the data: ease and organisation, social interaction, security and safety, seeing more, cost and price, and by-default. To further elucidate these reasons, the relationships between them and the relevant factors (e.g., trip characteristics) are also illustrated through graphical displays.

Ease and organisation. Askari (1971) explains that an escorted tour includes the assistance of an experienced tour guide travelling with the group, who handles all basic details – hotel reservations, transport, sightseeing, baggage, customs, language interpretation where necessary, etc. According to Yoon and Shafer (1997), all these matters constitute the convenience which forms the basis why people choose to travel in an organised tour. A considerable number of examples were found in the current study that supported the contention that most of the group members preferred group tours because everything was made easy; it was all organised by the travel agent. As depicted in figure 7.2, this reason was also related to other factors such as age. As persons grew older their ability to cope with the physical tasks of travel declined, as the following excerpt from Jennifer illustrates:

.... Well I think travelling independently is probably...my choice. But now with luggage and things it's easier to go in a group.

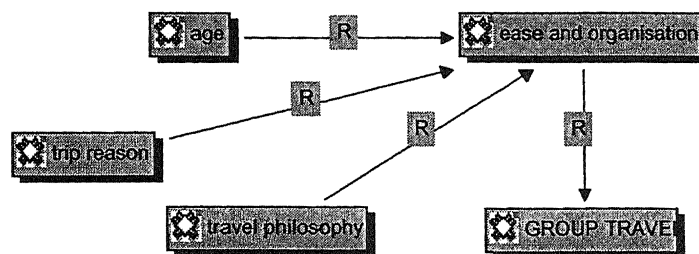


Figure 7.2. Ease and organisation and group travel

Several others, though from different perspectives, found that the organisational aspect of travelling in a group was extremely attractive since they, for various

reasons, wanted to avoid spending time and effort on planning prior to and during the trip. Mr. Murphy explained this point further:

We do not have the time back home to do all the research and reading required to plan and organise a tour. Because we both have our jobs and most of our time goes on daily routine. There is really not much time left after work and house things. This is why we preferred this type of travel as we do not need to plan the tour by ourselves.

The foregoing example speaks of pre-trip organisation. Another informant, Linda, talked about the advantages of not having to do any organisation herself on the trip:

The biggest advantage of travelling with a group is that you are not bothered at all arranging everything on your travel and you do not use time on these things.

As stated in a memo, these instances represented the “passive” tourist of Boorstin (1992), and were evident in Mrs. Wood’s words as she explained why they had joined the tour:

To make life easy for us, someone else to do all the organising...I suppose it’s the lazy way of having a holiday, let someone else do it all and you just sit back and enjoy it!

All agreed that the tour guide was an important element of the group tour (see Geva and Goldman, 1991) as everything was organised by the guide en route, something which was highly appreciated by Mr. Wood:

The courier made us welcome and gives us information of areas, prior to us seeing for ourselves, also local history. We are encouraged to be on time and to make ourselves known to others and each day sit at different seats on the bus. [The guide] also makes sure each person is kept informed of the day’s programme and asks passengers’ opinions of their likes or dislikes, even the need of a lift at hotel.

Furthermore, the guide as a source of knowledge on tour added to the attractiveness of the group tour. As Mrs. Baker put it:

Well, the courier always has interesting things to tell you that we would never have. A lot of things that they’ve told us we would never

have known had we been on our own. I mean that's very important as far as we're concerned, because I write things down and then I put it in the book when I get home and try and remember different things. You see, the courier points things out to you.

Overall, it can be concluded that it was the tour being fully organised by someone else, as Mrs. Murphy pointed out, "which makes travelling a lot easier".

Social interaction. There is general consensus (e.g., Crompton, 1979; Goodall, 1991) that social interaction is one of the salient motives for travel. According to Schuchat (1983), it is also a reason why people choose to travel on group tours, as shown in figure 7.3.

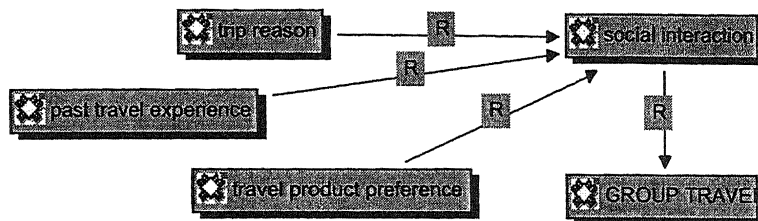


Figure 7.3. Social interaction and group travel

Some informants in the current study, too, were motivated by the need to socialise, something that became possible when travelling in a group. As Betty explained in the following excerpt:

I: One question, you said that you lived on your own...is it...do you look for in a way the company of the people on the tour?

R: I think so, yes. Yes, it's nice to have company for a change and go back home and on your own again which is also nice.

Meeting people was not just a reason for single tourists to join the group. It also applied to couples (Schuchat, 1983), as Mr. Wright revealed when talking about why he and his wife travelled in a group:

Well, we meet a lot of nice people, you know. I think that's probably the one reason.

Furthermore, one of the reasons for wanting to travel in a group was to be able to have people with whom to share travel experiences. As pointed out by Mr. Cooper:

I: Rather a broad question, do you prefer or like travelling in a group?

R-man: ...I like other people's companionship. Yeah, I do, as I explained before, to exchange views. I prefer companionship of other people.

The need to share travel experiences with others in a group, as noted in a memo, is defined as a "material good" by Walter (1982), and characterised by the "collective gaze" idea of Urry (1990). Other motives were also found as to why people participated in group tours for social reasons. One of the informants, for instance, spoke about finding people who were from similar demographic backgrounds (age or marital status) with whom she would be comfortable on future travel as well as on the present trip.

Security and safety. A memo created during the analysis stage noted that the group tour provided safety and security. For some of these people that was the primary reason for choosing to travel in an organised tour. As figure 7.4 illustrates, the need for safety and security became more important when the destination visited was an unfamiliar one. This sentiment was shared by several of the group members. As Wendy, for instance, admitted:

I also travelled with a group to China because I felt much more secure in the group. Otherwise I would never have travelled China on my own. Furthermore, the less familiar you are with the destination, the more likely you would travel with a group.

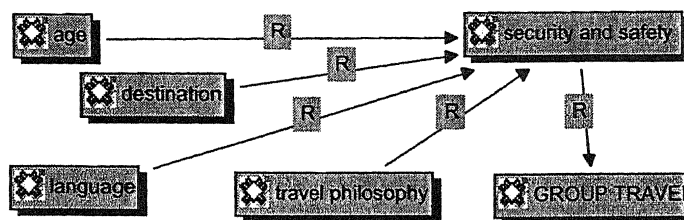


Figure 7.4. Security and safety and group travel

Interestingly, most of the informants indicated that they would not consider travelling in a group in their home country. Nicole observed, '[we] know the place, what to see and where to go,' and, as Mrs. Murphy pointed out, 'back home we never travel with a group tour though for we are familiar with things, places and people back home.' Another reason why safety and security were considered so important was that, as Plog (1991) suggests, this type of tourist was non-adventurous and sought familiarity in strange places. Mrs. Baker agreed:

Well, I'm not adventurous going away on my own. As I said, we feel safer in our own sort of thing. If you don't know the laws of the land, for example, and you try to keep with that, the courier usually advises you about what to do....

Mrs. Hughes added her reasons for preferring to travel in a group 'to get a real...feel of the area as possible without feeling too strange, because you've got somebody with a lot of knowledge of the area.' It was clearly evident that these people joined group tours mainly because they, as Mrs. Archer wrote in her diary, 'seek the security a good tour company can offer us'. These examples reinforce previous work on group tours (Bodur and Yavas, 1988; Schuchat, 1983).

Seeing more. Sheldon and Mak (1987) suggest that visitors expecting to stay at a destination for a short period may find it advantageous to purchase packages tours due to the scarcity of time and the high cost of searching and buying vacations.

For many of the informants of this study, buying a package tour was felt to minimise such costs and enable them to "see and do more" with desired high quality guaranteed, as, for instance, explained by Mrs. Murphy:

Well, we think we get to do and see more when we travel with a group in such a short time. You see, if we had travelled on our own we would, for instance, wake up later than now (06:30), and naturally would have less time to do and see things. The other thing is that if we travelled on our own we would not know where to stay, eat etc. But once we have paid the tour operator, then it is guaranteed that the food, accommodation and all is of good standard, as it is.

Matt summed up the attraction of a group as follows:

It's [group tour] a medium of getting to know an area perhaps rather more quickly in a relatively short time than you would otherwise....

This conclusion was also drawn by other group members based on their present experience of travelling in a group as well as their past travel experiences (i.e., independent travelling), as seen in figure 7.5.

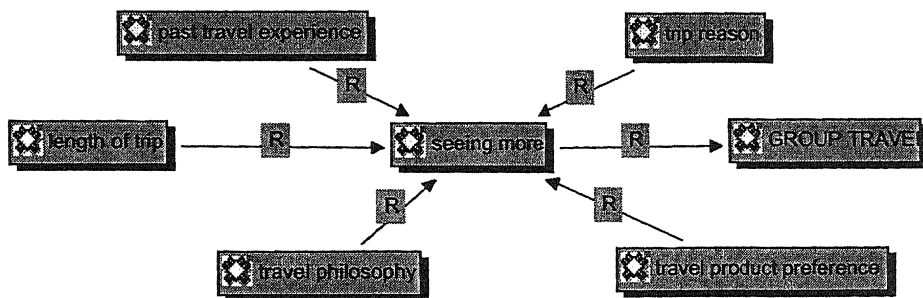


Figure 7.5. Seeing more and group travel

Linda explained the connection further when revealing her reasons for travelling in a group:

I feel that I get to see a lot more really than if I had travelled individually. For instance, the Carlsons' [a couple in the group but not interviewed] had been to Norway on their own last time they were here. And they told me that they were not particularly happy with that type of travel, because they had to use most of their time trying to find out the places they were going to visit. But now on this tour we do not have that problem, you know.

Cost and price. Another reason why people choose to travel on organised tours is that they are reasonably priced (Bodur and Yavas, 1988; Sheldon and Mak, 1987) and people feel that they get good value for money (Yoon and Shafer, 1997).

This assumption was reinforced by Mrs. Brown when speaking about the attractions of going on a group tour:

I was just thinking about another factor, which influenced my choosing this holiday...in England, Norway is known to be expensive, an expensive destination, and going on a package is recommendedbecause you can get better value with hotel rooms, it is said. And I think one of the attractions for me of going on a package is, most things are paid for us...whereas if we'd come here without proper preparation...which we didn't have time to do, we would have no control over how much we would spend, you know. It would have been impossible. So finance was another reason coming to a new country...

Value for money was also considered an important advantage by single tourists, as Matt pointed out:

As a single independent traveller, it [travel arrangement] would inevitably result in much higher cost....

Furthermore, and as depicted in figure 7.6, some had joined the tour group as it offered an itinerary which suited them in terms of travel product preference (i.e., attractions visited) at a reasonable cost. As Mr. Smith observed:

To travel on a package trip because it saves you all the time organising it privately and it's convenient and often reasonably priced. And we wouldn't normally choose to come in a group. The reason we came in a group this time is because that is a way of seeing a variety of places and hopefully representative places of the country. It would take quite a bit of organising to do that privately.

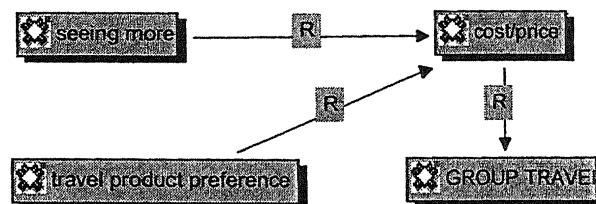


Figure 7.6. Cost/price and group travel

By-default. As mentioned earlier, not all of the group members had chosen to travel on a package tour by choice, and in this study they are referred to as “by-default” group tourists. However, just as some of the by-default people were travelling in a group on account of changed circumstances (e.g., previously treated age, marital status), there were also some who were not influenced by such circumstances but still travelled in a group because they were not the decision makers as far as the present trip was concerned. In the case of Mr. and Mrs. Day, for instance, the trip had been offered to them as a gift:

I: This particular time?

R-woman: This particular time, it was arranged for us by our daughter and her family... as a gift for us.

I: When did you start planning your trip?

R-man: Well, we only started planning (laughter), I only knew about it two weeks ago. It was a surprise! Our daughter and her husband had arranged it all for us.

Another factor which played a role was the fact that a few of the group members had joined the present group tour simply to accompany their relatives or friends, as in the case of Sam and Mrs. Wright who were travelling with their mother and father respectively, or Caroline who reacted as follows:

I: Was there any particular reason for choosing this package tour?

R: From my point of view, no. It was the one that was offered to me.

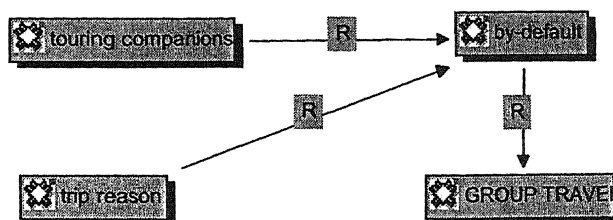


Figure 7.7. By-default and group travel

When exploring the reasons why these people travelled in a group, at the commencement of the analysis, forty-five concepts (codes) were created. Subsequently, the first-level codes were grouped into more comprehensive seventeen higher-level categories, eleven of which were described as the factors

that influenced, and the remaining six of which were treated as reasons why people had chosen to travel in a group. The factors that emerged from the socioeconomic, trip and psychographic characteristics of the informants had an indirect influence on group travel style, which in turn contributed to the reasons why they travelled in a group. First, these factors were analysed in narrative form, and their linkage to group travel (e.g., the shorter the trip the more likely the choice of group travel) was illustrated in a hypothetical-model. Second, the reasons for group travel were elaborated, and depicted by using networks showing the connections (e.g., effects) between the factors and reasons. Here, the purpose was to develop a conceptual model (figure 7.8) illustrating all the factors and reasons for travelling in an organised tour and the interrelationship between them by putting together the separate networks designed to elucidate the reasons in the previous part. Almost all the factors had in various degrees relations with the reasons for travelling in a group. The few factors that did not have any type of linkage were, as depicted at the bottom left of the model: personality, personal values and future travel behaviour.

By examining this conceptual model, it can be observed that there were six reasons for group travel (depicted with arrows directed to the group travel icon in the middle). While three of the factors did not have any influence on these reasons, the remaining eight factors did. They are shown in the model with their linkages to the reasons. As the relationship between factors and reasons was treated earlier, instead of explaining the entire model all over again, but in order to understand the logic behind its development, here just one example of the factor-reason relationship is provided. For instance, the reason “ease and organisation” was linked to several factors in various ways: age, travel product preferences and trip reason. Some did not want to spend the time on planning the travel activities and attractions since they were offered as a package by the tour company. Similarly some could not cope with the intricate details of travel due their age. For others, the main reason for their trip was to relax. Consequently, they did not want to be bothered with the planning and organisation which could be arranged by someone else.

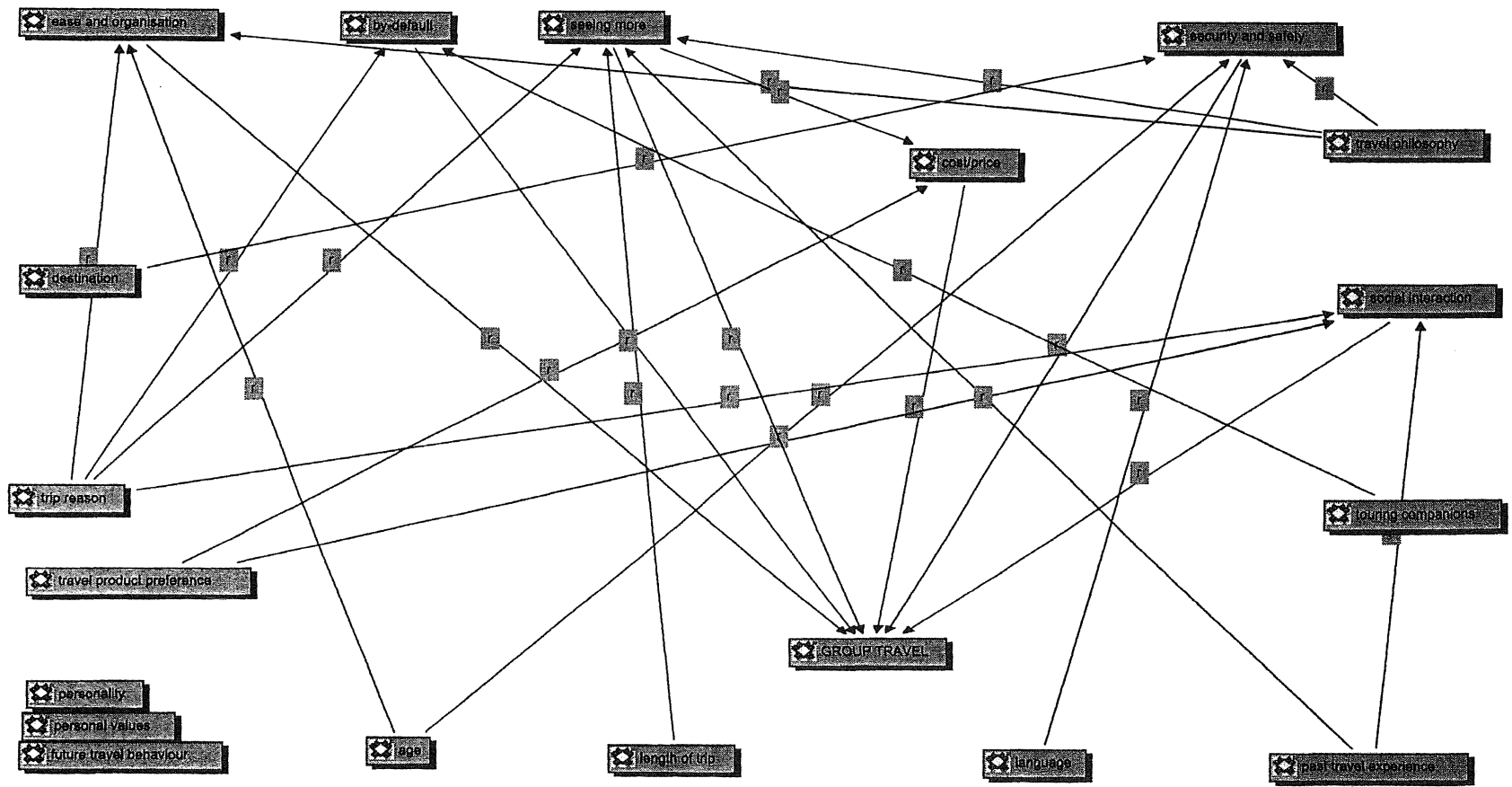


Figure 7.8. The factors that make and reasons why people travel in a group, and the interrelationship between them.

CHAPTER 8

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SOLITARY TRAVELLER AND THE GROUP TOURIST

In trying to conceptualise the “tourist”, a useful strategy is to make a comparison between different constituent types. Indeed, Cohen (1979b), in a seminal article on the sociology of tourism, highlighted comparison as one of the four hallmarks of tourism research. Nevertheless, and as he also later observed (Cohen, 1984), very few analysts have actually carried out studies of this nature. For that reason a comparative approach was adopted in the current research. That is to say, in order to understand solitary travellers better (e.g., through their motivation and behaviour), it was decided to contrast them with their polar opposites. Since solitary travellers typified one extreme of the traveller/tourist continuum and of other well-known typologies (e.g., Cohen, 1972), it was considered necessary to compare them with those located at the other end of the continuum (i.e., group tourists).

Chapters 6 and 7 have already treated the respective data on the solitary traveller and group tourist separately. The aim of this brief chapter is to bring the data together and to compare the two types according to their principal characteristics. After examining their different socioeconomic and demographic, trip and psychographic profiles, their reasons for partaking in solo travel and a group tour are contrasted. Although some of the issues discussed in the following paragraphs may appear self-evident, the reason for dealing with them here is that jointly they can provide a fuller understanding of the nature of these two diverse types.

8.1. Comparison based on socioeconomics and demographics

In terms of *age*, there were clear differences between those who travelled solo and those who participated in the package tour. Whereas the former type of travel attracted primarily younger people (i.e., under 30 years), the latter appealed to older persons (i.e., seniors above 50). This finding was supported by the existing literature on tourism behaviour. However, in this study, mainly due to the use of qualitative methods, several informants, both solitary travellers and package tourists, were able to articulate the connection between age and travel style.

There were no significant differences between solitary travellers and group tourists in terms of *gender*, since both comprised an equal number of people from both sexes. More importantly, and although the contrary had been reported elsewhere (Hsieh et al., 1994), in neither of the present studies was gender in any way associated with the manner in which persons travelled.

Education, on the other hand, was one of the factors that did distinguish between solitary travellers and group tourists. Nearly all of the former were from high educational backgrounds (ranging from bachelor to doctoral degrees), while the latter mainly had a low level of schooling (e.g., primary school). Furthermore, education, particularly in relation to the solitary traveller, had an indirect influence on travel style.

As far as *occupation* was concerned, most of the group tourists were retired. Those who were still employed had professional jobs with relatively elevated levels of remuneration. When it came to the solitary travellers, only half of them were in permanent employment, while the remainder either combined travel with casual work or were planning on taking up new jobs after their trips.

As regards *marital status*, the data indicated that solo travel appealed mostly to singles, while group tours attracted mainly couples. In the group tour study, nine people were single – some of whom were widows, while the remainder was married. By contrast, only one of the fifty-two solitary travellers was married.

According to several solitary travellers, this factor played a significant role in their opting for solo travel.

There have been some studies highlighting the salience of *language skills* in the travel decision making process. They have concluded that language ability may affect travel behaviour and, more specifically, travel style. In the present research, it was seen that the language factor clearly differentiated the solitary traveller from the group tourist. Group tourists were people with very limited language skills, whereas solitary travellers had a good command of at least one foreign language. Furthermore, and as seen in chapters 6 and 7, the solitary travellers and group tourists respectively mentioned the fact that they could/not speak any foreign languages was a reason for the selection of their current travel mode.

8.2. Comparison based on trip characteristics

Not surprisingly, the travel agent was the most important source of information for the group tourists. Only a few of them had used additional sources such as the Internet. However, the Internet, along with guidebooks, constituted the main information sources for the solitary travellers. Another significant distinction between these two types was the fact that the solitary traveller was a continuous information seeker (i.e., pre- and on-trip), whereas the group tourist was satisfied with the information collected before the trip. As far as the relationship between information search and travel behaviour was concerned, the latter influenced the former, rather than vice versa. That is to say, the nature of the trip had an impact on information search behaviour (Fodness and Murray, 1999). The longer the trip, the greater the quantum and diversity of information sought.

Solitary travellers, as the name implies, travelled on their own, although some of them did seek and find *travel companions* for brief periods en route. When it came to the group tourists, they were mainly couples or single friends travelling together. Being able to travel alone and in the company of others were respectively the reasons of the solitary travellers and group tourists for their travel style choice.

The *trip length* of the solitary travellers tended to be open-ended. It varied between a week and two years, with most of them travelling for more than three weeks. By contrast, the group tourists were on a brief ten-day (average) trip of fixed duration. Such a difference had also been highlighted in other comparative studies (e.g., Hsieh et al., 1994; Morrison et al., 1994) that pointed to the fact that independent travellers take longer trips than package tourists.

In terms of the *number of destinations*, both the solitary travellers and the group tourists chose to visit multiple destinations on their trips. Paradoxically, this desire had to do with the length of the trip for both the solitary traveller and the group tourist. While the former wanted to visit several places during their relatively longer trips, the latter wished to experience many different locations over a short period of time. Indeed that was said to be one of the perceived attractions of the package tour.

As far as the primary *travel mode* was concerned, the solitary travellers and the group tourists did not differ significantly since most had travelled by plane to Norway. However, there were differences regarding secondary transportation between the two groups. Once arrived in the country, the solitary travellers mainly used the train, whereas the group tourists, naturally enough, travelled throughout their trip in the tour bus.

In terms of *accommodation*, group tourists stayed at luxury hotels that had been selected by the tour operator. However, it is important to add that the level of accommodation on the tour was also the choice of the participants, since high quality constituted one of the reasons why some of the guests had chosen to travel in a group. By contrast, the solitary travellers did not care much about the standard of accommodation; most preferred a simple type of abode, such as a hostel. For the solitary traveller, too, the hostel was a reason for their travel and/or travel style choice, since some of them revealed that they wanted to meet new people, an aim that was more easily achieved by staying at youth hostels rather than more anonymous hotels.

The data indicated that the solitary travellers had more *travel experience* than the group tourists, in spite of the realisation that most of the latter were much older than the former (and would therefore, in theory at least, have had more opportunities). Interestingly, the few group tourists who were well travelled had travelled independently (e.g., backpacking) in their youth.

8.3. Comparison based on psychographics

Prior to contrasting the solitary travellers with the group tourists according to their respective psychographic profiles, an important point should be made. Since there were both by-default and by-choice members among each type, it was decided to limit the comparison to those who had travelled on their own and in a group by choice. For instance, persons travelling in a group could have had a similar travel philosophy (e.g., backpacker) to that of the independent travellers, but might have travelled in a group on account of their old age. To include these reasons in the overall explanation of the general travel philosophy of the group tourists would therefore have given a distorted picture of reality.

Travel motive is probably the most important factor that helps to distinguish different types of holidaymaker. This connection is quite evident in several of the tourist typologies (e.g., Cohen, 1972) which have used travel motives as the only or one of the salient dimension(s) in their construction. In the current investigation, too, the solitary traveller and group tourist could be contrasted according to motive. As far as the group tourists were concerned, they were mainly anomie-oriented (cf. Dann's (1977) continuum). That is to say, their travel motives centred around escape, social interaction and novelty. On the other hand, it was mainly the ego-enhancement factors (e.g., personal development) that had motivated the solitary travellers, even though some of them also had travel motives that originated in anomic situations. The fact that the group tourists had no ego-enhancement motives could have been related to other factors, such as travel philosophy and age. All the same, they recognised that their declining status in the home society could not be remedied by a holiday. Their oppressive ageist situation, however, could be temporarily alleviated by escape to a new

environment where such discriminatory conditions did not obtain, or were perceived as not existing.

There were also similarities/differences in *trip reasons/benefits* between the solitary travellers and the group tourists. The findings showed that there was a strict consistency between their general travel motives and the specific benefits that they sought from the trip. Due to their motives they had also chosen their present travel style. The closer they were to the ego-enhancement end of Dann's (1977) continuum, the more likely they were to travel independently.

In terms of *personal values*, the data indicated that while most of the group tourists were collectivistically oriented, the majority of the solitary travellers were individualistic. For the group tourists, external values (being well respected and sense of belonging) were more significant, whereas the solitary travellers placed greater emphasis on internal values (self-respect and sense of accomplishment). This pattern lent support to Madrigal's (1995) hypothesis that personal values are a reliable predictor of travel style.

Another useful, but rarely used factor, in segmenting heterogeneous tourists, is *personality*. According to Plog's (1974) scale, the group tourists of the current study were much nearer the psychocentric end. In other words, they enjoyed the comfort (e.g., high standard hotels) of the group tour, the security and safety provided by the travel agent and guide, and were more interested in relations with members of their group than with local people. By contrast, the solitary travellers were more allocentric oriented. They deliberately sought opportunities for interaction with locals as well as with fellow travellers, appeared more adventurous and curious, and were satisfied with basic services such as simple accommodation.

According to Boorstin (1964), one of the major distinctions between the traveller and the tourist is that the former is active while the latter is passive. This difference was evident when examining *travel product preference*. The group

tourists primarily participated in those activities (e.g., picnicking) and visited those attractions (e.g., museums) that had been pre-determined by the tour operator. Since most of them had chosen to travel in a group by choice, such activities and attractions also reflected their own preferences. On the other hand, although the solitary travellers did not differ that much from the group tourists in terms of attractions, since they also primarily visited “must-see” sites, they were, however, more energetic as far as travel activities were concerned. Whereas the group tourists were generally entertainment-prone, the solitary travellers were more challenge-oriented.

Although travel motives may substantially help to understand travel behaviour, *travel philosophy* is, however, a more comprehensive and stable factor that can be used to more fully identify dis/similarities between different types of tourists. Indeed, travel philosophy encompasses elements of most of the psychographic factors that have been treated in this section. As far as the travel philosophy of the group tourists in the current study was concerned, most of them indicated that they had always undertaken previous overseas trips in a group. The reasons given for this choice were that they preferred having everything planned and organised beforehand by a travel agent, who could ensure that a tour operator’s representative would take care of them throughout their vacation. The solitary travellers, by contrast, reflected a completely opposite travel philosophy. They were quite negative about the idea of group travel, preferring instead to make their own arrangements – not just before the trip, but as they went along. Another important aspect of travel philosophy is what travel means to different individuals. For the group tourists, travel usually signified little other than a temporary escape in time and space. However, most of the solitary travellers claimed that travel represented far more to them than simply a short break from their everyday lives. For instance, some of them declared travel to be an essential part of their lifestyle. They considered travel an invaluable opportunity through which they could learn about the world, get to know different cultures, people and places, as well as understanding themselves better. In a nutshell, for the solitary travellers, travel meant the personal investment of cultural capital in themselves.

By way of summary, and based on the foregoing comparisons, some hypotheses can be inductively derived as to what sort of person would typically choose to travel solo and who would probably prefer to travel in a group:

More likely to travel solo (i.e., independently)

- young (30 or under)
- single
- university educated
- speaks foreign languages
- takes long trips
- prefers basic services
- well-travelled
- has motives that stem from ego-enhancement
- individualistic oriented
- allocentric personality
- active
- travel means a great deal in life

More likely to travel in a group

- old (50 plus)
- married (or previously married)
- low educational background
- speaks no foreign languages
- travels for a short period
- prefers quality accommodation
- little previous travel experience
- has motives originating in anomie
- collectivistic oriented
- psychocentric personality
- passive
- travel means only a break from routine

8.4. Reasons for travelling solo and in a group

So far, the solitary travellers and group tourists have only been compared to each other in terms of socioeconomic, demographic, trip and psychographic characteristics. The aim now is briefly to contrast the *reasons* given (table 8.1) by the solitary travellers and group tourists for their respective travel style choices.

Table 8.1. Reasons for travelling solo and in a group

Reasons for travelling solo	Reasons for travelling in a group
Temporal considerations	Ease and organisation
Freedom	Social interaction
Selective contact	Security and safety
Personal development	Seeing more
Absence of a travel companion	Cost and price
Flexibility	By-default
Solitude	
Circumstances	
Experience	
Avoidance of confrontation/guilt/complaint	
Escape	
Exploration	
Travel companion en route	
Prestige	
Travelling as commonplace	
Romance	

Here, the solitary travellers chose to travel on their own, not so much to avoid the presence of others, as to travel in an independent fashion that would enable them to gain the benefits they sought from travel. By contrast, for the group tourists it was the practical advantages (e.g., ease and organisation) of the tour, rather than the group *per se*, which had disposed most of them to travel in this way.

As seen from table 8.1, the solitary travellers were motivated by several social-psychological motives to travel solo, whereas the group tourists had only one particular social reason for wishing to travel in a group (i.e., social interaction). Interestingly, for both of types of people, their general motives for travel and their reasons for travel style chosen reflected an underlying pattern. That is to say, the solitary travellers were mainly motivated by ego-enhancement factors for travel

and travel style (i.e., solo), while for the group tourists travel and travel mode (i.e., group) were due only to anomic factors.

In summary, the aim of this chapter was to better understand the solitary traveller by making a comparison with a type of person exhibiting the opposite sort of behaviour, namely, the group tourist. In so doing, first, the differences/similarities between the former and the latter, in terms of their main characteristics, were provided. Second, the justifications given for travelling solo and in a group were also contrasted. That necessary preliminary over, the stage is now set for the grand finale. Here a number of conclusions can be made about the solitary traveller that relate to the original research problem and point to unresolved difficulties ahead.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

According to Silverman (2000) a conclusion must help a reader decide on what to make of an entire work. Consonant with this suggestion, the aim of this chapter is:

- to elaborate the connection between the research carried out and the original problem,
- to present the main findings of the current study within that theoretical framework,
- to justify the contribution made by this thesis to tourism knowledge in general; and finally,
- to explain its implications for future research.

9.1. The contribution of the findings to theory

This study focused on the individualised travel market. Its initial aim was to examine a specific type of traveller who formed part of this segment. A thorough review of the existing literature on tourism behaviour indicated that some scholars (Hampton, 1998; Hyde, 2000a; Loker-Murphy and Pearce, 1995; Murphy, 2001; Riley, 1988) had investigated different types of individualised travellers (e.g., backpackers, budget travellers, etc.). However, they were relatively few when compared to those who had researched the mass tourist. The literature additionally pointed to one particular issue in this area of tourism which had not, empirically at least, been investigated, namely the “solitary traveller”. When this study began to explore the solitary traveller the main emphasis was placed on “why” issues under the all embracing question “*Why do people travel on their own?*” In an attempt to better understand the behaviour and motivations of solitary travellers, they were contrasted with group tourists – those who demonstrated the opposite travel behaviour patterns.

Since the purpose of this study was to make a theoretical contribution to a relatively unexplored domain of tourism research, Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1998) was considered and employed as the most appropriate methodology. Following the theoretical sampling and line-by-line analysis principles of Grounded Theory, the necessary data were collected – from interviews and diaries – and analysed. Altogether, fifteen factors (socioeconomic and demographic, trip and psychographic) that influenced the decision to travel alone and a cluster of sixteen socio-psychological justifications were identified (see chapter 6). The interpretation of the data further revealed that most of the former (e.g., demographics) were closely connected to the latter. This finding lent support to the contention (e.g., Mo et al., 1993) that in order to fully understand travel behaviour of individuals it is necessary to examine their consumer characteristics. In the current investigation, psychographics were shown to be particularly useful for the investigation of the solitary traveller.

Since the focus was on the motivation of the solitary traveller, socio-psychological justifications became all important in relation to the aim of the current study. Based on these justifications, a typology of non-institutionalised solitary travellers was generated (figure 9.1). However, none of these justifications alone could be considered the sole determinant of behaviour, since all informants gave more than one justification for travelling alone. Expressed as a simple dichotomy, the taxonomy first comprised those who had to travel alone because they had no available travel companion, referred to as “solitary travellers by default”, and second, those who deliberately travelled on their own, regarded as “solitary travellers by choice”. For analytical purposes, a basic distinction was drawn between predominantly social and principally psychological justifications. At the same time, however, it was acknowledged that not all justifications fell into just one of these groups unambiguously. As illustrated previously, although “solitary travellers by default” shared some of the psychological justifications, they were travelling alone primarily for social considerations (e.g., not having a travel companion). On the other hand, “solitary travellers by choice” had both social and psychological bases for their travel style.

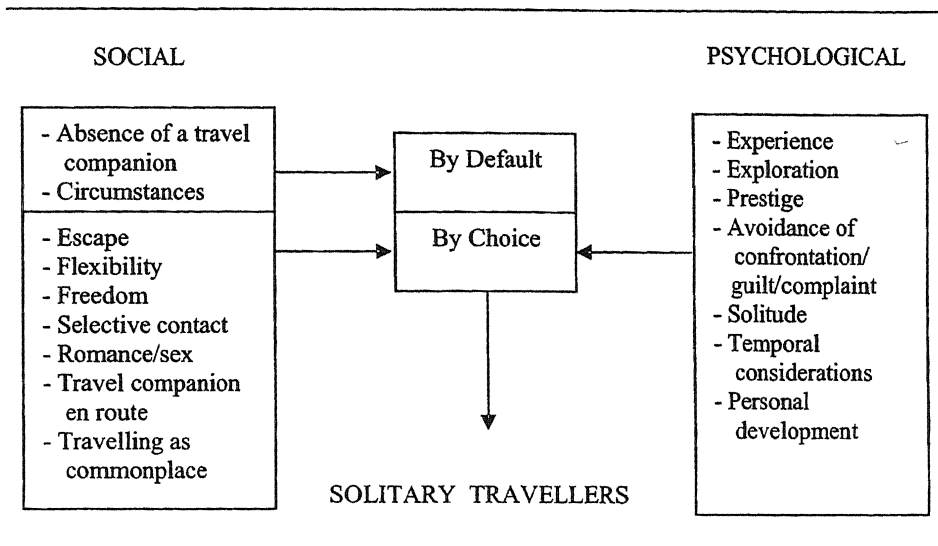


Figure 9.1. A typology of solitary travellers based on their justifications for travelling alone

The myth of the solitary traveller

The analysis of the data showed that several factors and reasons had significant effects on the decision to travel solo. Some of them emerged from a detailed examination of the consumer characteristics (e.g., demographics) of the solitary travellers. Close inspection of these factors, and particularly the reasons, revealed that even though the solitary travellers had chosen to travel alone, their motive was not necessarily to experience solitude on their trips. This observation became even more evident when they all stated that they highly valued contact with others (locals and fellow travellers). Indeed, they regarded such encounters as one of the primary benefits they sought from their travels. Solitude, then, was not a reason for their travel – rather something which they wanted to experience occasionally. Thus, interestingly and critically, they were travelling alone in order to be able to meet new people on their trip.

This paradoxical situation possibly suggests that no such person as the solitary traveller or no such thing as solo travel exists today. In other words, the solitary traveller may be an oxymoron, a *myth* rather than reality.

Alternatively stated, the solitary traveller may simply be another type of tourist who has not been captured by any of the tourist typologies to date.

Relatedly, one of the initial aims of the current research was to seek an alternative theoretical framework (or to refine that found in the literature) which could have emerged as a result of investigating the solitary traveller. Thus, the next step is to place the solitary traveller, or more precisely the solitary tourist, within the existing tourism literature. This exercise calls for a move from the empirical evidence of the study to a link with existing theory (personal communication, Dann, 2002b), one of the contributions of the present research to tourism knowledge.

Conceptualisation of the individualised traveller

It has been shown that conceptualising the individualised traveller is a problematic task unless other types of tourists are also taken into consideration. In this study, the empirical comparison of the solitary traveller with the group tourist (see chapter 8) has furnished the following theoretical insights.

Combining the empirical evidence from the current research with the extant literature on tourist typologies (treated in detail in chapter 2) an alternative, though not completely new, taxonomy can be suggested, consisting of two distinct types of tourists, namely, individualistic and collectivistic. This typology is based on three of the dimensions used in this study to compare the solitary traveller and the group tourist. They are travel philosophy, travel motive and personal values.

Based on these central criteria, the individualistic tourist is someone for whom internal personal values (e.g., sense of accomplishment) are the most important principles in life, who has motives stemming from ego-enhancement (e.g., personal development), and for whom travel means the investment of personal cultural capital. The collectivistic tourist, on the other hand, is someone who assigns greater priority to external personal values (e.g., sense of belonging), whose motives originate in the anomic conditions of society, and for whom travel

is little more than a short break from routine. While the former makes travel arrangements single-handedly and usually en route, the latter normally depends on an intermediary who typically arranges most of the trip prior to departure.

The solitary traveller represents the individualistic-oriented whereas the group or package tourist typifies the collectivistic-oriented tourist. Each of these categories may further include a variety of tourists depending on their degree (i.e., low or high) of individualistic or collectivistic orientation (see figure 9.2). In this case, the solitary traveller is a highly individualistic and the group tourist is a highly collectivistic tourist. On their respective opposites, there are those who travel in an individualistic way with usually one or two others – referred to as low individualistic tourists, and those who make frequent use of a travel agent but who travel independently – referred to as low collectivistic tourists.

	Individualistic	Collectivistic
High	A complete solo traveller	All-inclusive package tourist
Low	A small group of travellers (e.g., backpackers)	Independent tourist

Figure 9.2. A taxonomy of individualistic and collectivistic tourists

Between low/high individualists and collectivists, examples of other tourist experiences can also be found. For instance, persons who initially take on the role of individualistic solo travel and who find one or more kindred spirits on the way with whom they can travel for brief periods and/or engage in various activities during the trip may be referred to as mid-individualistic. On the other hand, those who travel collectively without being dependent on a group may join in some group tour activities during their trip, and can therefore be designated mid-collectivistic.

An appraisal of the taxonomy

The reason for choosing the above criteria for constructing an alternative tourist taxonomy is that they have been shown to be more stable indicators than, for instance, demographics or trip characteristics. In other words, people principally select a type of travel or experience according to their travel philosophy, travel motives and personal values. However, their choices are also influenced by such significant factors as age, family life cycle, trip purpose and so on. Thus an individualistic tourist at a later stage of life may be inclined to travel in a collectivistic way due to prevailing circumstances (e.g., family situation). On the other hand, an otherwise collectivistic-oriented young person may feel obliged to travel in an individualistic way because youth are socially expected to travel in a specific way (e.g., backpacking). These two examples imply that there will always be tourists who at face value are individualistic and collectivistic types, but who in reality represent the potential opposite types.

Although the classification of figure 9.2 is similar to extant tourist typologies, it does feature a number of salient critical differences. First, some of the earlier taxonomies were based on the notion that the traveller and tourist were polar opposites. The current investigation, by contrast, has shown that the “traveller” in the original sense no longer exists, and hence only tourists remain (a proposition derived from the informants’ own explanations).

Second, and as Sharpley (1999) has pointed out, to distinguish between tourists according to their degree of institutionalisation may no longer apply, since the whole of contemporary tourism is institutionalised. The alternative taxonomy offered here, in accepting this situation, suggests that tourists can be distinguished according to their degree/nature of organisation before and during the trip.

Third, and related to the above points, this alternative typology suggests that there are no longer significant differences between present day tourists and their experiences as there once used to be. Tourists are simply classified into two broad categories (individualistic and collectivistic).

Sharpley (1994) suggests that an alternative tourist typology should focus not merely on tourists but also locate them in a social context. This suggestion was followed in the construction of the present taxonomy of tourists with the inclusion of personal values (a variable reflecting society and culture) and travel motives (which provided information about the informants' current travel behaviour (intrinsic) as well as about their society (extrinsic)). However, that is not the same as claiming that the alternative typology of this study encompasses all tourist variation. Indeed, as Sharpley (1994, p. 95) puts it, 'to develop a tourist typology that incorporates a multi-dimensional approach is, perhaps, an impossible task.' Thus, the present typology must only be regarded as an attempt to pinpoint some new directions that need to be taken into consideration when conceptualising the tourist.

9.2. Credibility and transferability of the findings

As noted above, the current research has registered modest theoretical gains in two separate, though interconnected, realms of tourism knowledge, namely, the individualised traveller and tourist typologies. Both of these, though particularly the former, were derived purely from the empirical evidence of this qualitative investigation into solitary travellers in the Norwegian Lofoten Islands.

Since the aim of any piece of research is to obtain rich and holistic data on a phenomenon in its own right, then it is necessary to ask and demonstrate how well this goal was achieved (Punch, 1998). In other words, traditional research needs to provide a sufficient description of its context in order that the reader can judge both the validity and generalisability of the study's findings.

However, qualitative researchers point out that these particular canons of science must be modified in order to fit the realities of qualitative inquiry. In this vein, Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose a terminology for use in qualitative investigations to replace the neo-positivistic criteria: credibility (internal validity) and transferability (external validity or generalisability). According to (Punch, 1998) these new criteria respectively help to answer two significant questions: a)

how much confidence can be placed in the results? and b) what can be concluded from the findings?

Credibility is concerned about how the findings adequately reflect the reality that has been studied (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994a). Punch (1998) claims that qualitative designs usually incorporate two features of credibility. The first is whether all parts of the research have internal consistency in relation to different paradigms, diverse approaches, variations within them, different methods and combinations of methods. This complexity makes it necessary that the various components of a research fit together and are aligned with each other. As detailed in chapters 4 and 5, the current research adopted an interpretative paradigm, which suggested a parallel use of qualitative inquiry. Within this qualitative investigation, Grounded Theory was chosen as the research strategy that was pursued throughout the entire process (e.g., data collection and analysis). It was this approach that contributed to the research's internal consistency.

The second aspect of credibility relates to the ways in which propositions are provided and developed. Here, and as seen in chapters 6 and 7, several hypotheses were generated with respect to both the solitary traveller and the group tourist. At the same time, information about how these propositions were arrived at was also supplied.

Transferability. The purpose of employing a Grounded Theory methodology, as in the current study, is theory construction (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Thus, the focus is on the language of explanatory power rather than on generalisability. Explanatory power means the ability to explain what might occur in a similar context to that in which a phenomenon has been examined. In other words, the predictability of the findings of a given study is limited to the theory that underpins them. More specifically, a particular underpinning theory (one developed from the examination of one small area of investigation and from one specific population) cannot have the same explanatory power as a more general theory. Such reasoning also applies to this research since only solitary travellers

who visited the Norwegian Lofoten Islands were studied. However, the real merit of a substantive case specific theory (or findings) lies in its ability to speak precisely about the populations from which it was derived. Since in the current investigation the theoretical sampling principle was strictly followed, it is maintained that identified variations (e.g., reasons for solo travel) were captured. If the original theory had not included variations uncovered by research, then these new dimensions could be added to it.

9.3. Limitations of the study

Prior to dealing with the final issue of the thesis, it is here considered necessary to provide a brief overview of the limitations associated with the present investigation. They will be treated under four main headings: theory, methodology, location and sampling. It is hoped that these clarifications will help the reader place the entire research into a sharper perspective as well as naturally lead on to some further ideas for future research.

Theory. It is fully admitted that there is an imbalance in this study between the use of sociological and psychological perspectives as far as the theoretical treatment of tourist motivation is concerned. Here, the current research has mainly relied on a sociological viewpoint. The reason for this emphasis is the realisation that: a) most of the literature in tourism has dealt with motivation predominantly from a sociological angle. Indeed, there are relatively few solely psychological analyses (e.g., Iso-Ahola, 1982) of tourist motivation and behaviour. This situation obtains because it is generally accepted by most tourism scholars influenced by Max Weber that individual motivation cannot be adequately examined without reference to the society in which it is embedded. b) the present author, too, acknowledges this assumption and similarly concedes that the most influential theoretical contributions to tourism studies (e.g., Cohen, 1972) have been made by sociologists c) the methodology employed in this study, Grounded Theory, has also been advanced by sociologists (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), thus providing disciplinary consistency between theory and methodology, and finally d) the

author has himself been trained in the sociology of tourism and has further been influenced by the guidance and writings of his supervisor, also a sociologist.

Methodology. As is well known, of the two most prevailing paradigms in the social sciences, positivism and interpretivism, the former has dominated tourism research (Veal, 1997). Thus, in order to restore balance and to claim some originality, this study employed the latter (for additional reasons, see the methodology chapter). In other words, the current investigation has throughout employed an inductive rather than a deductive approach. It should, however, be stressed that, since the findings of this inquiry to a considerable extent confirm the hypotheses with respect to tourist motivation found in the literature, one could just as easily have used a deductive approach. The fact that this author did not, suggests that further research can use the findings of this thesis as a starting point for a more quantitative-oriented approach.

Location. Another limitation of the current research is that in locating the informants only one location, namely, the Lofoten Islands, was selected. This choice may have led to some bias with respect to the findings, since the Lofoten Islands, due to their wilderness nature, tend to attract primarily individualised tourists and, accordingly, solitary travellers. Alternatively stated, while the thesis may be generalisable to other cold, peripheral insular sites, there may be limitations concerning the extent to which the information obtained from the solitary travellers of the current research are applicable to solitary travellers found in other types of location such as mainland or beach destinations.

A further issue under the rubric of location is that the comparison base between the solitary traveller and the group tourist is not an optimal one. This apparent weakness is due to the fact that while the solitary travellers, though located in the Lofoten Islands, had also visited areas that the group tourists had. However, the reverse was not the case. That is to say, the group tourists, though located in Norway, had not been to the Lofoten Islands. The reason for this situation was that tour operators either do not arrange specific tours to the Lofoten or do not

spend sufficient time there (such as the entire period of vacation, as in the case of some of the solitary travellers). Maybe in the future, when the secret is out, the Lofoten, first discovered by solos, will become overrun by the masses. However, by that time, the individual travellers will probably have struck the island chain off their itineraries, thereby making the comparison even more problematic.

Sampling. In the positivist tradition, sampling through space is customarily gauged by the criteria of adequacy and representiveness (i.e., size and typicality). Based on those considerations, the relatively small numbers of group tourists and solitary travellers may not be deemed sufficient to draw generalisable conclusions about their respective universes. Under Grounded Theory, however, where theoretical sampling is employed, such a restriction does not obtain. Sampling through time, on the other hand, would place some limits on the current study, since it inevitably poses the question regarding travel at other (off-) periods of the year. For that reason it is suggested that further research take into account the seasonality factor.

9.4. Suggestions for future research

Suggestions for future research stem from the two major contributions of this study: reasons for travelling alone and the re-conceptualisation of the tourist in a new typology. Those regarding the former can be referred to as primary and the latter as secondary recommendations.

As far as the primary suggestions are concerned, and as implied earlier, it would be of great interest to investigate the travel behaviour and motivations of the solitary traveller in different destinational contexts. The current study looked primarily at a landscape destination and, in some senses, the results could have been influenced by the nature of the destination. Future research could study solitary travellers in urban destinations, beach destinations, etc.

Since the current study only compared the solitary traveller with one other type of tourist (i.e., the group tourist) further attempts would be able to contrast the solitary traveller with other broad types (e.g., independent tourists).

Moreover, this research was located in the developed world and was about First World tourists. Further attempts may include investigations of Third World destinations visited by First World tourists or First World destinations visited by Third World tourists.

Finally, it should be remembered that most of the informants/travellers of the current inquiry were highly educated, middle class persons. Further research can therefore usefully examine lowly educated, working class solos for comparative purposes, in order to extend the present study's scope and theorising.

When it comes to the secondary suggestions, since the taxonomy proposed in this study was not only based on empirical evidence but also on the theoretical interpretation of the researcher, it needs to be empirically (e.g., quantitatively) tested. Furthermore, it would also be of great interest to see whether the emergent typology is applicable to destinations (i.e., if they can be classified along an individualistic and collectivistic continuum).

These are just some brief thoughts based on the ideas of the present writer. Hopefully, this research will encourage others to identify further areas of inquiry by taking a different look at the findings.

In summary, this chapter provided the details of the theoretical model (grounded in the empirical data of the study) illustrating the reasons why people travel alone. Secondly, an alternative taxonomy of tourists was developed as a result of the investigation of the solitary traveller and an examination of extant tourist typologies. Later, and as expected in any qualitative study, the issues of credibility and transferability were discussed in relation to the current inquiry. Finally, and

after discussing the limitations of the present study, some suggestions for future research were provided.

Final Word

The wheel has therefore turned full circle. The context was established from the past, the research was set in the present, and the missing dimensions leading on from the present point to the way ahead. The solitary traveller of yesterday is the individualistic tourist of tomorrow.

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APPENDIX A:

**ATLAS/ti AND CONTENT/SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS IN TOURISM
RESEARCH**

ATLAS/ti AND CONTENT/SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS IN TOURISM RESEARCH

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Abstract

After defining content/semiotic analysis and noting some of its general merits and disadvantages, this paper outlines its principal applications in tourism research. Since this type of investigation seems to be reluctant to take advantage of computer-assisted software, the case for its greater adoption is explored. Attention focuses on Atlas/ti and a comparison is made with manual techniques, both with regard to their operations and their respective strengths and weaknesses. An example is taken from qualitative data gathered from fieldwork conducted in the Norwegian Lofoten islands, a case that illustrates the mutually beneficial differences between traditional and newer approaches.

Keywords

Content/semiotic analysis C/S A in tourism research Atlas/ti Lofoten islands

Introduction

Content analysis is a multidisciplinary unobtrusive measure (Webb, et al., 1966) for systematically classifying and making inferences (Holsti, 1969) from the manifest and denotative content of any type of human communication (Abrahamson, 1983). As a type of coding (Moser & Kalton, 1984, p. 414) operating deductively and/or inductively (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), the criteria for selecting categories (Berg, 1989, p.106) are theoretically driven (Babbie, 1995, p. 311) by the discipline of the investigator.

Semiotic analysis continues the exercise at the deeper connotative level of signs (Nöth, 1990) by supplying a “subversive reading” (Denzin, 1989, pp. 220, 229-230) or thick description (Gertz, 1973) of the underlying meaning structure of messages (Seaton, 2000, p. 106). Hence the two complementary stages may be regarded as part of the same process and, for that reason, are hereafter referred to as “content/semiotic analysis” (C/S A).

The general disadvantages of C/S A are relatively few: the received data cannot be subject to experiment, causality cannot normally be attributed without high levels of subjectivity, and the task can be quite time consuming.

Since the 1950s, however, the last mentioned drawback has been considerably reduced thanks to the introduction of computer software (Gerbner, et al., 1969; Nissan & Schmidt, 1994; Popping, 2000; Sebeok & Zeps, 1958; Stone, et al., 1966; Weitzman & Miles, 1995; West, 2000a, 2000b), thereby turning a disadvantage into an advantage. Other merits, according to Babbie (1995, pp. 320-321), include its extremely low budget quality: data are free or inexpensive to obtain, there is no corresponding requirement for a large research staff – indeed, projects of this nature

can be conducted by one person. If preliminary analysis is unsatisfactory, there is no need to re-enter the field (as would be the case for most alternative data gathering methods); the information can simply be re-coded, thereby enhancing reliability. High levels of validity can also be achieved due to non-reactivity with respondents (i.e., the attitudes and behavior of subjects are not altered by the investigator). Additionally, such analysis can be conducted longitudinally, thus allowing the establishment of trends over time. More importantly, however, the sheer versatility of the technique permits its application to any type of human communication in whatever medium.

Since there have been parallel advances in the adoption of C/S A in tourism research, this paper first outlines its principal applications to date. At the same time, it notes that many of these studies appear strangely reluctant to engage computer software to assist them in their task. Second, attention focuses on one such package – Atlas/ti – that can reduce the drudgery. Third, the operations of Atlas/ti are compared with manual approaches. Fourth, their respective strengths and weaknesses are assessed and, finally, they are illustrated in reference to an excerpt from qualitative research conducted in the Norwegian Lofoten islands.

Applications of Content/Semiotic Analysis in Tourism Research

This overview is conducted on six levels: bibliographical, motivational, typological, multimedia, perennial and under-representational.

Bibliographical. Whereas most tourism literature reviews typically contextualize a research problem, they can become ends in themselves. Such is the case where state-of-the-art appraisals are undertaken, as for example by Sheldon (1991) and van Doren et al. (1994). One of these meta-analytical studies (Dann, et al., 1988) compared

thematic advances in the *Journal of Leisure Research* with those of *Annals of Tourism Research* over a thirteen year period, along with the disciplinary provenance of their authors and the methods they employed. Subsequently, Dann (1988b) applied the model by attempting to gauge the combination of theoretical awareness and methodological sophistication in Caribbean tourism research conducted between 1970 and 1987. After dividing the period into three intervals: 1970-1975, 1976-1981 and 1982-1987 (coinciding with oil crises/tourism downturns and allowing for sufficient publication lead-time), he introduced three other variables to the 144 published works: territorial focus, disciplinary background and regional/foreign authorship. By cross-tabulating the data, he could identify a number of emerging temporal trends, namely increasing indigenization, territorial specificity, disciplinary shift and quality of research.

Motivational. Since tourist motivation is notoriously difficult to investigate on account of respondents' unwillingness or inability to articulate their true feelings, one way of remedying the problem is via projective techniques. In this regard, in a study of 535 tourists visiting Barbados, Dann (1995) provided his interviewees with four pictures with increasing levels of stranger-hood. He then asked his respondents what the photographs meant to them before they came to that West Indian island and now that they were there. The replies generated over 200 pages of transcripts from which it was possible to calculate not only the percentage frequency of the words occurring in their evoked descriptions (content analysis), but also the sort of hidden motives that they revealed (semiotic analysis, c.f., Dann (1996d)). The same technique was later applied to tourists visiting the Lofoten islands (Jacobsen & Dann (in progress)). By corollary, motivational research can also be extended to the promotional discourse of tourism, and attempt to reveal the latent ideology of the sender, as is evident, for

example, in the work of Morgan & Pritchard (1998; 2000) in relation to alterity and gender, and of Echtner (2000) with respect to myth.

Typological. While much early tourism research consisted in generating taxonomies (particularly of the tourist), most of the categories originated from the ivory tower rather than from empirical investigation. The latter, however, becomes possible by concentrating on a particular theoretical dimension and then looking for associated patterns in the data. Such was the case in Dann's (1996c) analysis of 5,172 pictures featured in 11 UK holiday brochures. Here the emphasis was on the people content, who these individuals were and in what settings they appeared. After charting the statistical distribution of absence of people, tourists only, locals only and tourists with locals (content analysis), and arranging them according to predominant location, four new categories emerged that were described in terms of one of four types of paradise – “paradise contrived”, “paradise confined”, “paradise confused” and “paradise controlled” (semiotic analysis). Further sophistication was given to the typology with the addition of subcategories of the Other (natives as scenery, as cultural markers, as servants, as entertainers, as vendors, as seducers, as intermediaries, as familiar, even as tourists themselves).

Multimedia. Tourism promotion operates via a “language of tourism” (Dann, 1996b) that is conveyed through various channels, and the analysis of these media undoubtedly constitutes the greatest use to which C/S A has been put in tourism research. As far as solely written material is concerned, there have been studies of literary works (Gruffudd, 1994; Squire, 1994), travelogs (Dann, 1992, 1996a; Wilson, 1994; Zeppel, 1999), guidebooks (Bhattacharyya, 1997; Gritti, 1967; Jacobsen et al., 1998; Lew, 1991), children's essays about tourists (Crick, 1989), even the humble notice board (Dann, 1999). The receivers of such messages have also been included,

as for instance diaries kept by tourists (Laws, 1998; Pearce, 1988; Selwyn, 1996) or the complaints that they have made (Hannigan, 1980; Pearce & Moscardo, 1984) – sources that incidentally have a great deal to say about motivation and satisfaction. When a pictorial component is added to the written, probably the brochure has been the most researched medium (Dann, 1988a; Echtner, 2000; Pritchard & Morgan, 1995, 1996; Selwyn, 1993; Uzzell, 1984; Weightman, 1987). However there have also been studies of NTO catalogs (Dann, 2000a, 2000b; Thurot, 1981), advertisements (Dann, 1996a; 1997; O’Barr, 1994; Thurot & Thurot, 1983), maps (Pearce, 1977; Seaton, 1994), postcards (Albers & James, 1983; Edwards, 1996; Markwick, 2001; Mellinger, 1994), children’s drawings of tourists (Gamradt, 1995) and the photographs tourists take on holiday (Chalfen, 1979; Markwell, 1997; O’Barr, 1994). Audio sources that have been subjected to C/S A include radio (Lewis & Chandrasekar, 1982), popular songs (Powell, 1988), narratives of tour guides (Dahles, 1996; Fine & Speer, 1985; Katriel, 1994a, 1994b), tourists’ accounts of their own experiences (Gottlieb, 1982; Jackson, et al., 1996; Pearce, 1991; Pearce & Caltabiano, 1983; Small, 1999) and tourists’ conversations (Dann, 2000c; Fjellman, 1992; Ryan, 1995). Audio-visual material comprises TV holiday programs (Dunn, 1998; Voase, 2000), videos (Hanefors & Larsson, 1993) and film (Riley, 1994).

Perennial. Research that focuses on features of tourism that transcend space and time typically concentrates on essential themes through which the phenomenon can be better understood. One example of C/S A in this area is a trilogy prepared by Dann (1994a, 1994b, 1994c) that highlights the all-pervasive nostalgia factor. Another is a study of the literary framing of Venice (Dann, forthcoming) which examines the way that this most written about of cities evokes the tropes of dreaming, love and death,

ideas that are reflected in the qualities of tourism which are both enduring and generalizable.

Under-representational. Perhaps the most difficult task for C/S A is to reveal covert areas of significant omission or under-representation. As a consequence, there are few instances of this genre in tourism research. A rare example of this type of work is a recent study by Dann (2001) of the brochures of six UK tour operators specializing in holidays for the over 50s. Here an analysis of 1,487 photographs showed that only one featured an elderly male tourist suffering from physical disability, and only two men were of African descent. Yet an examination of the official statistics soon revealed that there were serious brochure under-representations of disability and minority status for this age group and sex when compared with the population at large. Here recourse to objective data (government figures) had the effect of minimizing subjectivity of interpretation (one of the alleged disadvantages of C/S A). Prior to this type of exercise, commentators had been largely content to rely on impression or anecdotal evidence.

However, although there has been an increasing use of C/S A in tourism research, as the forgoing illustrations bear testimony, with only a few exceptions (e.g., Mehmetoglu, et al., 2001) have they employed computer software to assist them in their endeavors. Such reluctance may have been due to the particular time, location or circumstances when these investigations were carried out, or to the simple unavailability of programs that were sufficiently robust. Whatever the reason, the sheer tedium of conducting analyses by hand could have been considerably reduced, even by the use of extant spreadsheets such as Lotus or Excel. Nowadays, of course, the task is made that much simpler by recourse to a variety of programs such as Atlas/ti, The Ethnograph, Hyperresearch, Kwalitan, Max or Nud.ist. Of these offerings,

Barry (1998) suggests that Nud.ist and Atlas/ti are the two leading programs in meeting the requirements of text interpretation. The remainder of this paper examines the latter and compares it with manual approaches.

ATLAS/ti

Atlas/ti is a personal-computer program for analyzing communicated messages. It was originally assembled for an interdisciplinary research project ATLAS (Archive for Technology, the Life-world, and Everyday Language) at the Technical University of Berlin, (Muhr, 1991). The program was developed by a multidisciplinary network of researchers comprising computer scientists, psychologists and linguists. In order to increase its user-friendliness the team conducted a survey among potential users to ascertain their views on existing computer software and the desirable features of a program intended to assist qualitative textual analysis (Muhr, 1991).

Muhr, the inventor of Atlas/ti, affirms that it is designed to provide qualitative researchers support for their activities involving the interpretation of text. It has the capacity to deal with copious amounts of verbal data, as well as the management of annotations, concepts, and complex structures containing meaningful relationships (Barry, 1998; Muhr, 1991). However, the software by no means aims to automatize the process of analysis. Rather it functions as a tool which assists the analyst in structuring large and intricate data sets (Muhr, 1991). That is to say, the interpretation, creativity and contextualization of the data are all still the tasks of a theoretically driven investigator.

As Lonkila (1995) observes, Atlas/ti is a qualitative software which has been mainly influenced by and designed in accordance with the principles of grounded theory (Glaser, 1978, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

However, the program is not restricted to this particular approach, and can just as effectively relate to other qualitative perspectives.

Atlas/ti serves all the general functions (creating databases, code-and-retrieval, memo-ing, data linking) that are supported by most of the alternative current software for text analysis (Barry, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Unlike these other programs, however, (e.g., Nud.ist and The Etnograph), Atlas/ti allows non-textual (pictorial imagery and audio passages) to be used as data (Seale, 2000). Atlas/ti additionally offers some more advanced features that facilitate theory development, including those which create conceptual networks (diagrams) by displaying links between emerging concepts (Barry, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Seale, 2000). These conceptual networks are further linked to specific verbal data, which means that text segments illustrating theoretical statements can be collated very quickly. Moreover, Barry (1998) considers Atlas/ti to be user-friendly since it is a software which is visually attractive with a well-designed interface that is easily used on screen and is able to display all its features at once. At the same time, there are some weaknesses of Atlas/ti when compared to rivals such as Nud.ist (see Gahan & Hannibal, 1998), namely: a) loose structure and uncertainty b) limited search capacity, and c) relatively few case and project management tools (Barry, 1998). Nevertheless, and on balance, the merits of Atlas/ti well outweigh its disadvantages.

The Principal Features of Atlas/ti

Here only a brief, non-technical description of each of the main features is provided. They include primary documents, hermeneutic units, *open-* and *in vivo* coding, memos, code families, networks and statistical operations.

A primary document is the text material or “raw data” has been gathered. *A Hermeneutic Unit*, on the other hand, is a project which consists of primary documents (raw data) relevant to the topic that the researcher wishes to analyze. Atlas/ti allows the investigator to create as many Hermeneutic Units as required, but more importantly, to assign as many primary documents as necessary to more than one Hermeneutic Unit. Equally significant is the fact that each Hermeneutic Unit is treated as an independent file, including all its analytical components (e.g., primary documents and quotations).

Two of the principal classification techniques offered by Atlas/ti are *open-* and *in vivo* coding. The former is typically first level coding and uses the data to generate concepts (codes) for theory building. Employing concepts that are taken from the data ensures that they are grounded in those data, rather than derived from an *a priori* coding frame. *In vivo* coding is a sub-set of *open* coding. It is employed when a code label originates from a text segment in the respondent’s own words.

However, there is more to Atlas/ti than coding. Indeed, the software provides a feature that allows researchers to record *memos* containing the thoughts, ideas, interpretations and questions that occur to them during the analysis. Furthermore, they can assign these memos to other objects (e.g., codes or code families).

Code families are containers for grouped codes. The central purpose that families serve is to cope with large numbers of codes by classifying them into a smaller number of categories (theoretical codes).

Networks are the graphical displays of relationships (discovered by the researcher) between categories. A network is a set of nodes and links. Nodes represent categories, and links depict suggested relationships with sub-categories as well as with other categories.

Finally, Atlas/ti enables the analyst to carry out a whole range of *statistical operations* in the search for additional understanding and explanation. An elementary task would be the running of a cross-tabulation for two codes. A more complicated exercise would be exporting a list of created codes to *SPSS* for advanced statistical treatment (e.g., path analysis).

Comparison of the Operations of Traditional and Computer Assisted Approaches

The main differences between a manual approach to C/S A and a computer assisted programme such as Atlas/ti are outlined in table 1.

Table 1

Traditional approach

First, the data set (e.g., interview schedules) is hand divided into two or more piles, according to which predictor variable is currently the focus of attention and the number of its meaningful categories. Thus, for instance, if the response sets are hypothesized from the literature as varying on account of the distinction between first time visitors and repeaters, two files are physically created as the basis for testing such a difference.

Stage two of the process typically entails reducing the sheer volume of the piles by transcribing those sections of the data set (dependent variables) relevant to the matter at hand (in this instance, those responses believed to be influenced by first time/repeater status).

Stage three relates to the classification of the excerpts of stage two. In most cases a coding scheme is adopted that is *deduced* from the pre-existing theory of the literature and the related empirical work of other researchers. For such a scheme to be viable, the coding frame has to fulfil the criteria of exhaustiveness and mutual exclusivity. As a secondary measure, colour coding can also be introduced in order, for example, to highlight respondents' use of nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc., the idea being that first timers, for instance, may display a greater usage of substantives in their descriptions than repeaters who show a higher tendency to rely on epithets and action words.

Stage four involves the assigning of responses to categories and taking a frequency count of each. In the above example, an additional tally might be taken of separate parts of speech, along with the specific usage of each noun, adjective and verb. If the theoretical categories are sufficiently robust (i.e., capture all cases without the need for a residual category and encounter no difficulty of assignment), the scheme is adopted and the researcher moves to stage 6.

Stage five relates to a situation where the criteria of exhaustiveness and mutual exclusivity do not obtain or where there are skewed results. Here there are four possibilities open to the investigator:

- (a) derive an alternative set of categories from the literature; reassign the data and count the frequencies,
- (b) focus on the residual category, report instances of serendipity and creatively design a new code to capture these unanticipated cases,
- (c) examine categories with disproportionately high frequencies, make theoretically meaningful subcategories and incorporate them into the coding frame,

(d) merge categories where there are disproportionately low frequencies and reunite under a new category.

Stage six is the manual application of statistical tests to stages 4 or 5.

Stage seven is where the data set is reassembled and divided once more into two or more piles according to the next predictor variable on the list. For example, the gender variable may be employed.

Stage eight is the repetition of stages two to seven.

Stage nine. Based on the results of the (descriptive) quantitative analysis, an interpretative (qualitative) dimension is added. Here the researcher looks for underlying structural patterns that help explain the data, i.e., there is a transition from “how?” to “why?” questions. The latter semiotic analysis is often accomplished by recourse to myth, as the research moves from the level of denotation to that of connotation.

Stage ten is the reporting of quantitative and qualitative findings, with appropriate quotations, etc. illustrating, rather than constituting the latter.

Computer Assisted Approach

Carrying out C/S A in Atlas/ti takes place on two interrelated levels. First, there is the textual level where the analyst segments the data, writes memos and codes the text, imagery and audio clips. Second, there is the more complex conceptual level where the researcher begins constructing theoretical models by linking the concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) that have emerged from the textual phase. Below are a few details of some of the activities involved at the textual and conceptual levels, as outlined in table 1. As implied earlier, these activities are cyclical rather than linear.

However, for the sake simplicity, they are presented in a sequential order, though understandably without a numeration corresponding to the traditional analysis.

First, familiarity with the data is achieved through the process of transcription. Second, this awareness allows the investigator to structure the data set in a meaningful fashion. That is to say, the researcher divides the large body of data into a small number of separate and manageable primary documents (e.g., a file for each respondent) depending on the aim of the analysis. Third, these primary documents are loaded on to Atlas/ti. Fourth, and again depending on how the analyst has thought of going about the data, one or more hermeneutic units are constituted by the primary documents for starting a “line-by-line” analysis (minute examination and interpretation of the data). Fifth, the investigator begins reading each of the primary documents in the Hermeneutic Unit in accordance with the research questions. While scrutinizing these primary documents (data files), as Glaser (1992) and Punch (1998) suggest, the researcher continually asks ‘What concept does this piece of empirical data (text segment) indicate?’ in order to locate the relevant information-rich text segments. The analyst subsequently marks these passages and assigns them appropriate codes. This process, however, is not the same as simple indexing, since comments and memos can easily and additionally be assigned to each code, thereby making the coding procedure more in-depth and theoretical. Sixth, the researcher creates and assigns memos (e.g., theoretical) to desired objects (e.g., codes, networks or primary documents) throughout the whole exercise. Seventh, having established a long list of codes at the initial stage of the analysis, the next step is to group these codes (also referred to as “abstracting”) into code families (i.e., more comprehensive categories). This procedure may take a repetitive form depending on the amount of data and the number of codes created. Eighth, as the quantum of main categories is

reduced to a manageable size, the researcher starts building relationships between these categories (also called *axial coding*). The nature of each association can then be defined in and illustrated through networks (graphical displays). This phase is known as the “theory building stage”. Ninth, as statistical treatments are also sometimes used in qualitative research, tests can be carried out throughout the analysis. What is important is that the analyst only uses information that is grounded in the data (including statistical patterns), to develop theory further. Finally, the researcher, while writing the report, can easily locate and then import any information-rich text segments (after comparing, for instance, all quotations assigned to a code), memos, or networks created during the analysis, from Atlas/ti to the word processor. Since the entire operation is primarily inductive in nature, the literature used at the beginning of the study is only there to help the investigator develop some broad research questions. However, at the final stage, the literature is utilized to a far greater extent in order to facilitate a comparison between the newly evolving “theory” and pre-existing theory.

Strengths and Weaknesses of Traditional versus Computer Assisted Approaches

Table 2 summarizes the principal merits and disadvantages of manual and computer assisted approaches.

Table 2

From table 2 it can be seen that the strengths of one approach constitute the weaknesses of the other, and vice-versa. The table can thus be said to represent an evaluative mirror image model.

Although most of the distinguishing features are self-explanatory, some additional comments are still considered necessary. Beginning with the top left hand corner (and the diagonally opposite reciprocal), there is the issue of an overall feel for the data. Under traditional manual analysis, researchers go through the data set so often (through the iterative procedures of table 1) that they become very familiar with it. They are thus more likely to be aware of the big picture and its underlying structural patterns. In this sense, they can more easily make the transition to the semiotic stage of the analysis. By contrast, the computer-assisted approach, (which primarily becomes familiar with the data set through the single act of transcription), tends to be over-precise in its data retrieval procedures. Its eye for detail may overlook the deeper overarching trends that the traditional approach is more prone to capture.

Turning to the (secondary) linguistic analysis of specific nouns, adjectives and verbs, one reason why the manual approach may adopt it more often than the computer-assisted approach is that the latter can and does make errors in distinguishing between these parts of speech. The word “smoking”, for example, can be a noun, adjective or verb depending on the context (e.g., ‘smoking is dangerous to health’ (noun), ‘she held a smoking gun in her hand’ (adjective), ‘he was smoking a pipe’ (verb)). Although a computer can be given instructions in order to make the necessary distinctions, these additional commands have to be supplied on each ambiguous occasion by the researcher (i.e., they do not form part of the software). The traditional manual approach, by contrast, takes such a situation in its stride.

While three disadvantages have been identified for Atlas/ti, over twice as many advantages are highlighted. Perhaps the most important of these merits is its openness to innovative theory. Whereas the traditional approach typically derives its hypotheses

from the literature, and then seeks to validate them by *rejection* of their null variants, the computer-assisted approach takes a more inductive (and imaginative) stance to theory generation from the data themselves. The respondents, through their own definitions of situations, articulate the categories via *in vivo* codes. These codes are not derived from the researcher's check list of items, but instead constitute participant theory, a point that should become clearer in the ensuing example.

The Application of Manual Analysis and Atlas/ti to a Qualitative Tourism Study

First, Atlas/ti software was applied to qualitative data derived from the main part of Mehmetoglu's doctoral fieldwork carried out in the Lofoten Islands of Norway (results of the pilot study having been reported elsewhere (Mehmetoglu et al., 2001)). The data were collected from this 168km long Arctic archipelago lying between the 67th and 68th parallels off the West coastal towns of Bodø and Narvik, so as to gain insights into solitary travelers under the overall research problem: 'Why Do People Travel on Their Own?' From six weeks in the field, 715 pages of transcripts were obtained via a multi-method, grounded theory approach consisting of 45 in-depth interviews (643 pages), 16 diaries (47 pages) and 25 pages of observation notes. In such a manner individual files for every interview and each diary were established, while the observation notes were gathered in a single file.

In order to compare Atlas-ti with the traditional approach an excerpt from a response to a typical interview question was analyzed by both methods. At one stage, informants were asked 'what benefits do you seek from travel?' Following Pearce and Caltabiano (1983) it was anticipated that the replies to this oblique query would more adequately reveal motivation than the answers to a more direct question such as 'why do you travel?' (c.f., Dann, 1981). Here is one of the responses:

Scenery and escape, I imagine. I am starting a new job when I get home in London. So it is getting a contrast to that I think. I am living in a big city. Norway would be a big contrast, perhaps to get a little bit of perspective.

The *traditional* approach analyzed this excerpt as follows. The literature (e.g., Crompton, 1979; Dann, 1977, 1981) distinguishes between “push” and “pull” factors, those that respectively speak to conditions in the society of origin that dispose an individual to travel and those that relate to the attributes of the destination society that correspondingly attract or appeal to the potential tourist, once the decision to travel has been made.

The passage was thus inspected for *indicators* of push and pull factors that had already been established from prior research. As far as the former were concerned, there was evidence of *anomie* (living in a big city), the consequent need to *escape* (same word), *recuperate* (experience a contrast to work) and engage in *self-discovery* (bit of perspective).

Norway responded to these client needs by offering difference (contrast) and scenery (landscape as opposed to cityscape). (Indeed, in one recent publicity campaign it was described as “Land of Contrasts” – (Dann, 2000a)). At the same time, there was a significant omission of such push categories as ego-enhancement (gaining of status through travel to in-destinations), furtherance of kinship relations and education. Missing from the pull factors were features like the weather, meeting local people, culture, etc.

The analyst then turned to the remainder of the sample (which had already been stratified according to a given predictor variable, e.g., age), made a tally of successive instances of pre-determined categories, reported the marginal frequencies and manually conducted a statistical test of significance, before reassembling the files according to the next independent variable. If “sufficient” instances of the theoretical

categories were found, the pre-existing classification was deemed to be adequate. If not, an alternative scheme was sought, one that was also literature derived.

The Atlas approach was quite dissimilar since it was not in the business of validating or rejecting some *a priori* scheme. Instead, it focused on the *a posteriori* use of the words themselves and how they in turn could be treated as categories. Here, in the same excerpt, the accent fell on “escape”, “contrast”, “little bit of perspective” and “scenery” which then became *in vivo* codes for the analysis of subsequent cases. The presence or absence of these expressions could be immediately discovered in the rest of the sample according to a wide range of variables that were introduced at a mere tap of a button. Some codes could be merged (e.g., escape+contrast=novelty). Others could be disaggregated (e.g., scenery=lakes, mountains, beaches) with little additional effort.

Those categories that recurred were retained. Those that were idiosyncratic were abandoned. In such a manner an overall picture was constructed inductively from the entire data set. The final categories that emerged were then reported and became a new addition to the literature, rather than a testing of what had gone before.

At the micro-linguistic level, the traditional approach focused on the appearance and frequency of nouns (scenery, escape, job, home, London, contrast (x 2), city, Norway, bit, perspective (n=10)); adjectives (new, big (x 2), little (n=3)); verbs (imagine, starting, get(ting) (x3), think, living, be (n=6)). Here the preponderance of nouns over other parts of speech was observed, thereby reinforcing Echtner's (2000) finding that attractions+actors (nouns) tend to shape the patterning of atmosphere (adjectives) and actions (verbs), just as they do in the structure of myth (semiotic analysis).

Atlas/ti, while still amenable to this sort of small-scale analysis initially encountered greater difficulty in correctly identifying specific parts of speech. However, once this problem had been overcome, the software was far more reliable in tackling their frequency, particularly over a large data set. It was also better equipped able to pinpoint additional linguistic contexts, e.g., the interesting use of the first person singular, instances of pause, laughter, etc., thereby methodologically highlighting embarrassment, relief, etc. and how they related to certain topics and their associated lines of questioning and not others.

Conclusion

Whereas the literature on qualitative research has traditionally concentrated on the processes of data gathering (Fielding & Lee, 1998), in recent years, there has been a renewed interest in data analysis in general and content/semiotic analysis in particular (Roller, et al., 1995). The debate over the use of new software packages has acted as a catalyst for this awakening (Bauer, 2000).

Bauer (2000) suggests that in conducting such analysis considerable thought is given to the “kinds”, “qualities” and “distinctions” in the text before any quantification takes place. He goes on to claim that, in this manner, content analysis bridges the gap between statistical formalism and the qualitative analysis of research data. Accordingly, throughout this presentation the focus has been on the contribution that computer programs can make to carrying out a sound C/S A. However, so far mainly the practical benefits of an advanced electronic content analytical software have been stressed in relation to tourism research. It thus needs to be re-emphasized that analyzing large volumes of data is not simply a matter of saving time. Computer-

assisted text analysis also contains advantages of a theoretical/methodological nature (some of which have been touched upon already).

By way of summary, the employment of computer programs renders analysis more systematic and transparent, thereby enhancing its reliability (Richards & Richards, 1991). Indeed, some qualitative researchers (Dey, 1998) even suggest that, unless qualitative analysis is computer-based, it will not receive the same attention and commitment as quantitative analysis. Others (Kelle, 1995; Tesch, 1990) agree with this position in light of the unique advantages that the software possesses. Even so, there are some drawbacks associated with such electronic analysis, as outlined previously (see table 2).

Thus, and as a final, but tantalizingly unanswered question, it is still difficult to say precisely whether C/S A as a quantitative/qualitative technique in tourism research is better or worse when it is computer-assisted. While for some the jury may still be out on the matter, for others it may be a spurious issue. In siding with the latter opinion, it has been suggested on several occasions throughout this account that ultimately the quality of such research depends on the experience, creativity and theoretical awareness of the investigator. While a machine can certainly help, it is neither a panacea nor a substitute for sociological imagination (Bauer, 2000; Ford, 2000; Mills, 1971). For that reason alone the answer may lie in *combining* both ancient and modern, as complementary, rather than rival approaches. In such a manner, the strengths of one can compensate for the weaknesses of the other, thereby redounding to their mutual benefit.

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Table 1. Operations of Traditional versus Computer Assisted C/SA

Traditional	Atlas/ti
1. Hand divide data set into meaningful files.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Familiarize oneself with the data through the process of transcription.
2. Reduce data set by copying relevant texts on to separate sheets.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Divide/structure the data into primary documents (files).
3. Derive deductive classification scheme from pre-existing theory. (Conduct secondary linguistic analysis).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Load the primary documents on to Atlas/ti for further processing.
4. Assign responses to categories and take frequency counts (tallies). If successful, go to 6; if not go to 5.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create hermeneutic units or groups of primary documents (files).
5. In cases where coding scheme is inadequate: (a) derive another from the literature. (b) report instances of serendipity. (c) recode disproportionately high frequencies. (d) recode disproportionately low frequencies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Code the texts inductively (i.e., <i>a posteriori</i>) by making use of <i>open-</i> and <i>in vivo</i> coding techniques.
6. Apply statistical tests to frequency counts.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuously assign memos, not only to codes, but throughout the entire process of analysis.
7. Re-divide data set according to next predictor variable derived from literature (e.g., education, age).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce the number of codes by creating new code families. Continue this activity until the most comprehensive categories are attained.
8. Repeat stages 2 to 7 for each variable until all independent variables are exhausted.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop networks (graphical displays) to depict relationships between comprehensive categories.
9. Go beneath data to discover interpretive (semiotic) scheme (e.g., myth) that can account for overall structural patterns.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct statistical tests in accordance with the analyst's needs.
10. Report quantitative and qualitative findings. Illustrate the latter with appropriate quotations etc, dependent on medium that has been analyzed.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Report findings by using the richest (in terms of information) quotations, memos and networks, and by comparing these findings with the existing literature on the topic.

Table 2. Strengths and Weaknesses of Traditional Versus Computer Assisted Approaches

Traditional (manual)

Computer assisted (Atlas/ti)

Strengths
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides more of a feel for the data. • Greater awareness of serendipity and hence finding creative solutions. • Closer linguistic analysis more accurate in identifying parts of speech.
Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time consuming (expensive). • High levels of concentration and accuracy required for long periods (age and health of researcher may be involved). • Resultant researcher fatigue and error. • Top-down approach misses inductive theory and respondents' <i>in-vivo</i> categories. • Taking tallies for each predictor variable in principal and secondary linguistic analysis can lead to error. • Recoding categories is often a clumsy operation. • Statistical analysis is a slow manual process.

Strengths
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time saving (inexpensive). • Computer increases accuracy by ease of data retrieval. • Consequent reduction in fatigue and error. • Bottom-up approach leads to creation of new theory through use of <i>in vivo</i> codes. • Counting procedures are error free. • Recoding is a simple process. • SPSS can be applied for instant statistical analysis.
Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Over-mechanical approach can lead to less feel for data. • Less awareness of serendipity. • Linguistic analysis can be subject to computer error when initially identifying parts of speech.