Travellers in the periphery

Backpackers and other
independent multiple destination
tourists in peripheral areas

by

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Preface

This report presents a study of independent multiple destination tourism, with a particular emphasis on backpackers and other independent travellers. Independent travellers occupy a key role in both popular and academic tourism discourse: often regarded as discoverers and avant-garde tourists but equally often ridiculed as pompous anti-tourists. But research on the subject is scarce and truisms often pass for in-depth knowledge. The overall purpose of this report is thus to throw some introductory light on such modes of tourism.

More specifically, the aims of the study are:

1. To throw light on the phenomenon of backpacker tourism in peripheral areas, including the meaning and attraction of peripheral areas for backpackers.
2. To investigate independent multiple destination tourism on the island of Bornholm, by means of data from the Research Centre of Bornholm survey of departing tourists.
3. To investigate backpackers and similar independent travellers on the island of Bornholm by ethnographic means.
4. To discuss the theoretical and conceptual foundation and significance within tourism research of such modes of tourism, and
5. To consider the issue of structural changes in tourism demand patterns and their effect on the independent traveller modes of tourism, and to consider the impact of this on peripheral area tourism

The importance of independent travelling seems to be growing, both in volume and in social significance. This is likely to affect tourism in peripheral areas particularly. Some such destinations will attract peripherality-seeking travellers while others will not be perceived to be peripheral enough. Therefore, the research programme *Tourism in the Peripheral Areas of Europe* provided a suitable frame for the exploration of the subject of independent travelling. The study approaches the subject from an anthropological angle but draws extensively on knowledge built up within the broader domain of tourism research.

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1. Introduction: backpackers and other travelling tourists in peripheral areas

1.1. Aims and purpose

Outlying islands and other peripheral areas have a special tourism appeal. Often the appeal consists not only of what the specific area actually contains but also of what the peripherality itself is perceived to entail, frequently expressed in terms such as authentic, remote, natural, unspoiled, and exotic. Important for much tourism, such perceived features are especially important for the more *adventure* types of tourism. Such types of tourism take on many shapes and forms, from the organised luxury expedition to the individual shoestring venture, and from the highly nomadic to the almost ethnographic in-depth exploration of a limited area. However, the traditional epitome of the explorer-tourist is the independent traveller.

The ways in which this epitome is represented in tourism research are contradictory, to say the least. Independent travellers are not much studied and their appearance in tourism research publications is mostly implicit. Nevertheless, they occupy a crucial role in tourism research discourse. In historical terms they have been seen as a latter day variety of the founding forms of tourism, a last vestige of *an authentic mode of tourism*; in destination development terms they have been seen as the *sine qua non* pioneers, discoverers, and unintended development instigators; and in innovation terms they have been seen as path breakers, at the forefront of new forms of tourism consumption.

The ascription of these positions to independent travellers are neither well founded nor substantiated, and as tourism research has begun to confront and criticise its own founding truisms, the positions have come under pressure. However, that independent travellers have occupied such a role within tourism research discourse may be the reason why the truisms are still relatively unchallenged.

In spatial and organisational terms, independent travellers can be classified as self-organised multiple destination tourists. In the present report, this generic category is referred to by the term *travel-tourists*. Travel-tourists are defined as *holiday tourists who*
1. *organise their travel themselves, i.e. do not partake in a package tour, and*
2. *tour, i.e. visit more than one destination on the trip.*

The category is generic, for independent travellers are not the only independent multiple destination tourists. On the contrary, the term travel-tourist covers wide variation spans, in

terms of practical travel matters as well as in terms of motivation, aspiration, and behaviour. Travel-tourists are the object of the present study.[1]

This report presents a study of travel-tourism with a particular emphasis on backpackers and similar independent travellers. The purpose of the report is to throw some introductory light on and discuss such modes of tourism. Indeed, the very organisational and spatial character of a self-organised multiple destination holiday makes it likely that it is among travel-tourists that one will find those tourists who place the greatest emphasis on touristic individuality and/or nomadism.

The subject is viewed from a peripheral area tourism perspective, both in general terms, and in terms of studies of a specific peripheral destination, namely the Danish Baltic island of Bornholm. The report approaches these modes of tourism from an anthropological angle. However, it draws extensively on social science knowledge built up within the domain of tourism research during the last 25 years.

Thus, the overall aim of the present study is to explore the phenomenon of travel-tourism in peripheral areas, with a particular emphasis on backpackers and other independent travellers who have a strong and influential travel and tourism ideology.

More specifically, the aims of the study are:

1. To throw light on the phenomenon of backpacker tourism in peripheral areas, including the meaning and attraction of peripheral areas for backpackers.
2. To investigate independent multiple destination tourism on the island of Bornholm, by means of data from the Research Centre of Bornholm survey of departing tourists.
3. To investigate backpackers and similar independent travellers on the island of Bornholm by ethnographic means.
4. To identify and discuss the theoretical and conceptual foundation and significance within tourism research of such modes of tourism, and
5. In the light of the above, to consider the issue of structural changes in tourism demand patterns and their effect on the *independent traveller* modes of tourism, and to consider the impact of this on peripheral area tourism

Admittedly, these aims are quite diverse. Yet they all explore various aspects of a joint field of study. For not only do they all consider independent multiple destination tourists and segments thereof in peripheral areas. They are furthermore united by a shared problematic which is concerned with the issue of the relation between changing structural and social foundations of tourism demand and a conceivable growth of nomadic, individual tourism. The contours of the field of study are outlined in the following section.

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1   The various concepts, classifications and typologies used to distinguish between types of holiday tourists and
     various types of travel-tourists in this study are presented and described in chapter 3.

1.2.   Framing the field of study

The field of study is framed by two interacting axes. One axis relates to variations among travel-tourists and their representation in tourism research; the other relates to peripheral destinations and the impact of general changes in tourism demand upon such destinations.

1.2.1.   Backpackers and other travel-tourists: the conspicuous and the unnoticed

Multiple destination tourism is not a well researched topic,[2] and independent travellers even less so. Yet, despite the lack of research, independent travellers nevertheless occupy an important position within tourism research. Their mode of tourism is often characterised as having a strong and inherent explorer dimension, and in much tourism research the role of destination discoverers is implicitly or explicitly ascribed to independent travellers who, in their search of the remote, the authentic and the unspoilt, get off the beaten tourist tracks and into the periphery, where their presence instigates and supports the development of the very tourism industry that they try to travel beyond. This understanding of the spread of tourism and the role of the independent traveller is still widely accepted,[3] and although studied and criticised at the concrete level, its ideological and philosophical background is only rarely studied or challenged.[4]

The best known independent travellers are possibly the *backpackers*,[5] also known as *budget travellers*,[6] *travellers*,[7] *inter-railers*,[8] *free individual travellers*[9] and so on.[10] However, backpacker tourism is not well-known primarily because of any massive tourism research effort, but rather because of an inherent distinctness. Backpackers' behaviour often demonstrates a sharply profiled tourism (or anti-tourism) ideology, and both popularly and within tourism research backpackers are often perceived as a radical variety of contemporary tourist. Their tourism activities are often viewed as path breaking, not only in geographical terms, but also in relation to changing modes of tourism consumption.

The author has for several years pursued a particular interest in backpacker tourism[11] and doubts that it holds any *avant garde* position when it comes to changes of the specifics of tourism consumption. On the contrary, most backpackers utilise an established, although *alternative*, tourism infrastructure, and quite often they also use the infrastructure of or-

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2   Lue, Crompton & Fesenmaier, 1993. Opperman, 1995.
3   Pryer, 1997.
4   Sørensen, 1998, 1999a.
5   Hampton, 1998; Loker-Murphy & Pearce, 1995; Pearce, 1990; van den Berghe, 1994; Wilson, 1997.
6   Riley, 1988; Ross, 1993; Smith, 1994.
7   Sørensen, 1992b.
8   Schönhammer, 1989.
9   Schwartz, 1991.
10   In the social interaction among themselves, the preferred term seems to be *traveller*, and less frequently *back-packer*, or *budget traveller*. However, since the term traveller is fraught with connotations as well as a commonly used generic term, the term *backpacker* is used throughout this report.
11   Sørensen, 1992a, 1992b, 1995, 1997, 1999b.

ganised tourism.[12] Although backpacker tourists are quick to follow, it is probably not within this tourism milieu that new forms of tourism consumption arise. On the other hand, it may well be within this milieu that new specifics of tourism consumption can first be observed with any clarity. Furthermore, although the author does not believe that back-packers are *avant garde* at the level of the specifics, he does believe that insight into the phenomenon of backpacker tourism may have some forecasting value, in the sense that the growth of it in recent years may be a sign of more general changes in the fundamentals of tourism demand.

Nevertheless being self-organised and visiting several destinations on a trip does not necessarily mean that one performs one's tourism as an explorer or a backpacker. For explorers, backpackers and other high-profile independent travellers are not the only travel-tourists - they are only the most conspicuous. Families in their own car touring in the United States, camper van tourists on their way to the North Cape, and families who purposely break their journey on their way to their main holiday destination: all fall within the description of travel-tourism. Having no vague impressions of *counter culture* or *adventurer* attached, these other independent travellers are less conspicuous than backpackers and explorers, but in volume they vastly exceed these.

The extent of the volume is, however, very difficult to asses. The multiple destination dimension has been underexposed in tourism data,[13] and the author holds the opinion that this is not least the result of a predominance of destination-bound perspectives in tourism research. Furthermore, as these other independent travellers do not exhibit a similarly conspicuous tourism profile or ideology, their actual multiple destination activity is easily overlooked. The tourism of the other travel-tourists is more silent, the multiple dimension element is neither made visible through tourism data nor through conspicuousness and, if studied at all, only rarely ascribed any conceptual importance.

Thus, information about the other travel-tourists is therefore of much interest, partly in itself, and partly as a means to contextualise and to put into perspective knowledge about backpackers and other independent travellers.

1.2.2.   Peripheries, peripherality, and changing tourism demand

To many tourists, peripheral destinations are particularly attractive, not despite but because of the very peripherality and its perceived attributes. But peripheral destinations are not necessarily undeveloped. On the contrary, many tourism destinations in peripheral areas have developed beyond the attraction of the image of peripherality. That is to say, it makes no difference whether the destination is situated in a peripheral area, because the image of peripherality is not associated with these destinations, or at least to most visitors it is not a

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12   Wheeller, 1992: 105.
13   Leiper, 1989; Lue, Crompton & Fesenmaier, 1993.

main component of its drawing power. These visitors are not drawn because or despite, but regardless of the peripherality![14]

Other destinations in peripheral areas have developed as well but have nevertheless retained a certain dependence on the image of peripherality, said image being an important factor in the ability of the destination to attract large numbers of visitors. The Danish island of Bornholm is a case in point. Taking the size of the island and the number of local residents into account, Bornholm is probably the county in Denmark with the most massive influx of tourists in the high season, and probably the one which is most dependent on tourism.[15]

Yet, although peripherality is still central in tourists' perceptions and expectations of destinations such as Bornholm, the assumption in the literature is that independent travellers with an *I am not a tourist* attitude will be largely absent, since the destination in their view has been spoiled by the influx of large numbers of visitors. Indeed, the general point of view in the literature on destination evolution is that, as a destination develops and attracts larger numbers of visitors, the type of visitors changes, towards more institutionalised tourists, and towards tourists for whom the image of peripherality may be less crucial, if indeed of any importance.

But the attractiveness of Bornholm depends to a large degree on the image of peripherality.[16] And even though the *I am not a tourist* visitors may abandon destinations such as Bornholm as soon as they become more widely popular, not much is really known about this. To the knowledge of the author it has not been investigated. And even less is known about the influence of this on other travel-tourists. In the eyes of such tourists, do destinations such as Bornholm retain a flavour of attractive peripherality, despite the larger influx of visitors, or do they too bypass such destinations? Not much is known about the preferences and motivational factors of the other independent travellers, neither in general terms, nor in relation to specific destinations.

However, it is simplifying matters if the issue is considered only in relation to changes of the specific destination in question. For even though the attraction of peripherality may be as important as ever in tourism, the social meaning of peripherality for the tourists may be changeable. Indeed, the very tourism conception of periphery and peripherality may be neither uniform nor static.

A quick look at icons and key tropes in tourism promotional material will demonstrate that peripherality has for long, if not *always*, been an important element in much tourism and there is no reason to assume that it is loosing in general tourism importance.[17] However, one might argue that, in the touristic sense, the periphery is now located farther away than

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14   Blomgren & Sørensen, 1998.
15   Rafn, 1995, 1996.
16   This is clearly and consistently visible in survey data concerning attractiveness of Bornholm, see Rassing, 1998; Rassing, 1999; Rassing & Hartl-Nielsen, 1997.
17   Sørensen, 1998.

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ever before, in geographical distance if not in travel time. Thus, the globalisation of tourism seems to have affected peripherality-seeking tourism as well, resulting in the near periphery loosing in drawing power, and the far periphery gaining. Simply put, for many tourists the near periphery is not peripheral enough!

These changes directly apply to matters of organisation and localisation. There seems to be much academic support for the opinion that contemporary mass tourism is more independent and less spatially fixed than the mass tourism of yesteryear, and that this trend will develop in the future.

This point of view is raised in several publications,[18] but more importantly, it seems to be underlying the debates on new tourism,[19] alternative tourism,[20] responsible tourism,[21] sustainable tourism,[22] appropriate tourism,[23] eco-tourism,[24] or whatever labels are attached to the more visible tendencies of general changes in tourism demand within the last 10 to 15 years. Is tourism demand going postmodern? Some authors interpret the changes this way, others oppose it,[25] but whatever labels are attached, more individualised and nomadic tourism behaviour are certainly key symbols in the research on recent changes in tourism demand.

Further investigation of the processes of such changes is obviously of interest for a deeper understanding of the dynamics of tourism demand. Yet the investigation is hampered not only by the lack of reliable longitudinal data, but also by insufficient theoretical frameworks with which to comprehend and conceptualise the processes. For instance, there is but scant evidence on whether changes are attributable to experienced tourists who change their tourism habits, or to débutant tourists who have other tourism preferences than their tourism predecessors.

But whether it is one or the other (or both), it is reasonable to suggest that travel-tourism epitomises changes towards more independent and less spatially fixed tourism behaviour. Hence, although travel-tourism certainly does not encapsulate all the effects of changing tourism demand patterns, it may, if used with sufficient caution, supply some indication regarding the local impact of more fundamental trends in tourism demand and tourism consumption patterns.

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18 E.g. Butlerl, 1990; Damm, 1995; Ioannides & Debbage, 1997; Jones, 1992.
19 E.g. Krippendorf, 1986, 1987; Mowforth & Munt, 1998; Poon, 1989, 1993, 1994.
20 E.g. Järviluoma, 1992; Pearce, 1994; Smith, 1994.
21 E.g. Cooper & Ozdil, 1992; Wheeller, 1991.
22 E.g. Bramwell & Lane, 1993; Clarke, 1997; Dearden, 1991; Dearden & Harron, 1994.
23 E.g. Singh, Theuns & Go, 1989; Wheeller, 1992.
24 E.g. Lindberg, Enriquez & Sproule, 1996; Lumsdon & Swift, 1998; Place, 1991; Wheeller, 1994.
25 Among the contributions to this debate, see, for example, Errington & Gewertz, 1989; Feifer, 1985; MacCannell, 1989, 1992; Urry, 1988, 1990a, 1990b.

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2.   Contexts

In the previous chapter, the contours of a field of study were outlined. The outline and indeed the whole introductory chapter brought up the subject of the relation between the independent traveller and the coming into being and initial development of tourism destinations. In many ways this subject serves as a context for the present study. Not only is it very influential within tourism research at an ideological and discursive level; but furthermore, this influence is also expressed in somewhat more tangible ways, for instance in assumptions regarding visitor composition and visitor profiles at certain types of destinations.

Thus, in order to enable the study to explore and challenge the qualities of this knowledge, it is necessary to present it in its proper context. Two approaches seem to prevail: one which views the role of the traveller in the light of assumed dynamics of change inherent in a tourism area, and one which sees the changes at a destination in the light of assumed psychological and motivational differences among tourists. Both approaches are discussed in the following section.

The introduction also briefly touched upon the issue of peripheral areas and tourism, and this subject constitutes another important context. At first sight, this context appears to be solely empirical. Undeniably the issue is very important in social and economic terms for the peripheral areas in question; therefore, a brief introduction to the subject will be found in this chapter. At the same time, however, it should not be forgotten that periphery and peripherality are not only more or less objectively defined factors. Periphery and peripherality also indicate subjective touristic perceptions which may be largely unconnected to the empirical reality. Subjective perceptions of peripherality may be important for the ability of objectively peripheral areas to attract tourists - and may be decisive for what types of tourists the area in question is able to attract.[26] And since common understanding of the traveller contains frequent allusions to ideals of the explorer and "getting beyond tourism", the assumption in this study is that, at least at the ideological level, the notion of peripherality plays a significant role for the independent traveller's self-perception. Therefore, the final section of this chapter attempts to identify the deep-structural foundation for the attractiveness of peripherality in modern society, and, incidentally, why the attraction of peripherality might be challenged by the influence of postmodernity in tourism consumption.

2.1.   The rise of destinations and the role of the traveller

2.1.1.   Tourist area life cycle

The most widely debated model of tourist destination development is the Tourist Area Life Cycle (TALC), first introduced in tourism research by Butler.[27] The similarity to general

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26   Blomgren & Sørensen, 1998.
27   Butler, 1980.

marketing theories on the product life cycle, from introduction to maturity and perhaps decline, is generally recognised.[28] Briefly stated, the theory behind TALC is that tourist destinations are dynamic. Factors inherent in the complex of intertwined relations that constitute a destination promote changes rather than an unchanging condition. This tends to cause a destination to develop, i.e. change, and as it changes, the character of its clientele changes accordingly. Figure 1 illustrates the stages of the process.

Figure 1: Tourist Area Life Cycle
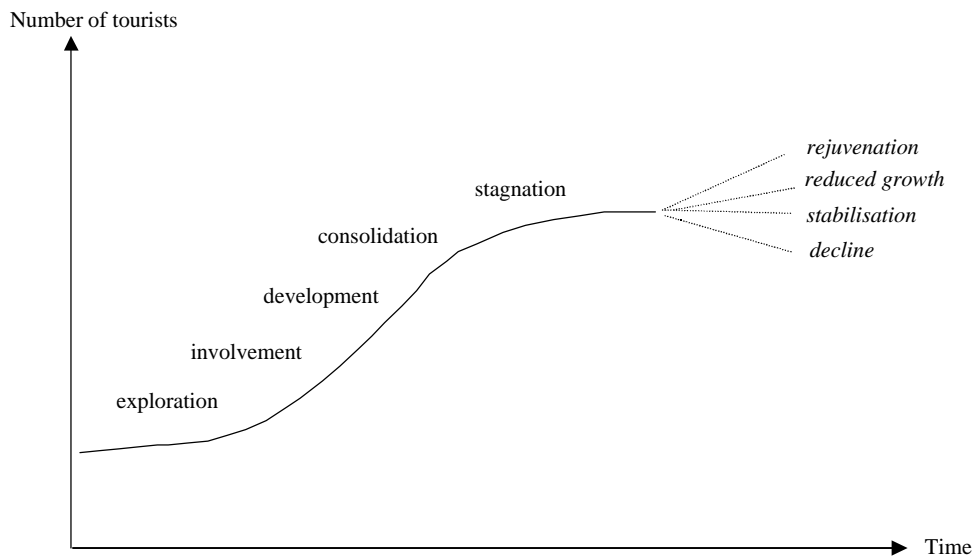
Source: After Butler, 1980.

The five standard stages can be summarised as follows:[29]

1. *The exploration stage* is the initial discovery of the area by a small number of independent explorer-tourists,[30] who are not deterred by the lack of tourist facilities. The facilities are not created with leisure tourism in mind and are often basic.
2. An *involvement stage* is reached when the number of visitors grows, thanks to the non-institutionalised circulation of information. Local entrepreneurship is stimulated, which results in an increasing provision of tourist facilities. The outlines of seasonality appear.
3. As the process continues, a *development stage* occurs. Non-local capital may enter and establish more elaborate facilities. These are needed in order to tap the wider market of institutionalised tourism. The area becomes a well defined destination.
4. A slackening growth rate signals *the consolidation stage*. Large scale operators increasingly dominate the destinations, whose clientele consists almost solely of institu-

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28   Cooper, 1994: 340.
29   Based on Butler, 1980; Cooper, 1994; Haywood, 1986; Twining-Ward & Twining-Ward, 1996.
30   Butler, 1980: 6; Cohen, 1972.

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tionali-sed tourists. The local economy is by now tied to tourism. Carrying capacity problems become visible.

5. *A stagnation stage* appears when visitor numbers have peaked. The destination is well known but not fashionable and relies on repeat visitors. The resort image is divorced from its geographical environment. Carrying capacity problems are evident and several resources are over-utilised.

Following this, several scenarios are possible. They range from *decline*, where no corrective measures are taken and the self-destruction continues; through *stabilisation*, perhaps with a lower number of visitors in correspondence with carrying capacity; through *reduced growth* with a slight increase in visitor numbers which is enabled by raising carrying capacity (e.g. improving the facilities) or by better use of present capacity (e.g. extending the season); to *rejuvenation*, a refurbishment of the destination and its image.

The *Rise and Fall* logic of TALC is intuitively attractive and it supplies a framework for the retrospective understanding of how many destinations have developed. However, TALC has caused much discussion as its implementation into empirical studies is very problematic. The critique seems to concentrate on the following issues:

- the curve may have other shapes than the standard s-curve;
- there are problems with carrying capacity and how to determine it;
- determining what stage a tourist area is in and whether it is in transition to another may be difficult;
- the same goes for defining a tourist area and what activities to include.

Contributions to the debate are numerous.[31] Cooper notes that the more the life cycle approach is refuted, the stronger it becomes, as the approach has been able to absorb the objections.[32] However, the debate has concentrated on specific factors whereas contemplations on a more general level are less frequent. Haywood criticises the implicit assumption of visitor homogeneity at any given time. He argues that, rather than a relatively quick switch between different and distinct market segments, each segment may present its own rise and fall curve, and since the curves are overlapping the visitor composition may be more heterogeneous than the model leads us to assume.[33] Curiously, only rarely is it noted that the curve of TALC until the stagnation stage also illustrates the general development of leisure tourism over time. In other words: what by means of TALC is interpreted as the rise of specific destinations can also be interpreted as local effects of the global growth of tourism.

This leads to what the author considers the most important objection at the general level, namely the ahistoric character of TALC. To be sure, it is an evolutionary model and a diachronic element is thus inherent - but only at the local level. The TALC debate does not

31   E.g. Agarwal, 1994; Bianchi, 1994; Cooper, 1994; Haywood, 1986; Järviluoma, 1992; Keller, 1987.
32   Cooper, 1994: 344.
33   Haywood, 1986: 156. A similar opinion is indicated in Järviluoma, 1992.

incorporate global changes. Instead it seems to operate on the assumption that tourists are a fixed resource with a fixed number of types, and it does not incorporate the fact that the global balance between the types may change over time. Even more importantly, TALC seems unable to incorporate the fact that new motivational factors may appear and new types of tourists may evolve.

TALC seems to have been devised by using the retrospectively observed development of tourism resorts and its explanatory qualities are delimited by this empirical origin. Thus, as an organising conceptual framework it is best suited when researching the development of resort-tourism destinations. TALC describes a change from exploration to recreation and conformity, but only for the destinations where natural resources as well as social and historical matters cause recreational and institutionalised tourism to obtain a hegemonic position without having had it from the outset. As a prognostic tool, therefore, TALC is limited not only by its inability to incorporate more overall changes in tourism demand, but also by its empirical origin.

Nevertheless, despite these drawbacks, TALC is of considerable interest when contemplating the relationship between the character of a destination and the types of visitors to be found there. And since the role of path breakers is often ascribed to independent travellers, TALC indicates that they play a crucial role for an up-and-coming destination.[34] The progression from the exploration to the stagnation stage also signifies a change in visitor types, from the independent and exploring types of tourists, relatively few in numbers, to the institutionalised tourists. TALC thus seems to expect that independent travellers will be dominant at the first two stages, whereas their importance declines as the destination develops. The turning point would seem to take place during the development stage, as the institutionalisation process progresses. Independent travellers may not be the only types of tourists present at the first two stages, but intuitively an area, uncharted in relation to tourism, seems less attractive to single destination tourists than to the nomadic types. After all, the latter are not staking their entire holiday on the attractiveness of a single destination, hence they are not risking as much by checking out something new as would the single destination tou-rists.[35]

Turning the above somewhat upside down, one might equally ask whether travel-tourists in general and independent travellers in particular in fact do disappear from a destination as it develops, and if so, why they have disappeared. Have they, as the model implies, been scared away by the changes in the destination and presence of institutionalised tourists, or are other factors equally or more important? And are there still travel-tourists in general to be found at the destination, perhaps even independent travellers? If so, why do they behave so contrary to assumed type? Whether it is one way or the other, an empirical study of backpackers and other independent travellers at a specific location can contribute to the critical reflections on destination development models.

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34   Cf. Järviluoma, 1992; Keller, 1987; Pryer, 1997.
35   Cf. Lue, Crompton & Fesenmaier, 1993: 292.

2.1.2. Allocentric and psychocentric visitors

Whereas the causes behind differences in tourist motivation and demand are largely unexplored by the TALC debate, other researchers have explored this issue in relation to its effects at the destination. Particularly noteworthy and much discussed are Plog's concepts of allocentrism and psychocentrism (Plog's model).[36] In many ways overlapping, Plog's model is older than TALC, which to some extent draws on the insight Plog's model supplies.

Plog's model considers the same general question as TALC does: why do destinations rise and fall in popularity? However, whereas TALC focuses on the dynamics of a destination, Plog focuses on the psychological differences among tourists, which he claims causes them to visit a given destination at different stages of its development. According to Plog the psychological differences of a population span a continuum from the *allocentric* to the *psychocentric*. The allocentrics are adventurous and open to experiments and they experience themselves as being in control of their own lives. Novelty is the name of the tourism game and they have sufficient self-confidence to seek out and try the novel. The psychocentrics on the other hand centre their thoughts on the small problem areas of life, but they don't feel that they are in control of their own lives. In terms of tourism they play a very safe hand and opt for the definitely familiar, hence opting out of novelty - and risks.

Plog admits that both extremes are small in numbers and that most are located in a neither-nor centre group. Yet he maintains that allocentric and/or psychocentric factors are evident among large numbers outside the extreme groupings. Hence a five-fold *psychographic* typology can be constructed along a symmetric curve of distribution. Figure 2 shows Plog's distribution curve along with his classification of various destinations.

It should be added that Plog's psychographic location of various destinations was created with respect to American holiday travel; obviously the picture would be different if Danish holiday travel was considered. Yet this simple fact also indicates a serious limitation of the explanatory power of Plog's model in terms of the rise and fall of destination popularity. Simply put: whereas Miami Beach attracts near-psychocentric Americans, the Europeans attracted to that destination may be midcentric, since intercontinental travel may well be too much for psychocentric Europeans.

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36   Plog, 1973.

Figure 2: Psychographic positions of destinations
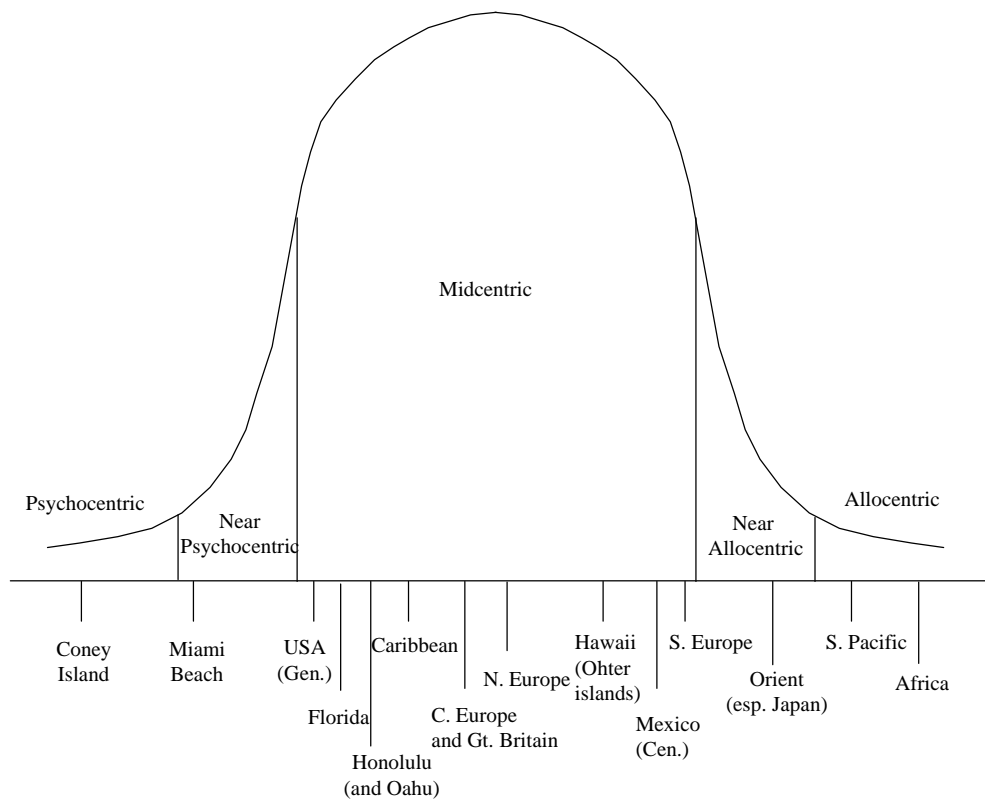
Source: Plog, 1973.

Leisure tourism has grown in reach since Plog devised his model, and leisure tourists now frequently travel much longer distances than they did 25 years ago. However, Plog's model being unable to handle these factors also underlines the fact that it suffers from the same general flaw which was found in TALC, namely its ahistoric character: local change is considered on the assumption that the general character of tourism demand remains the same.

But the globalisation of tourists' reach consists not only of a larger geographical spectrum of options. It is also necessary to consider changes in general criteria of familiarity, novelty, and exoticism that, among other factors, tourism has brought about. In a western world where "ethnic" food from distant parts of the world can be found in every supermarket, it takes more for something to be novel now than it did 25 years ago; conversely, the spectrum covered by *familiar* has widened considerably.

One could argue that the above objections do not change the fact that the terms adventurous and familiarity-seeking are oppositional, and that changes over time in the inherent

meaning of the terms do not invalidate the model. Admittedly they do not counter the basic argument in Plog's model, namely that differences in tourism demand can be accounted for by psychological differences among tourists. But suppose the balance changes: more people being allocentric and less being psychocentric? Even more importantly: suppose that there is a change in the social meaning and importance of novelty or change in touristic experience?

Although Plog's model has not been subjected to substantial empirical testing[37] it has nevertheless been much discussed,[38] but despite its limited prognostic powers, it supplies an interesting angle. It suggests why it is some, and not others, who discover a destination. As in TALC, explorers and discoverers are very visible and their novelty-seeking serves as a necessary engine for the wheels of destination change to be set in motion. A multiple destination dimension is implicitly present in the exploring tourism of the allocentrics, but whereas TALC demonstrates the destination effects of the arrival of a vehicle of change, Plog's model approach the issue of destination evolution by linking the demand patterns of the allocentric (travel-) tourists with their overall life-approach.

In summary, whereas TALC takes its point of departure from the suggestion of stages of tourism development at a destination, Plog's model analyses the relation between destination changes and visitor segments from a different angle, in that it focuses on the differences between various types of tourists and their different tourism aspirations and abilities. Nevertheless, both models are concerned with the relation between destination changes and visitor segment changes, and they both ascribe the role of the pioneer visitor to independent, adventurous and novelty-seeking explorer-tourists, tourists like the independent travellers with a marked and important travel ideology. None of the models questions this understanding of the traveller-explorer, rather they perpetuate it. Similar assumptions about backpackers, traveller-explorers, itinerants, or whatever tags affixed to independent travellers, seem to be widely accepted, or at least unquestioned, by the research community.[39] A key question, therefore, is whether the tourists in question in their actual exploits can live up to this ideology. If not, then the foundation of both models presented here is weakened, for it would suggest that the use of such tourists in the models has lacked critical insight, and thus reflects the tourists' travel ideology more than it reflects their actual travel.

2.2.   Tourism, peripheral areas, and peripherality

2.2.1.   Peripheral areas and tourism development

The second context to be outlined in this chapter is concerned with the issue of peripheral areas and tourism. Although the notion of peripheral areas or notions to that effect abound in social science researchs, and although such notions crop up in tourism research, the notion, both in general and within tourism research is often applied in an implicit manner.

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37   Griffith & Albanese, 1996; Smith, 1990.
38   Cf. Bello & Etzel, 1985; Griffith & Albanese, 1996; Pearce, 1993; Plog, 1987, 1990; Smith, 1990.
39   Hampton, 1998; Pryer, 1997.

In social and economic terms, the notion of peripheral areas usually describes areas away from the centre (economic, political, educational, social), areas which are considered to have a number of barriers to economic development. The peripheral area, therefore, is relatively remote, and situated in a dependency relationship with a centre area.[40]

Examples of peripheral areas actively trying to attract tourism are numerous. Peripheral areas often possess characteristics which are demanded by the tourism industry, and both nationally and locally tourism is often seen as a panacea for such areas. This viewpoint is also promoted in much tourism research.[41]

Peripheral areas often find it difficult to attract investments and jobs because of disadvantages such as location, infrastructure, low population density, low level of education and so on. Often the decline of such areas is connected with changes in the primary sector, be it a declining activity or a declining demand for manpower following rationalisation. Some peripheral areas are still able to maintain a certain level of activity in the primary sector, while other areas discover hitherto unexploited possibilities of economic revitalisation. But for many areas tourism seems to be the only viable alternative to a continuous decline. Furthermore, tourism, often described as a low-skill and labour-intensive industry, would not seem to require extended changes to the local workforce.

The discussion of the possibilities and of the pros and cons of employing tourism as a development engine has progressed since the early sixties. In its early stages the discussion often evolved within a global centre–periphery framework, frequently with economists and anthropologists as key opponents.[42] Typically, the economists would argue in favour of using tourism as an economic development tool for impoverished Third World economies, while anthropologists would argue against it by pointing out alleged sociocultural consequences. Since then, the discussion has become more balanced and less patronising and it is broadly accepted that it is necessary to look at both sides of the coin.[43] At the same time, the geographical perspective for the discussion has changed. It is no longer purely a matter of tourism as an *inter*national development tool: at least equally important on the political agenda are the prospects and hopes of using tourism as an *intra*national development tool.

Since the inception of the discussion, another angle has been added to the economic, developmental, and sociocultural angles, namely a growing recognition that the issue of tourism's impact also has an environmental dimension, the neglect of which, apart from other consequences, may also well endanger the tourism product and thereby tourism development. On top of that, the rapid diversification of tourism demand in recent years has added yet another dimension to discussions of the pros and cons of tourism as a development tool.

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40   For an analysis of periphery and peripherality in tourism research, see Blomgren & Sørensen, 1998.
41   E.g. Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Pearce, 1995.
42   de Kadt, 1979; Sørensen, 1995.
43   Blomgren & Sørensen, 1998; Lundtorp & Sørensen, 1997.

Thus, with a growing awareness of the environmental strains which tourism development can cause on the one hand, and with a growing political awareness within the developed countries of the development potential for one's own peripheral areas which tourism seems to contain on the other,[44] the debate is as vivid and complex as ever.

2.2.2. Tourism, modernities, and perceptions of peripherality

As mentioned in the introduction, the drawing power of peripheral areas often hinges on how tourists perceive the area in question. Peripheral areas are often perceived (and marketed) by means of terms such as authentic, off the beaten track, unspoilt, exotic, undevelundeveloped, etc., but tourism research has left underexposed the fact that there might be a serious discrepancy between peripherality in the more objective sense of the term, and tourists' assessment of the degree and attractiveness of the peripherality of an area.[45] The author is doubtful of the implicit assumption of much tourism research, namely that tourists see unchangeability as the primary quality of peripherality. Peripherality is not attractive in the terms of a museum, where one steps out of time and into history; elements of peripherality might be perceived as remnants of the past, but in order to be attractive, the past has to be alive and changing, so to speak![46]

Another interesting feature in peripheral area tourism is that it seems more dependent than many other forms of tourism on perceptions of inversions. The inversions of home vs. away, and work vs. holiday are generally inherent in tourism, but when turning peripherality into an appealing asset,[47] the peripheral area furthermore depends on inversion perceptions such as urban vs. rural, modern vs. backward, destroyed vs. intact, etc.

Elsewhere, the author has attempted to identify the deep-structural foundations in modern societies for such attitudes towards peripheral areas, indeed for the attraction of peripherality as such,[48] and he has tentatively localised it in what he considers to be a core touristic myth of modernism, namely *nostalgic evolutionism*. Nostalgic evolutionism holds that *the modern world has lost in authenticity what it has gained in commodities, but somewhere out there, on the fringes of or beyond the modern world, the authenticity of pre-modern life is still to be experienced*.

The notion of a core myth owes much to MacCannell's studies of the meaning and structure of tourism in modern societies. MacCannell's argument, that tourism is essentially a search for the authenticity which the tourist presumes that modern societies have lost,[49] has

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44   Cf. Wanhill, 1997.
45   Cf. Blomgren & Sørensen, 1998.
46   Ibid.
47   Of course, not all tourists that come to a peripheral area do so because of the (perceived) peripherality. Some come regardless of peripherality. But as they do not come because of peripherality, they cannot be attracted by means of peripherality, and the question of attracting them, therefore, cannot be raised in terms of peripherality (cf. Blomgren & Sørensen, 1998).
48   Sørensen, 1998.
49   MacCannell, 1989.

been much debated and contested.[50] The point in relation to a core myth of nostalgic evolutionism is *not* that all modern tourists explicitly pursue or reproduce this myth through their tourism activities. A tourist who opts for a recreational holiday at a seaside resort in a peripheral area may be totally indifferent to the fact that the holiday location lives up the myth so to speak. And yet, the core myth is still present behind this, because the nostalgia for the alleged lost authenticity is a crucial element in the social construction of modernity which has generated the socially organised tourisms as we know them.

The key point in the above is that the alleged loss, the idea of a loss, is crucial to modern society. As MacCannell argues: *No other major social distinction (certainly not that between the classes) has received such massive reinforcement as the ideological separation of the modern from the nonmodern world.*[51] And the idea of a loss of something valuable is maintained through tourism activities, through tourists' search in other places for what they believe has disappeared at home. And when "confirming" its existence elsewhere, they are simultaneously "confirming" the loss of it at home!

However, just as peripherality is not perceived in terms of unchangeability, the very perception of peripherality may not be unchanging. Likewise, changes in the importance and meaning of dichotomies such as those mentioned above (modern vs. backward, urban vs. rural, destroyed vs. intact, etc.), imply a change in the appeal of the peripheral area's tourism product! For the attraction of peripherality often depends on the tourist perceiving it in terms oppositional to home, and if the social meaning of these perceptions of inversions are changing, it is likely to affect peripheral area tourism more than e.g. urban tourism or pure recreational tourism. For this reason it is thus necessary not only to consider structures which occupy a dominant position, but also to consider what processes of change might be affecting the comprehension of peripheral areas.

An obvious analytical framework, and definitely the one within which sociocultural tourism research in particular has considered changing tourism consumption, comprehension and meaning, is that of postmodernism. The concept of the postmodern has been much used and much discussed in recent years within the humanities and social sciences;[52] tourism has also been touched upon. Tourism and tourists have been analysed by means of post-modernism frameworks in a number of publications taking different scientific approaches, especially sociological, anthropological and semiotic, and with different interpretations.[53]

Urry in particular has moved beyond the mere catch-phrase use of the concept of postmodern on to thorough implementation of it in sociological tourism analysis. Urry localises the

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50   E.g. Bruner, 1989, 1991; Cohen, 1979a, 1979b, 1988a, 1988b, 1995; Crick, 1989; Hughes, 1995; MacCannell, 1992; Pearce & Moscardo, 1986; Selwyn, 1996; Turner & Manning, 1988; Urry, 1990b; Wang, 1999.
51   MacCannell, 1989:8.
52   E.g. Bauman, 1992; Betz, 1992; Featherstone, 1991; Jameson, 1984; Lash, 1990; Lyotard, 1984; Stauth & Turner, 1988.
53   E.g. Baudrillard, 1988; Buck-Morss, 1987; Errington & Gewertz, 1989; Harkin, 1995; Pretes, 1995; Urry, 1990a, 1990b, 1991.

appearance of the postmodern in tourism in the de-differentiation of cultural spheres and of the production of cultural capital in these spheres,[54] resulting in a dissolving of the historically traceable separation between tourism and other activities, such as shopping, sport, culture.[55] Simply put, even though a tourism trip may be thought of as better than a shopping trip by the postmodern tourist, it is thought of exactly in degrees, because postmodernism is the dissolving of the radical distinction between forms of consumption, making them commensurable, rather than incommensurable.

Consumption is a key word in much writing about the postmodern. From a tourism research angle, Pretes writes that *In postmodern society, objects become representations and are commodified, packaged and consumed. Consumption, rather than production, becomes dominant (…) Reality gives way to representation, the real is no longer meaningful or necessary. History, time and space, as aspects of culture, become commodities (…) In postmodern society, tourism becomes a commodity to be consumed.*[56]

Moreover, the postmodern implies a playful approach to sign and signification and a rejection of the authority of the traditional "high culture" understanding of sights and events. Therefore, authenticity in a conventional high culture sense of the term is also rejected, at least in theory. Rather, the notion of authenticity is something to relate to in a playful manner, for the postmodern tourists see tourism as a game not to be taken too seriously.[57]

The notion of postmodernity has been much debated, perhaps less so in tourism research than elsewhere in social science. But even within tourism research, the subject is not exempt from debate. MacCannell expresses perhaps the sharpest critique of the concept of postmodernism to come from the standpoint of sociocultural tourism research. MacCannell argues that the postmodern is *more a repression and denial necessary to the dirty work of modernity so it can continue to elaborate its forms while seeming to have passed out of existence or to have changed into something 'new' and 'different.'*[58]

Less sharply phrased, one might also question the analytical capability of a modern/postmodern dichotomy. The either/or dichotomous positioning can easily result in a loss of insight. Elsewhere the author has suggested that, rather than analysing the changes by means of a rather rigid modern/postmodern dichotomy, the quality of the analytic framework might improve if intermediate forms between the modern and the postmodern were recognised.[59] Various authors have suggested many intermediate variations of modern: high modern, late modern, supermodern, hypermodern, and so on,[60] but although the debate has not resulted in anything resembling conceptual consensus, studies of tourism as social practice and of changes in tourism might still benefit from the insight which such

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54   Urry, 1990b: 82-93; cf. Bourdieu, 1984, on cultural capital.
55   Urry, 1990a: 33.
56   Pretes, 1995: 2.
57   Feifer, 1985; Urry, 1990b.
58   MacCannell, 1989: xi.
59   Sørensen, 1998.
60   Augé, 1995; Bauman, 1992; Giddens, 1991a; Giddens, 1991b.

work has produced. Nevertheless, even if one concentrates on the difference between modern and postmodern in tourism, the effects, for peripheral areas, of the influence of the postmodern in tourism is well worth contemplating, for the effects might be profound.

3.   The setting: concepts, classifications, location

3.1.   Classifying travel-tourists and other holiday tourists

As stated in the introduction, travel-tourists are defined here as holiday tourists who organise their travel themselves, and who visit more than one destination on the trip. By means of these factors of organisation and spatialisation, a typology of holiday tourists can be constructed (Table 1):

Table 1: Typology of holiday tourist types: organisation and spatialisation

	Number of destinations on trip	
Organisation of trip	One	Several
Institutionally organised	*Organised vacationer*	*Excursionist*
Self-organised	*Individual vacationer*	*Travel-tourist*

The definition supplies both a formal demarcation of travel-tourists and a relating of these to other tourists, typologised by the same factors. However, the typology does not establish types which are internally homogeneous, either in terms of motivation or in terms of behaviour or aspiration. Each type is heterogeneous in many ways as each covers wide variation spans. The typology is based on technical or organisational factors rather than motivational aspects.

However, this does not signify that the above are viewed as objective factors, unconnected to the point of view of the tourists investigated. On the contrary: a classification which is done regardless of the tourist's own perception can only to a limited degree throw any light on the touristic meaning of the organisation of the trip. For instance, most backpackers fiercely defend a self-perception of being self-organised. This self-perception is used to differentiate themselves from what they see as organised tourism, thereby implying that they, the backpackers, are independent and with no need of a tourism support structure. Yet, since many backpackers buy what can be described as a starter kit, consisting of long-haul air tickets, travel insurance, transfer to hotel, and one or two hotel nights at the first foreign stop, technically they fall within the EU definition of a package tour, in that they have bought at least three different elements in a package.[61] When furthermore taking into account the fact that, while on the road, many backpackers buy short-term safari or trekking packages or similar short-term but fully organised packages, it is evident that a classification solely based on objective criteria would not be able to include the backpackers as a social category!

Thus, in this report, the distinction between *institutionally organised* and *self-organised* is not based on objective criteria but on how the respondents themselves perceive it. This does not imply that the distinction cannot be used for actual analysis. On the contrary, it is quite useful, as long as one does not confuse it with a distanced, objective classification. Furthermore, as an aside, it is the opinion of the author that much tourism research in reality

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61   Fussing, Hansen & Metz, 1992.

has done likewise, i.e. classified matters of organisation according to informants' own classification of themselves, although it may not always have been recognised as such!

3.2. Travelling and staying: what is multiple destination tourism?

To make the above definition and typology operational the notion of multiple destination travel needs further consideration. At first sight this would seem to be quite simple: a multiple destination tourist is a tourist who visits more than one destination during one trip. But what is a destination?

Tourism research is not clear on this point, to say the least. The destination concept is usually not explicated, but rather used implicitly. Often the concept is used in a descriptive manner to signify the area in question, be it a geographic region, an administrative district or an entire country.

Usually it designates the target area of a holiday, that is, the place or area where the tourist spends his or her time after travelling to it and before travelling home. Even so, the concept is often not explained and the unproblematised use of it clearly illustrates the traditional destination-boundedness of tourism research: the focus is on the staying, not on the moving. Furthermore, it points to the fact that, although travel is a necessary and inherent component in the concept of tourism, the touristic significance and importance of the actual spatial movement is still rather underexplored.[62]

Multiple destination tourism transcends the implicit "to-from" which conventionally encircles the concept of destination. To this it is necessary to add "around" and "between" in order to be able to study the spatiality of multiple destination tourism. Thus, a destination cannot be conceptualised simply as the above target area of the holiday.

Therefore, in the present study the author finds it more advantageous to conceptualise destinations as places which cause travel stops, rather than places of temporary residence before returning home. This means that the concept of destination has as its basis the spatial movements - or rather, the stopping of spatial movement - not the temporary whereabouts of the tourists. In principle this conceptualisation applies to both single- and multiple destination tourists, an advantage being that the attraction of spatial movement in relation to both single and multiple destination tourists is opened for consideration.

Lue, Crompton and Fesenmaier apply a similar concept to their theoretical study of multi-destination pleasure trips in that they view destinations as reasons for stopping. They identify five distinct spatial patterns of pleasure vacation trips, four of which they classify as multi-destination patterns (Figure 3).[63]

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62   Baum, 1997; Butler, 1997; Sørensen, 1997.
63   Lue, Crompton & Fesenmaier, 1993: 294.

Figure 3: Spatial patterns of pleasure vacation trips
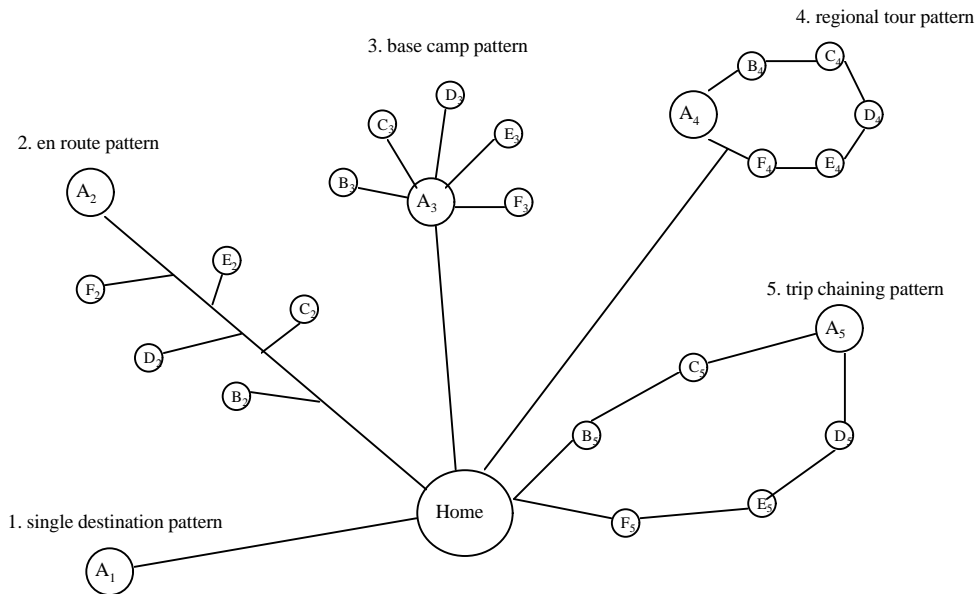
Source: Lue, Crompton and Fesenmaier, 1993.

The five patterns amply illustrate that, even at the level of how travel stops are chained and distributed, wide variations are encountered. Yet the patterns also demonstrate that a further precision of the destination concept is necessary. As mentioned, Lue et al. use the destination concept to designate deliberate travel stops, but these are not necessarily overnight or longer stops. Hence, in their terms, attractions briefly visited *en route* to somewhere else (en route pattern) or attractions visited from a base camp situated away from the attraction but within a day trip distance (base camp pattern) are classified as destinations. This is problematic for, although such a conceptualisation may call attention to the often neglected fact that most pleasure trips entail more than one deliberate travel stop,[64] it nevertheless blurs the analytical value of the destination concept, not least when travel dimensions are considered.

Therefore, the author finds it more rewarding to conceptualise destinations in terms of deliberate overnight travel stops, caused by spatial matters. Hence, *a multiple destination tourist is conceived of as a tourist for whom the spatiality of the travel pattern necessitates changes in accommodation while away from home*. Conversely, a single destination tourist is a tourist whose spatial movements do not necessitate accommodation changes while away from home. The island of Bornholm supplies a good illustration of the point, because, since every attraction on the island can easily be reached on day trips from a base camp, no matter where the base camp is situated on the island, Bornholm cannot in itself sustain

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64   Lue, Crompton & Fesenmaier, 1993; Lue, Crompton & Stewart, 1996.

multiple destination tourism, but is dependent on tourists' employment of other destinations, connected in various patterns.

Opperman argues along the same lines. He distinguishes between overnight destinations and daytrip destinations and advocates that the base camp patterns are better thought of as a single destination pattern.[65] To Lue et al.'s remaining three multiple destination patterns, Opperman adds a further two. These are the *open jaw* pattern, where the arrival point of the outbound journey differs from the departure point for the homebound journey, and the *multiple destination areas* pattern, where elements from the other patterns can be combined during the (presumably longer) trip. The additional patterns are shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Additional multiple destination patterns
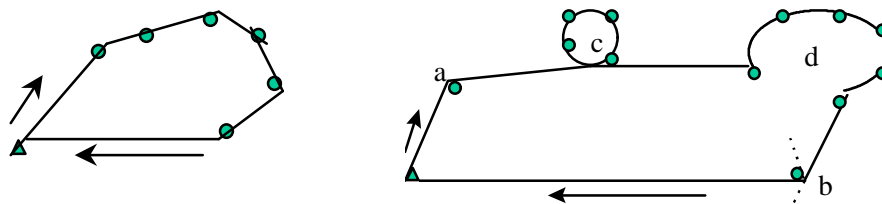
Open jaw pattern   *Multiple destination areas* pattern
Source: Opperman, 1995.

These additional patterns are particularly interesting when one studies backpackers and similar travel-tourists. The open jaw pattern aptly describes much intercontinental backpacker tourism, where one foreign continent is visited,[66] and the multiple destination areas pattern equally aptly describes how elements from the other patterns can be combined in a multiple continent tour, e.g. a round-the-world-trip.

The additional two multiple destination patterns do not cause any reclassification of tourists from single- to multiple destination when compared with Lue et al.'s system; in fact quite the opposite is happening, since the base camp pattern is viewed as a single destination pattern. But through the more detailed classification, Opperman's system refines the conceptual insight into the varying spatial patterning of multiple destination tourism and it enables a better grip on how to classify the structural and spatial differences between various travel-tourists' travel patterns.

Of course, even with these additional refinements, the above still leaves a number of cases unclassified. For instance, how does one classify tourists who, on an otherwise single destination holiday to mainland Spain, rent a car and leave the destination for a couple of days? Maybe as multiple destination tourists (a regional tour pattern), but what if the areas visited in principle are within reach of a day trip, but the tourists nevertheless spend one or more

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65   Opperman, 1995.
66   E.g. flying from USA to London, criss-crossing through Europe, and returning to the USA from Athens.

nights away from their primary accommodation? Similar fuzziness applies to the boundaries between the various multiple destination patterns. Such borderline cases are important to consider in general terms since they may lead to further conceptual refinement, but in most cases the taxonomy is sufficient and meaningful. Certainly in the case of Bornholm, further elaboration is less relevant, because of Bornholm's geographical location and infrastructural characteristics. Thus, in a Bornholm context the above precision of the destination concept is a sufficient improvement, at least in relation to survey data.

However, in relation to the qualitative data, the formal definition of travel-tourists is insufficient for the understanding of independent travellers. For this, it is necessary to consider motivational factors as well, i.e. the meaning and importance ascribed to spatial and organisational matters of the mode of tourism; furthermore it is necessary to segment the independent travellers into certain sub-types.

3.3.   Independent travellers: rituals of tourism

Travel-tourists vary widely in terms of the meaning and importance they ascribe to spatial and organisational matters of the trip. Some are very insistent on the fact that they are self-organised and not "being herded"; other travel-tourists do not view their mode of tourism by means of such a dichotomy. Similarly, some ascribe the spatial movement much meaning, for some the spatial movement may even be more important than the places visited; for others, spatial movement holds no particular attraction value in itself but is simply instrumental in getting from A to B to C.

The most conspicuous travel-tourists are those who ascribe importance to both spatial and organisational matters. In this study they are termed *independent travellers*, and the travel-tourists who do not belong to this category (in all likelihood the vast majority) are termed *other travel-tourists*. It was argued in the previous chapter that certain types of travel-tourists occupy a crucial role in the domain discourse, and it should be evident by now that the author is critical of the ways in which tourism research has designated this role to the kind of tourists which in this study are termed independent travellers. This not to say that the author necessarily disagrees over the assumption of their importance - on the contrary, he generally agrees - but he opposes the uncritical ways in which the assumption has come about and been reproduced. For independent travellers have not been allotted their crucial role thanks to a sound foundation of research, since they have not been subjected to much detailed study.

However, the lack of detailed empirical studies may result from the fact that independent travellers are rather difficult to get a grip on. For although independent travellers display a conspicuous tourism profile, they cannot be defined by formal or objective parameters. In general they are not classifiable by means of brief observations or a simple screening process. More in-depth methods of data production are necessary to bring forward the almost ideological dimension of touristic self-perception which at times is inherent in the conception of this tourism mode. Such tourists are more suited to be classified and studied by

means of in-depth qualitative methods such as ethnographic fieldwork, rather than by means of quantitative data collection. Yet, employing social situational definition methods inevitably results in data whose validity cannot be assessed on the same terms as data collected by more measurable and controllable methods.

The need to use qualitative in-depth methods in order to identify and study independent travellers also necessitates a further classification, at least when the method involved is an ethnographic study. For the category of independent travellers is still too broad and encompasses too much variation, to such a degree that the sociocultural dimensions which form the guidelines of ethnographic fieldwork are too blurred to be fruitful. A possible way to accentuate the sociocultural dimension is to classify independent travellers according to the ritual character of their tourism.

Sociological and anthropological ritual theory has been mined by tourism researchers for more than 20 years, and The ritualisation of tourism[67] has established itself as a major research direction within the anthropology of tourism. It relies heavily upon a few classic studies, and references to authors such as Durkheim and van Gennep are numerous.[68] In particular Turner's neofunctional framework for the studies of ritual and of the ritual process,[69] have been applied to tourism research, almost to the point of founding a school of thought within tourism sociology.[70] Drawing on van Gennep's pioneering but long neglected work, Turner developed van Gennep's model of the ritual process, where rituals, especially *rites of passage*, are seen as composed of three phases: the separation phase, whereby the initiates become separated, physically and/or socially, from the social everyday; the liminal phase, which covers the period of separation, and where the initiate is *betwixt and between*;[71] and the reintegration phase where the initiate is reinstated into the normal social fabric in a position befitting the social relocation which the rite of passage signifies.

Turner was particularly concerned with the liminal phase of the ritual where the initiates are temporarily outside their normal social structure,[72] and where an inherently strong communion between the initiates takes over. Turner termed this *communitas*, and his early works concentrated on rites of passage in tribal societies. In these societies, the initiates' participation in the ritual was compulsory in the sense that it was not up for discussion. However, in later works Turner attempted to extend the applicability of the analytical framework, to encompass also rituals in complex modern societies where participation *in principle* is optional but in reality is often socially enforced upon the initiates.[73]

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67   Nash, 1984.
68   Durkheim, 1965; van Gennep, 1960.
69   Turner, 1970, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1992.
70   Cohen, 1988b.
71   Turner, 1970: 93-111.
72   Etymologically, the term liminal is derived from the Latin word for threshold, limen. On the threshold one is not in, nor out, and the term liminal thus captures the in-between situation of the ritual.
73   Turner, 1992: 29.

Turner did not conduct tourism research, but several tourism researchers have applied his ritual process framework to the phenomenon of tourism, resulting in a number of influential studies,[74] and it has done much to enhance our understanding of how and why everyday and holiday behaviour are often much different from each other. Graburn has pointed to the need to distinguish between different types of rituals, namely the cyclic rites of intensification and the rites of passage.[75] Graburn's point is relevant for, whereas the function of the former is to reinstate and reconfirm social cohesion, the latter is more connected to matters of social transformation (e.g. from child to adult). Yet this distinction is only rarely applied in tourism ritual studies, despite the obvious advantages that this approach would seem to hold.

A few cautionary voices have been raised against staking too much on the ritual framework: although explaining much, it is not *the* explanation, neither to the why, nor to the how of tourism.[76] This author agrees with the critique and furthermore finds that, although the concept of ritual is quite useful in tourism studies, its application has in general been rather instrumental and uncritical: tourism ritual studies have not contributed much to the overall anthropological understanding of the phenomenon of ritual, neither have they contributed much towards improving the general scientific value of the concept of ritual.

Nevertheless, the ritual framework can provide valuable insight. The distinction between rites of intensification and rites of passage is a useful framework for the classification of independent travellers, and the concepts of liminality and communitas help us understand the differences between the various rituals in terms of their social intensity. The distinction enables us further to clarify the term backpacker. In the following, therefore, the term *backpacker* implies independent travellers whose tourism can be characterised as rite of passage tourism, whereas the term *itinerant* implies independent travellers whose tourism can be characterised as cyclic rites of intensification.

A consequence of classification by means of ritual character is that the length of the trip is not a distinguishing factor but is an analytical implication. To all intents and purposes this does not cause much reclassification when compared to the descriptive term backpacker, but it enable us to consider the social dimension of the mode of tourism more thoroughly, not least in relation to how various destinations are perceived and selected.

However, in reality the distinction between backpackers and itinerants is not as clear cut as the above classification implies. For example, it is not uncommon for people to embark on more than one backpacker journey. Thus, if one ascribes a once only condition to the notion of a rite of passage, then it is not an appropriate description for a repeat backpacker journey. Likewise, for some, in particular Australians and New Zealanders, it is quite common to spend several years abroad, during which work stints in a base camp country, typically the United Kingdom, are interspersed with extensive and lengthy travel periods in

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74 E.g. Gottlieb, 1982; Lett, 1983; Wagner, 1977.
75 Graburn, 1978; Graburn, 1983.
76 Cohen, 1985; Crick, 1989; Nash, 1984, 1996.

various regions of the world. To characterise *either* the whole period away from the home country *or* each of these trips as a rite of passage would be incorrect. On the other hand, the activities of the repeat backpackers also contain strong elements of rite of passage. Therefore, when in the field, a more pragmatic and less rigid method of classification has to supplement the classification according to ritual character. This is further described in chapter 6.

3.4. Classification

Summarising the definitions, concepts, classifications and reflections advanced in this chapter, the relation between the three levels of definitions and classifications supplied can be illustrated the following way:

Figure 5: Classification matrix of travel-tourists
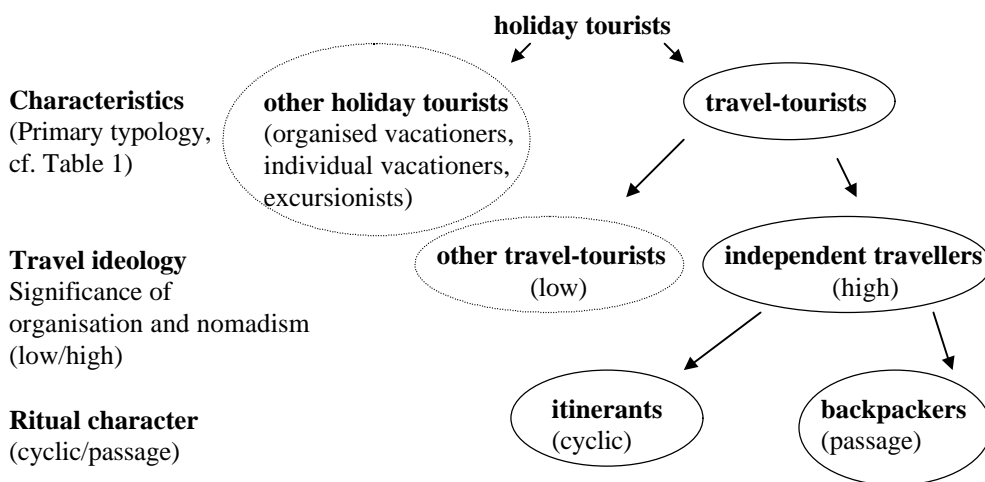
Of course, the distinctions between independent travellers and other travel-tourists at the level of travel ideology, or between backpackers and itinerants at the level of ritual character, are somewhat more fluid and less clear-cut in real life than the above classification matrix leads us to assume. Thus, rather than a rigid classification tool, the matrix is to be thought of as a guide, demonstrating the relationship of the various types and guiding understanding of the variations between the types.

3.5. Location: Bornholm

3.5.1. Bornholm, peripherality and tourism potential

In terms of geographical distance, the island of Bornholm is remotely located from the rest of Denmark. Situated Southeast of the Swedish peninsula of Skåne, the fact that Bornholm

is part of Denmark is not logical from a geographical point of view, but is the result of historical conditions. Being remote, relatively small (558 km^2), and not densely populated (77 pers/km^2 (1996)),[77] the objective criteria of peripherality, in terms of accessibility, size and population, are met, and Bornholm also clearly exhibits the negative features commonly attributed to peripheral areas. These include a higher unemployment rate, with a higher proportion of the workforce unskilled, lower education level, and lower per capita income than centre regions.[78] Furthermore Bornholm is affected by emigration of young people in search of higher education, by a distorted age distribution of the population, and by a slowly but steadily decreasing population.[79] When compared with the rest of Denmark, trades and industries are characterised by a high dependence on fishing, agriculture, and related processing industry - and on tourism.

For not only does Bornholm exhibit the socio-economic features commonly attributed to peripheral areas. On the positive side, the cultural, historical and environmental potential for tourism often found in peripheral areas[80] are evident on Bornholm. Small and picturesque seaside villages, an abundance of half-timbered houses, round churches, the largest castle ruin in northern Europe and a well tended agricultural landscape support the impression of peripherality. Similarly, the remote location away from the rest of Denmark supports what is sometimes referred to as the fascination or mythical drawing power of islands.[81] Also, Bornholm has a well preserved and diversified natural environment which is unique when compared with the rest of Denmark. On top of that, Bornholm offers beaches which are reputedly among the best in Northern Europe. Thus, Bornholm's tourism assets are strong, and have been exploited for more than a century.[82]

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77   Samuel, Schønemann, et al. 1996.
78   Schønemann, 1996.
79   Jensen & Petersen, 1996: 26-30.
80   Hohl & Tisdell, 1995; Wanhill, 1997; Weaver, 1995.
81   Baum, 1997; Lockhart, 1997; Pearce, 1995.
82   Jensen, 1993.

Figure 6: Bornholm - location and transport links
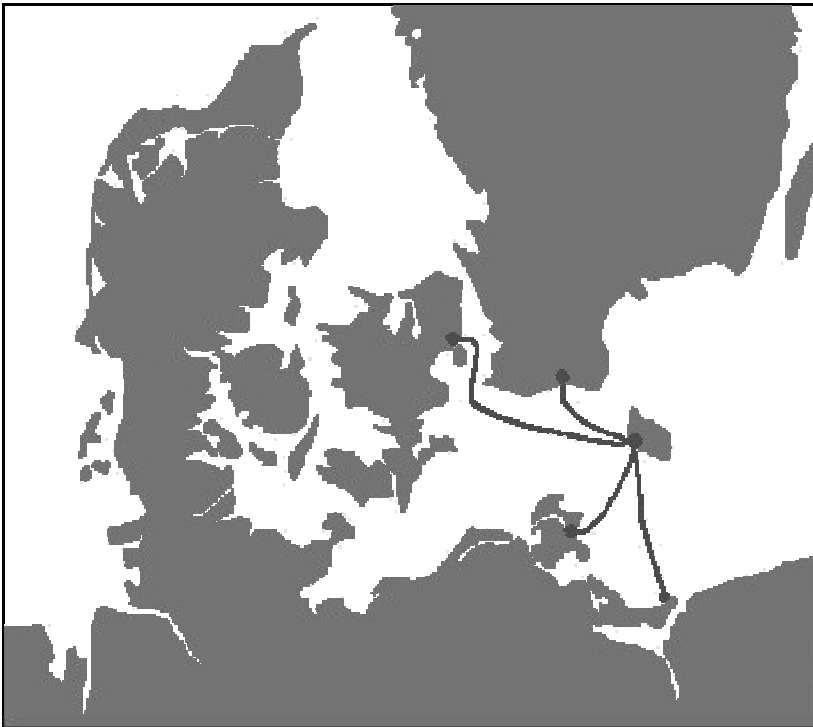
3.5.2.   Characteristics of holiday tourism to Bornholm

The discovery phase of Bornholm as a tourist destination dates back to the second half of the 19th century.[83] From the early 1950s and until the early 1980s tourism to Bornholm grew steadily,[84] and the tourism development of the island, from the first pleasure visitors in the second half of the 19th century to the large influx of the present day can be argued to follow the pattern described by TALC.[85] The major growth period on Bornholm coincided with the growth period of many Mediterranean holiday destinations. However, unlike in these destinations, there are only a few large scale tourism businesses operating on Bornholm. Bornholm's tourism businesses in the main consist of independent small and medium-size enterprises. Affiliations with transport operators are not infrequent, but on the whole the Bornholm tourism industry is not rigidly structured.

Bornholm also differs from Mediterranean destinations in terms of transport to/from the destination. Only a few holiday tourists to Bornholm arrive by air. Holiday tourist trans-

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83   Jensen, 1993.
84   Twining-Ward & Twining-Ward, 1996.
85   Ibid.

portation to Bornholm is almost exclusively land/sea based. In this respect, rather than Mediterranean resorts, Bornholm is comparable with destinations like the traditional British seaside resort.

And yet, in one significant way, tourism on Bornholm differs from the British seaside resort. Contrary to the latter, holiday tourism to Bornholm is *not* an almost exclusively domestic phenomenon. On the contrary, foreign visitors account for more than half of all holiday visitors during the high season.

Bornholm is also in aesthetic terms different from many other destinations. To the casual observer, Bornholm does not appear to be a mass tourism destination. It does not boast a hotel skyline and the beaches are not tightly packed with small-scale businesses. The relatively discreet appearance of tourism on Bornholm is probably accounted for by the rather strict Danish zoning laws which are seen by many as the main reason for the absence of high-rise hotels and the like close to the beaches. On Bornholm, most tourism accommodation takes the form of self-catering cottages for hire. Of course, tourism is visible during the high season, but buildings for tourism or tourism architecture do not dominate the physical appearance of the destination.

Thus, Bornholm cannot be lumped together either with Mediterranean resorts, or with the classic British seaside resort. Bornholm caters both domestically and internationally, yet does not attract air travellers.

This is reflected in the location of the main markets. Throughout the existence of holiday tourism to Bornholm visitor flows have been dominated by three core markets, namely domestic visitors from the rest of Denmark, and foreign visitors from Germany and Sweden. Proximity seems to be a very important factor.

Direct sea links connect Bornholm with these main markets, the direct link to mainland Denmark being the longest in sailing time. However, internal Danish transport to/from Bornholm often transits through Sweden, as this is the fastest land/sea route to/from mainland Denmark. The links to Sweden and Denmark are serviced daily throughout the year, whereas the frequency of service to/from Germany reflects another characteristic of tourism to Bornholm: the high degree of seasonality. Bornholm exhibits a marked high season in July and August and shoulder seasons in June and September.

Taking into account the location of the main markets, the transport links and transport time, and the predominance of sea-based transport of holiday tourists to Bornholm, it is justifiable to regard Danish visitors and foreign visitors on equal terms, in terms of accessibility. As Bornholm is remote from mainland Denmark and as the fastest routes between mainland Denmark and Bornholm transit Sweden, Danish visitors hold no advantages in terms of travel expenditures. Hence, it is fair analytically to regard Bornholm as distinct from mainland Denmark in relation to the travel patterns of visiting holiday tourists. It must also be taken into account that Bornholm is not a cheap destination to visit for Danes

from mainland Denmark, because of the transport costs. Thus, when comparing with e.g. Mediterranean destinations, Bornholm does not have much of a price advantage among Danes.[86]

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86   Of course the picture looks somewhat different when motivational factors are considered. Migration to/from mainland Denmark enhances VFR travel (visiting friends and relatives). It is the impression of the author that due to the logistics this tends to be at rarer intervals but more holiday-like than other domestic VFR. Furthermore Bornholm was, and to some degree still is, a favoured destination for Danish school camp trips - many Danes' only visit to Bornholm is a school camp trip. When adding to this a natural environment which is quite unique in a Danish perspective (for example, Bornholm is the only place in Denmark where bedrock is visible), it is the impression of the author that Bornholm to some extent still holds a peculiar position in Danish mental geography as *the nearest faraway*.

4.   Survey: travel-tourists

4.1.   Methodology and data

The survey data used in this chapter come from a survey of visitors to Bornholm which is currently undertaken by the Research Centre of Bornholm. The survey commenced in the third quarter of 1995 and is to continue at least to the end of 2000. The survey data are collected by means of a comprehensive questionnaire which the respondents, selected by means of a screening procedure, complete themselves. With a target of 3000 annual visitor contacts among the departing visitors, the survey is, to the knowledge of the centre, the largest of its kind ever undertaken in Denmark.

The data used in this report are from the third quarter of 1996, the third quarter being the main tourism season on Bornholm. The author joined the Research Centre after the initiation of the survey and thus did not participate in the composition of the questionnaire. However, although the objectives of the survey did not include any in-depth investigation of multiple destination tourism, the questionnaire nevertheless contains questions regarding visits to other destinations.

It is of course necessary to employ these data with caution, not least since the data concerning travel-tourism in some instances are not particularly robust. However, if handled with care, the data can at least be used to point toward interesting factors concerning travel-tourism to this specific peripheral destination, factors that suggest future avenues of more thorough research

As mentioned earlier, not many holiday visitors arrive by air. A few charter flights from Germany arrive each summer, but the only scheduled air service is a domestic flight between Bornholm and Copenhagen. The dominance of sea transport is incorporated in the survey sampling procedure.[87]

In the case of the survey data, travel-tourists are defined as tourists who stated that:
1. taking a holiday was the reason or part of the reason for their visit,
2. they had arranged the trip themselves, and
3. they were touring, i. e. also staying elsewhere than Bornholm on their trip.

For the present study, a sample was drawn from the departure survey database. For reasons of validity of comparisons, the sample consisted of those respondents from the third quarter of 1996 whom it was possible to classify according to Table 1. In order to be included in the sample:

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87   Further information on the methodology of the survey can be found in Wanhill, 1996, and Hartl-Nielsen, Rassing & Wanhill, 1997.

1. taking a holiday had to be the reason or part of the reason for the respondent's visit to Bornholm,
2. data had to be available on whether they had arranged the trip themselves or not, and whether they were touring or not.

Since not all questionnaires were fully completed, a number of holiday tourists were impossible to typologise this way and were therefore not included. The sample selected, and the numeric and percentage distribution of respondents in the four categories, are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Holiday tourists to Bornholm, typological distribution

Base: 993 respondents	Numbers	Percentage share[88]
Individual vacationers	543	55
Organised vacationer	295	30
Travel-tourists	96	10
Organised excursionists	59	6

Looking at the two parameters, organisation of trip, and number of destinations, Bornholm evidently attracts single-destination holiday tourists (84% single-destination vs. 16% multiple destination[89]), and self-organised holiday tourists (64% self-organised vs. 36% organised[90]).

Nevertheless, the travel-tourist proportion is higher than expected. This may be for several reasons, among these not least the way they are identified. That is to say, the reasons for including more than one destination in one's holiday may vary greatly, from using Bornholm as a north–south stepping stone between Sweden and Germany or Poland, to visiting relatives on one's way to or from Bornholm, or distance between home and holiday necessitating overnight stops. Also, the reasons for visiting other destinations may vary from "desire to go there" to "will pass through, so might as well break the journey".[91] Furthermore, what is considered to be a destination is a matter of individual interpretation. Seasoned travellers may classify their journey as a single destination trip even though they spend two nights at a transit stop-over, whereas others may classify overnight stops necessitated solely by transit distance as a destination. In other words: the quantitative analysis is based on the statements of the respondents, not on an objective scale of measurement.

However, this is an unavoidable condition when handling data of this character. Even person-to-person interviews and use of stringent categories of classification (e.g. based on distances between destinations, total time spent, and time allocated per destination) would not solve the problem, it would only reproduce it at another level or in another context. The use of strict categories would mean classifying the respondents regardless of their own perception of their trip, in which case the quantitatively measurable aspects of their travel

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88   Percentage totals add up to more than 100 because of rounding.
89   By number of respondents.
90   By number of respondents.
91   Whereas the contrary (will be passing through Bornholm on the way to somewhere else, so might as well break the journey) is not a realistic option.

would be clarified. Such data would be very valuable for the spatial and temporal mapping of concrete travel patterns, but they would not be an improvement in relation to matters of social context and insight. In other words, they would tell us nothing about the individual's perception of his/her own travel.

In summary, the explanations of a higher than expected proportion being classifiable as travel-tourists, may range from respondents' individual perception of how to classify their travel, to more people incorporating several destinations in their holiday itineraries. But no matter the reasons, it still demonstrates that the issue of travel-tourism merits attention.

However, the above also underlines the futility of any attempt to identify the typical travel-tourist. For not only does it imply that such an attempt would disregard the crucial importance of individual varieties of perceptions. Furthermore, and equally importantly, it would also disregard the key point that *travel-tourist* is a category which is constructed with the intention of subsuming under one category a variation of tourist types. Hence, such a stereotype-producing exercise is beside the point. Instead the purpose is to encircle the key *variation* within the category, to examine whether certain *variable factors* distinguish travel-tourists from holiday tourists in general, and to consider the reasons for this, be it in methodological terms (survey methodology, classification systems) or in social or individual terms (motivation, self-perception, perceptions of travel and holiday, etc.). Hence, in the following, the quantitative data will be interspersed by interpretations and reflections in order to assess the explanatory power and nuances of the data presented.

A number of factors will be considered in the following. Not necessarily the only ones suitable for providing insight into the travel-tourist segment, their selection has been guided by the expectation that they can help throw light on the following issues:

- What distinguishes travel-tourists, when compared with other tourists at the specific destination? Are there similarities to be found where differences were expected, and conversely, differences where similarities were expected?
- What variations can be detected within the travel-tourist segment, and to what extent are these influenced by methods of classification, travel patterns, and respondents' perceptions of travel?
- Can any correspondence be found between theories on changes in the meaning and character of consumption of tourism, and survey data on the characteristics of holiday tourists to Bornholm?

4.2. Country of residence

As mentioned in the previous chapter, holiday tourism to Bornholm is dominated by three source markets. Thus, an obvious question is whether or not the travel-tourist segment differs from this general pattern.

Table 3: Country of residence, percentage distribution

	Travel-tourists [92]		Other holiday tourists [93]	
Base: 992 respondents	96		896	
Denmark	44		34	
Sweden	3		9	
Germany	32		52	
Main markets		**79**		**95**
Norway	8		2	
Poland	3		1	
Other countries [94]	9		1	
Secondary markets		**21**		**5**

Table 3 shows the distribution by country of residence, divided into main and secondary markets and into selected countries. As can be seen, the composition of travel-tourists differs in several ways, the most important being the higher proportion of visitors from secondary markets. In fact, almost one-third of all holiday tourists from the secondary markets are travel-tourists.[95]

The relatively high proportion of Norwegians among travel-tourists might lead us to questioning whether this reflects a transit need, i. e. the necessity of transiting Sweden on the way to/from Bornholm. However, the data, scant as they are, do not indicate this. Of the eight Norwegian travel-tourists, only two mentioned just only Sweden when asked to identify additional destinations on the trip. The rest mentioned other places in Denmark, or Germany and Poland. Of course the small sample size necessitates much caution, but nevertheless: the data do *not* indicate that it is the transit factor that raises the proportion of Norwegians.

Also worth noticing is the different distribution of travel-tourists between the main markets: more Danish visitors, and fewer Swedish and German visitors when compared with other holiday tourists. However, it must be remembered that the sample does not consist of pure holiday tourists; the sample also includes holiday+VFR as the purpose for visiting Bornholm. And, not surprisingly, the holiday+VFR responding travel-tourists are especially prominent among the Danish respondents. Of the Danish travel-tourist respondents, 38% indicated holiday+VFR, whereas only 13% of the foreign travel-tourists indicated holiday+VFR as purpose. Hence, the higher proportion of Danish residents among the travel-tourists can be explained this way.

4.3. Spatial travel patterns

The informants who indicated that their holiday included destinations other than Bornholm were requested to further specify their other destination or destinations: was it elsewhere in Denmark only, or did the trip also include other countries, and if so, which ones? From

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92   Percentage totals do not add up to 100 because of rounding.
93   Percentage totals do not add up to 100 because of rounding.
94   The Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, France, UK, USA, Italy, Canada, and Estonia.
95   Of the sample total of 63 holiday tourists from secondary markets, 20 are travel-tourists.

these data it is possible to examine travel patterns in relation to the informant's country of residence. However, to do so, it is necessary to split the travel-tourists into Danish residents and non-Danish residents. This is not only because Bornholm, despite the remote location, is nevertheless Danish, and the VFR-element is significant. Transit factors need also to be considered since both Germany and Sweden can serve as logical transit countries on the way between mainland Denmark and Bornholm.

Table 4: Travel patterns, Danish travel-tourists, percentage distribution

Base: 41 respondents	
Denmark only	22
(also) Sweden	37
(also) other countries	41

Table 4 shows the distribution of the travel patterns of Danish travel-tourists. The assumption is that the further astray from direct transit routes travel-tourists go, the less likely it is that the classification of them as travel-tourists is caused by matters of transit. Yet it must be remembered that Danish visitors whose residence is in Jutland may find it advantageous to transit Germany on their way to Bornholm. Although the driving distance is longer, the travel expenses may be lower, as only one return ferry ticket will be involved. If one transits from Jutland to Bornholm through Sweden or Zealand (Copenhagen) or both, this implies at least two return ferry journeys each way.[96]

Hence, the inclusion of Germany does not necessarily rule out transit as the main reason for a multiple destination pattern and, conversely, the inclusion of Sweden does not necessarily imply transit as the main reason. The home address of the Danish travel-tourists who included Germany in their itinerary (11 respondents) reveals an almost equal split between those for whom transit reasons cannot be ruled out (five respondents),[97] and those for whom matters of transit cannot solely explain the inclusion of Germany in their travel itinerary (six respondents).[98] Again, the small sample size means that the data can only be used illustratively. Nevertheless the tendency is clear in that there is no singularly dominant explanation!

Turning to the non-Danish travel-tourists, a division, parallel to the above, has been made between respondents visiting only their country of residence, respondents visiting (also) other places in Denmark, and respondents visiting (also) other countries. Furthermore, the respondents are divided into visitors from neighbouring countries, i.e. countries having direct sea links to Bornholm,[99] and visitors from other countries. The results are shown in Table 5.

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96   Or rather, it used to. Since then, the Storebaelts bridge, connecting Funen and Zealand, has been inaugurated. However, since a significant bridge toll is levied on vehicles, the economic argument is still valid.

97   I.e. those having their home address in Jutland or Funen, and indicating Germany as their only other destination.

98   Either because they include several foreign countries, or because the home address is located in Zealand, in which case transiting through Germany is neither cost-saving nor time-saving, because of necessary use of ferries.

99   Sweden, Germany, Poland.

Table 5: Travel patterns, foreign travel-tourists, percentage distribution

	Residence in a neighbouring country[100]	Residence in another country	Total
Base: 54 respondents.	37	17	54
Home country only	22	0	15
(also) rest of Denmark	41	35	39
(also) other countries	38	65	46

For a decent proportion of the travel-tourists from neighbouring countries too, their classi-fication as travel-tourists may well be the result of transit, VFR, and the like. These are the *home country only* category. But the travel patterns of the *also other countries than home country and Denmark* visitors from neighbouring countries indicates that, for a large pro-portion, the multiple destination dimension is given importance. After all, the category implies visiting at least two foreign countries. Furthermore, it is unlikely that Bornholm is included as a mere coincidence. Not even in the case of Swedes or Germans visiting the other country can the inclusion of Bornholm be explained away as coincidental or part of transit. Quite a few respondents in this category are Germans who use Bornholm as a north−south stepping stone, but as direct ferries connect Southern Sweden and Northern Germany, the inclusion of Bornholm can only be seen as a deliberate choice.

At first sight the category: *(also) rest of Denmark*, seems unremarkable, as touring exten-sively in one country is not an uncommon way to spend a holiday. But including Bornholm in a tour of Denmark implies extraordinary travel expenditure. Bornholm is very much a distinct destination not easily included in a Danish circuit. It seems logical to suggest that Bornholm appears even more so for visitors from neighbouring countries than for visitors from other foreign countries, thanks to distance perceptions making the inclusion of the rest of Denmark look like a major detour.

A marked difference is evident when turning to the travel patterns of travel-tourists from countries without sea links to Bornholm. Again bearing in mind the small sample size, the high proportion of *(also) other countries* is nevertheless worth noticing. It can only in a few cases be explained by transit or transit-like reasons (e.g. Norwegians transiting Swe-den), since not many only indicated countries on a transit-route,[101] whereas the rest stated countries situated off a transit route. Thus, for these tourists, the multiple destination di-mension has to be attributed with some importance.

The data on country of residence and travel patterns lead us to the conclusion that travel-tourists are quite diverse, in terms of travel motivation as well as in terms of reasons for being classifiable as travel-tourists. To some degree the classification may arise from the multiple destination dimension being brought about by other factors such as transit, VFR en route, or passing through. Nevertheless, for quite a share the multiple destination di-mension is neither incidental, nor caused by methods of classification - in these cases the

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100   Percentage totals add up to more than 100 because rounding.
101   Three of 11 respondents.

importance attributed to the multiple destination dimension cannot be explained away. Hence, despite Bornholm's reputation as a place for single-destination holidays, the island is nevertheless included in the itineraries of a number of fully fledged self-organised multiple destination holiday tourists.

4.4.   First/repeat visit

As mentioned in the introduction, theories on changing patterns of tourism demand emphasise the growing importance of novelty. This viewpoint holds that mass tourism was previously hinged on the concept of change,[102] whereas new types of tourism place much more importance on novelty.[103]

An operationalisation of this analytical dichotomy implies that novelty-seeking tourists are less likely to be repeat visitors to any given destination than are the tourists who are "merely" change-seeking. If there is a high proportion of novelty seeking types among the travel-tourists who visit Bornholm it is thus to be expected that they exhibit a lower repeat visitor rate when compared with other holiday tourists.

Yet in this case too Danish and foreign visitors have to be analysed separately. Really, this ought not to be surprising, for what has to be remembered is the fact that previous visits need not necessarily have been as travel-tourists or even as holiday visits. Previous visits may also have been on a school camp or for business purposes. Thus, a fairer picture is obtained if domestic and foreign holiday visitors to Bornholm are viewed separately. Table 6 and Table 7 show the results.

Table 6: First/repeat visit, Danish holiday visitors, percentage distribution

	Travel-tourists	Other holiday tourists
Base: 349 respondents	(42)	(307)
First (55)	14	16
Repeat (294)	86	84

Table 7: First/repeat visit, foreign holiday visitors, percentage distribution

	Travel-tourists	Other holiday tourists
Base: 644 respondents	(54)	(590)
First (355)	65	54
Repeat (289)	35	46

Whereas because of the above mentioned distorting factors, the data in Table 6 do not hold much explanatory value when considering issues of novelty, the data in Table 7 are more in line with expectations that the phenomenon of travel-tourism signifies a greater focus on novelty-seeking.

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102   Cohen, 1972, 1974; Gottlieb, 1982; Graburn, 1978, 1983; Smith, 1978.
103   Ioannides & Debbage, 1997; Krippendorf, 1986, 1987; Martin & Mason, 1987; Mowforth & Munt, 1998; Munt, 1994; Poon, 1989, 1993, 1994; Teigland, 1996.

A problem when interpreting data about possible previous visits is of course that the reasons for previous visits are rarely recorded. Thus, one cannot assume that the repeat-visiting travel-tourists in the tables above were travel-tourists - or even holiday tourists - on their previous visits. Therefore, making a repeat visit does not necessarily exclude novelty-seeking as a visit motive. Yet the data presented above point towards even more interesting questions about the widely assumed connection between self-organisation and novelty-seeking. These questions are considered later in this chapter.

4.5.   Socio-economic characteristics

The purpose of the examination of age distribution, education, and household income is to investigate whether travel-tourists to Bornholm differ from other holiday visitors in socio-economic terms. Turning first to the age factor, the distribution is shown in Table 8.[104]

Table 8: Age-groups, percentage distribution

	Travel-tourists[105]	Other holiday tourists
Base: 924 respondents	89	835
16 - 24 years	7	5
25 - 34 years	22	14
35 - 49 years	44	44
50 - 59 years	21	21
60 - 69 years	4	11
Over 69 years	1	5

Although not dramatic, the tendency is nevertheless clear: more younger and fewer older travel-tourists when compared with other holiday tourists. This is no surprise as self-organised travelling can be strenuous and therefore tends to appeal to younger rather than older age groups.

The respondents were asked to classify their education according to the following categories. Table 9 shows the results.[106]

Table 9: Education, percentage distribution

	Travel-tourists	Other holiday tourists
Base: 850 respondents	88	762
Up to 9 years	18	21
9 - 12 years	17	22

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104 Six categories, as presented to the respondent. The survey did not include respondents under 16 years of age.
105 Percentage totals do not add up to 100 because of rounding.
106 It should be noted that these categories leave some room for individual or country-related interpretations. For instance, a Swiss secondary school teacher is university educated; he/she might thus classify him/herself as academic, whereas a Danish school teacher is vocationally trained.

12 years + vocational	32	25
12 years + academic	33	32

The data in Table 9 support the general theories about the growing importance of no-madism and individualism in tourism. The impression that these theories convey is that tourists to whom such matters are important, are likely to belong to the better educated middle class of society.[107] Although the data in Table 9 do not exhibit a strong tendency, it is nevertheless noticeable, not least when taking the age distribution shown in Table 8 into account. For despite the over-representation in the younger age groups, the travel-tourists nevertheless exhibit a higher level of education. However, an expected over-representation of academically educated persons was not found.

The respondents were also asked to classify their household income according to the fol-lowing categories. Table 10 shows the distribution.

Table 10: Family income, percentage distribution of respondents

	Travel-tourists[108]	Other holiday tourists
Base: 834 respondents	81	753
Less than DKK 200 000	17	17
DKK 200 000 - 400 000	43	48
DKK 400 000 - 700 000	28	29
More than DKK 700 000	11	6

It must be emphasised that these data are to be approached with much caution. They do not take into account the differences in taxation systems between various countries. Nor do they take into account that countries may differ in terms of labour market traditions.[109] Never-theless, despite these reservations, the under-representation of travel-tourists in the lower middle income category and the over-representation in the high income category, when compared with other holiday tourists, is interesting. As will be seen in the following, this can not be explained by a party size factor. The data in Table 10 support the indications of Table 9: travel-tourists to Bornholm are to a large degree middle class.

In total, the socio-economic characteristics of the travel-tourists show no dramatic differ-ences from the socio-economic characteristics of other holiday tourists, but the separate tendencies comply with the general theories, and with the cumulative impression of these tendencies even more so. In other words, the data indicate that, on the one hand, travel-tourists are *not* predominantly recruited from any one distinct socio-economic segment. But on the other hand, certain segments *do* contribute more than others to the totality of travel-tourism. And the socio-economic profile of these segments seems to comply with what is usually connected with the notion of middle class.

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107   Damm, 1995; Mowforth & Munt, 1998; Munt, 1994.
108   Percentage totals do not add up to 100 because of rounding.
109   In some countries it is more common for both spouses to hold gainful employment. Since the data are not adju-
        sted for the number of potential income earners in the household, the information does not in itself enable any
        classification into socio-economic *classes* of the respondents. The value of the data, therefore, lies not in the di-
        stribution within each column but in the comparison of the two columns.

4.6. Numeric impact: party size and length of stay

Table 2 demonstrates that, although travel-tourists do not comprise a prominent segment, it is nevertheless surprisingly large. However, the data in Table 2 are insufficient to evaluate the numeric impact at the destination of the travel-tourist segment; to do so it is necessary to ascertain whether travel-tourists differ in terms of party size and length of stay.

Table 11: Party size

	Travel-tourists	Other holiday tourists
Base: 993 respondents	96	897
Average party size	2.79	3.01

The lower average party size for travel-tourists than for other holiday tourists, shown in Table 11, was expected. However, the difference is rather small, and smaller than general theories would lead us to assume. This indicates that the composition of travel-tourist groups on Bornholm may differ from what these theories expect. It may be that more destination-specific matters are influencing the data. Bornholm may be perceived as a family holiday destination and may thus appeal more to a family-holiday sub-segment of travel-tourists than is generally the case for travel-tourist destinations. A breakdown into party composition results in the following (Table 12):

Table 12: Party composition, percentage distribution of respondents

	Travel-tourists[110]	Other holiday tourists
Base: 988 respondents	96	892
Travelling alone	6	4
Husband/wife/partners only	44	34
Family groups with children under 15	28	37
Other family groups	9	14
Friend/friends	11	10
Other	1	1

The results are as expected: more travelling alone or with spouse/partner only, and fewer travelling with children. Nevertheless the amount of travel-tourists travelling with children is higher than expected. This may be because of Bornholm's reputation as a family holiday destination.

Contrary to the party size factor, the length of stay factor fully exhibits the expected negative deviation (Table 13).

Table 13: Average length of stay

	Travel-tourists	Other holiday tourists
Base: 983 respondents	94	889
Average length of stay (days)	8.55	11.47

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110 Percentage totals do not add up to 100 because of rounding.

The average length of stay is significantly shorter for travel-tourists than for other holiday-tourists. However, it must be noted that no matter what motivation and aspiration lies behind the multiple destination pattern, the pattern itself necessitates a longer holiday for a multiple destination tourist in order to achieve the same length of stay as a single destination tourist at any one destination. If the holiday is not longer, the length of stay at each destination is necessarily shorter. Data on total duration of trip are not collected in the survey, but other data presented previously in this chapter may tentatively be interpreted as supporting the impression that the total duration of travel-tourists's trips is longer. But even if this is in fact the case, it is obviously not enough to compensate for the multiple destination factor.

Information on party size and length of stay enables a calculation of the relative numeric impact of travel-tourists. By multiplying partysize with length of stay for each respondent and then adding the results according to tourist type it is possible to calculate the total amount of visitor days, and the travel-tourist proportion thereof. Table 14 shows the results.

Table 14: Numeric impact by visitor-days

	Travel-tourists	Other holiday tourists	Total
Base: 983 respondents	94	889	983
Visitor-days in sample	2322	31 872	34 192
Numeric impact, percentage	6.8	93.2	100

The difference between the above and the proportion of travel-tourist respondents (10% - see Table 2) is of course caused by travel-tourists' lower length of stay, whereas the influence of the party size factor is almost negligible. It might be argued that the data in Table 14 deliver a truer quantitative impression of the relative size of travel-tourism than does Table 2. Also, from the point of view of the local tourism industry, the data in Table 14 may be more informative than the data in Table 2.

4.7. Daily expenditure on Bornholm

The shorter length of stay witnessed in Table 13 indicates that, from the point of view of local tourism enterprises, it is less worth while attracting travel tourists since they demonstrate a shorter length of time in which to spend money locally. Such a point of view hinges on the assumption that travel-tourists display a similar or lower rate of daily expenditure at their destinations than do single destination tourists. And in fact, several arguments, both common sense and more analytical, would seem to support this opinion:

1. *The economy argument*: A multiple destination holiday is a more expensive endeavour than a single destination holiday, at least in terms of transport expenses. Provided that the same share of the household income is allotted to holiday purposes it is thus expected that travel-tourists exhibit a level of daily expenditure at the destination which is below average. If not, travel-tourists must either allot a larger share or have a higher household income.

2. *The institutionalisation argument*: It seems to be conventional wisdom that a large proportion of the high-end spenders are multiple destination tourists - American and Japanese tourists on a two week tour of Europe are perhaps the most stereotyped description - but it is believed that most often such tourists are institutionalised, i.e. excursionists in the terminology of this study.
3. *The life cycle argument*: Travel-tourism is in the main performed by younger people. They can undertake this because they are not tied down by children, debt, career-building, and the like. But they holiday on a relatively low budget, partly for reasons of travel ideology, partly because they have yet to obtain high incomes.
4. *The social factor argument*: The social value of high spending while on holiday (the king for a day tourist[111]) is higher for the traditional mass tourist than it is for the newer types of tourists. For the latter, high spending is not necessarily avoided, but is not ascribed the same social value. If anything these tourists would rather tend towards ascribing social value to low spending while on holiday (the peasant for a day tourist).

These arguments makes it relevant not only to calculate total average daily expenditures, but also to take a closer look at the distribution of the respondents. Table 15 shows this distribution and the calculated daily average expenditure per person.[112] The data must be approached with caution as the calculations are based on the respondents' estimate of the party's total expenses on Bornholm. As one cannot expect many tourists to be able to present an accurate account of their party's expenses, it must be assumed that in many cases the data are dependent on the respondent's memory and on his/her information about other party members' spending.

Table 15: Daily expenditure per person, percentage distribution of travel parties[113]

	Travel-tourists[114]	Other holiday tourists[115]
Base: 628 respondents	61	567
Less than DKK 250	48	50
DKK 250.00 - 499.99	48	38
DKK 500.00 - 749.99	0	11
DKK 750.00 - 999.99	3	1
More than DKK 1000	2	1
Average spending per person per day (DKK)	291	287

The calculation of average spending per person per day presents no noticeable difference between travel-tourists and other tourists. Hence, the impression of travel-tourists as spending less at the destination than other holiday tourists is not corroborated by the Bornholm case. However, it is impossible to say whether the absence of the expected deviation is the result of travel-tourists not performing according to expectations, or of other holiday tourists not performing according to expectations! It might be that single destination tour-

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111 Gottlieb, 1982.
112 Travelling expenses to/from Bornholm not included.
113 Party size is included in the calculation but not included in the distribution; only the respondent are included.
114 Percentage totals add up to more than 100 because of rounding.
115 Percentage totals add up to more than 100 because of rounding.

ism to Bornholm is carried out on relatively tighter budgets than is the case at other single destination holiday areas.[116]

On the other hand, although the arguments presented are not unambiguously corroborated, they are not outright rejected either. In fact, it can be argued that the fourth argument is somewhat supported. Travel-tourists do have a slight tendency towards higher household income although they *are* younger (Table 10 and Table 8) and this, together with the distribution in Table 15, can well be interpreted as supporting the fourth argument. Since the number of travel-tourist respondents in the two upper categories[117] totals a mere three, the over-representation may be coincidental, hence no indications can be derived from it. But the over-representation of travel-tourists in the DKK 250.00-499.99 category is noticeable, and their complete absence from the DKK 500.00-749.99 category is very interesting .[118] The latter might well be interpreted socially, in which case the important part is not the exact numbers but the significance of the complete absence! If this is viewed in relation to motivational and social matters it would certainly seem to corroborate the fourth argument.

4.8.   Reconsidering novelty and change

As calculated previously, travel-tourists account for almost 10% of holiday tourists to Bornholm. To decide whether travel-tourists account for similar proportions at comparable destinations awaits further research, but the data do *not* suggest that Bornholm is special in this respect. However, whether or not this is the case, it still brings to light the general question, why have travel-tourists hitherto received so little research attention? The primary answer is of course that they have been subsumed under other categories, since the single/multiple destination factor has not been much used as a segmentation parameter. In other words, they have not been overlooked as visitors, but they have not been viewed as a specific visitor type.

In the case of Bornholm this is not surprising, because from a destination point of view, travel-tourists do not stand out as a particular type with a distinct tourism profile. The multiple destination dimension does *not* seem to influence their demand patterns at the destination, certainly not to the point of making them stand out as an obviously distinct visitor type. It was demonstrated previously that travel-tourists to Bornholm do actually differ in some ways, the most noticeable being a shorter length of stay, but if viewed from the specific destination there is apparently no reason to focus specifically on travel-tourists

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116   The accommodation usage can be interpreted as supporting this: although Bornholm can be characterised as a mass tourism destination, the accommodation on Bornholm is predominantly self-serviced (summer houses, camp sites, youth hostels, etc.) and hence less expensive than serviced accommodation. The explanatory value of Table 15 might be questioned by pointing to the influence of the holiday+VFR category, thus assuming that the VFR dimension reduces accommodation expenses and thereby reduces average expenditures. However, and quite contrary to expectations, the proportion of holiday+VFR tourists is not highest among other holiday tourists but among travel-tourists!

117   I.e. daily expenditures at or higher than DKK 750.00.

118   In fact, the empty span is even larger, as no travel-tourists are registered within the range from DKK 490 to DKK 850.

since, in terms of service and destination demands, they presumably blend in with the Bornholm tourism wallpaper, so to speak.

Bearing in mind the exploratory approach of this study, it is obviously of interest to consider why this is so. Are travel-tourists in fact indistinguishable in terms of locally observable demand characteristics, or is it a matter of the issue not having been considered? Taking into account that the category of travel-tourists covers wide variation spans, the author has no doubt that, in the case of Bornholm, the former covers much of the explanation: for the majority of travel-tourists, the multiple destination dimension does not result in recognisably different demand patterns while at the destination.

However, viewed more reflexively, the apparent insignificance of the multiple destination dimension may also stem from the fact that it has received only scarce research attention. The author is of the opinion that the possible importance of the travel dimension, in single as well as in multiple destination tourism, does not receive much research attention unless warranted by unavoidable conspicuousness. The latter is the case for forms of tourism which are clearly based on a multiple destination dimension (e.g. organised round trips), or forms of tourism where the importance of the travel dimension is so persistently conspicuous as to be irrefutable (e.g. backpacker tourism). Yet even in these cases, the significance, the meaning of the travel dimension is not much explored from the destination perspective, but is treated as a factor, not as a feature.

Although the travel dimension has not been subjected to much detailed study it is not ignored either. Increased nomadic holiday behaviour is often seen as a key factor in contemporary changes in tourism demand patterns.[119] This, together with the other key factors of independence and novelty, signals the growing importance of active tourism at the expense of recreational tourism.

The issue of whether the ostensibly growing importance of novelty, nomadism and independence is the cause for the presence of travel-tourists on Bornholm was considered earlier in this chapter. It was found that it was unlikely to be the dominant cause. Such a finding was in the main based on considering the issue of novelty. This was done by viewing novelty/change differences as being reflected in first/repeat visit rates. The author admits the crudeness of the analysis, as a number of possible reservations were left unconsidered. Yet novelty/change in the form of first/repeat visit is worth contemplating further in relation to the other two key factors of nomadism and independence.

Ankomah, Crompton and Baker state that the importance of novelty as a motive for pleasure vacations is conventional wisdom.[120] The author agrees with the critique implied in the statement, and a similar critique can be directed towards another conventional wisdom. This one holds that not only is a certain degree of safety an inherent motive when tourists

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119   Damm, 1995; Ioannides & Debbage, 1997; Jones, 1992; Leiper, 1989.
120   Ankomah, Crompton & Baker, 1996: 147.

choose an organised tour rather than being self-organised; furthermore, the wish for safety also implies motives which are less novelty-seeking than the self-organised tourists' motives.[121]

Snepenger's study of vacation visitors to Alaska[122] reflects this view as, following Cohen,[123] he views the organised mass tourist as the least novelty-seeking type. The argument is that the service infrastructure serves as a buffer between the tourist and the host community; consequently the environmental bubble of the service infrastructure minimises novelty and maximises familiarity.[124] However, does the use of a familiar environmental bubble necessarily preclude novelty-seeking motives? The novel may be observed from the safety of the tour bus!

Snepenger's study did not investigate the first/repeat-visit distribution, but his respondents were asked whether they were interested in visiting again. Interestingly, it was the organised mass tourists who indicated least interest in visiting again, despite the fact that they were defined as the least novelty-seeking and most familiarity-seeking type, and despite the fact that it was this type which rated the vacation most favourably! This runs contrary to the above conventional wisdom, if novelty is conceived of as non-repetition. It is thus interesting to examine whether the Bornholm data display a correlation between organisation of trip and first/repeat visit distribution.

This can be examined by segmenting the survey sample of chapter four by means of the typology of Table 1. In order to avoid the possible distortion caused by differences between domestic and foreign holiday tourists to Bornholm, these two categories were examined separately. Each category was segmented into the four types of holiday tourist defined in Table 1. The first/repeat distribution of each of these types was then calculated. Table 16 and Table 17 show the results:

Table 16: Danish holiday tourist: first/repeat percentage distribution

Type (sample: 349)		First	Repeat
Organised vacationer	(75)	32	68
Organised excursionist	(18)	22	78
Travel-tourist	(42)	14	86
Individual vacationer	(214)	10	90

Table 17: Foreign holiday tourists: first/repeat visitors, percentage distribution

Type (sample: 644)		First	Repeat
Organised vacationer	(220)	70	30
Organised excursionist	(41)	68	32

121   Cf. Cohen, 1972; Lee & Crompton, 1992; Snepenger, 1987.
122   Snepenger, 1987.
123   Cohen, 1972.
124   Snepenger, 1987: 8.

Travel-tourist	(54)	65	35
Individual vacationer	(329)	42	58

It is no surprise to find a major difference between Danish and foreign holiday tourists; for Danes, repeat visitors are in preponderance in all categories, while for foreigners, repeat visitors are only in preponderance in one of the four categories. However, simple comparison of the two tables is less interesting. More interesting is the fact that in both cases the highest proportion of first visits is scored by the two organised types of tourists. In both cases travel-tourists score a lower proportion of first visits, although travel-tourist are defined by means of the first two of the three key factors of self-organisation, nomadism and novelty seeking! In other words, the results are *not* consistent with conventional wisdom: *novelty does not seem to be more important for the self-organised than for the organised pleasure tourists to Bornholm, rather it is the other way around.*

The above does not amount to a full refutation of the conventional wisdom. But it does represent a significant critique and it does point out severe limitations in the explanatory value of the conventional wisdom. And it certainly points towards predicaments in tourism research.

First of all it points towards a problem discussed in the introduction, that of scientific favour. The author finds it reasonable to suggest that the conspicuousness of specific forms of travel-tourism and their noticeable position in the predominant tourism research discourse may have promoted a blind spot towards other and less conspicuous forms of independent multiple destination tourism.

However, it is not surprising that certain forms of tourism occupy a more prominent position in the discourse than others, for these forms do not blend in with the average tourism wallpaper. The conspicuousness of these tourists results from the combination on the one hand of a sharply profiled travel ideology with, on the other, the difficulty of objectively defining these tourists. Whereas other travel-tourists do not make much fuss over their mode of tourism, the opposite is the case for most independent travellers - in fact they are partly defined by means of this. Independent travellers fit like a glove into the rather snobbish opinion that *I am a traveller, he is a tourist, they are day-trippers* which has not only governed popular tourism debate but also reaches beyond that. Several writers have noted its influence upon the values and viewpoints of tourism research,[125] and as the author sees it, a consequence of this is that tourists who perceive their own activities by means of such an ideology articulate themselves and their tourism so forcefully that tourism research still has a long way to go in order to transcend the tourists' ideology and study their actual activities and behaviour.

4.9.   Survey - conclusions

The data and interpretations presented in this chapter lead to the following conclusions:

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125   E. g. Crick, 1985, 1989; Culler, 1981; MacCannell, 1989, 1992; Towner, 1995.

The travel-tourist share of holiday tourists was higher than expected. The location and reputation of Bornholm suggested a very low proportion of travel-tourists but it was found that almost 10% of the respondents were travel-tourists. To some extent this may be influenced by survey methodology and selection criteria - but only to some extent. Although many of the travel-tourists are probably not travel-tourists in a motivational sense of the term, it is a fact to be taken seriously that almost 10% of holiday tourists to Bornholm break their journey along the way - and find it important enough to mention. It is quite possible that this does not affect the Bornholm part of their holiday, but the multiple destination dimension is nevertheless a fact that should not be ignored.

Relatively more travel-tourists are from a secondary market country. Almost one-third of all holiday tourists from secondary markets are travel-tourists. This could suggest that Bornholm should be marketed as a travel destination in such markets rather than as a vacation destination.

Relatively more travel-tourists are in the younger age categories and the upper household income category. Furthermore they exhibit a higher level of education. Socio-economically this indicates a higher proportion of the middle class among travel-tourist than among other holiday tourists.

At the destination, travel-tourists do not spend less per day than other holiday tourists, and average party size is only slightly smaller - but the duration of the visit is distinctly shorter. Hence, average per group spending at the destination is only 72% of what it is for holiday tourists as a whole.

For foreign travel-tourists, visiting Bornholm and visiting the rest of Denmark are not mutually exclusive. As a destination, Bornholm *is* quite autonomous from the rest of Denmark; nevertheless quite a few foreign travel-tourists to Bornholm include destinations elsewhere in Denmark in their travel, apparently despite the extra expenses and time this entails.

The data indicate that travel-tourism on Bornholm cannot solely be explained as a local effect of a general growth in novelty-seeking tourism. If that were the only explanation, one would assume that it would be visible in the first/repeat distribution. This is not so. Of course, due reservations concerning methodology should be accepted. But combined impressions from data on country of residence, travel patterns, and first/repeat-visit indicate that travel-tourism on Bornholm cannot primarily be explained by pointing to a general growth in novelty-seeking tourism.

The most interesting item in this chapter is perhaps the fact that, contrary to conventional wisdom, travel-tourists do not appear to be the most novelty-seeking of the four segments defined in Table 1. Travel-tourists exhibit a higher proportion of repeat visitors than any of the segments consisting of organised tourists. The data suggest a need to rethink the con-

ceptual foundation for the understanding of the relation between motivation and organisation of trip. Expressed more forthrightly: the data suggest that tourism research may have mistaken the travel ideology of certain conspicuous segments for factual statements about actual travel behaviour. At the very least, this is certainly an issue which merits further research.

5. Backpackers and backpacker tourism: introducing a travel culture

The previous chapter's quantitative explorations revealed that the travel-tourist proportion of holiday tourists to Bornholm is larger than expected. However, studies of comparable destinations are necessary in order to investigate whether the findings presented here are a local deviation from general research expectations or a local example of a general but unexplored phenomenon. Such an investigation is beyond this study. Nevertheless, the current findings do support the claims in the preceding theoretical and conceptual reflections, namely that the independent travellers examined in the predominant tourism research discourse constitute but a limited part of a wider variation span of travel-tourism.

It is to these independent travellers that attention is turned in this and the following chapters. As described earlier, tourism research has attributed to these independent travellers the role of destination discoverers, and has seen their presence as the principal spur to development at the early stages of tourism. Bornholm has long since passed the early stages and, according to a recent study,[126] has for some time been at the stagnation stage. However, this does not make it less interesting to explore independent travelling on Bornholm. For one thing, it is interesting to investigate whether independent travellers are actually absent from the island, something which conventional understanding of the relation between destination development and visitor type would lead one to assume.[127] Do all such tourists disappear from a destination as it develops? Or is the inevitability of this yet another insufficiently investigated truism in tourism research? Although the present study can only supply vague hints, the issue is nevertheless of general interest.

Equally important is the fact that independent travellers may also be of interest when seen in a grander perspective. As argued earlier, there seems to be a general academic consensus of opinion that recent changes in tourism demand patterns point towards the growing importance of nomadism, self-organisation and activity. If this is the case, growth in independent travel seems a logical outcome. Independent travel can therefore be seen as an indicator of general shifts towards more nomadic and explorative tourism behaviour, changing tourism attitudes, and changes in the social meaning ascribed to tourism consumption behaviour. It is therefore worth investigating if and to what degree a specific tourism area is able to attract independent travellers.

The purpose of this chapter is to present a basic outline on backpacker tourism and backpacker travel culture in both a global and a European perspective. This includes an introduction to the backpacker's most important source of information: travel guidebooks. Although the following chapter will be concerned with both backpackers and itinerants, the introduction in this chapter focuses on for backpackers. This is primarily pragmatic rea-

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126   Twining-Ward & Twining-Ward, 1996.
127   E.g. Butler, 1980; Cooper, 1994; Plog, 1973, 1987.

sons. Enough material exists, including the author's, on backpackers and backpacker tourism, to make the introduction.

In contrast, the tourists termed itinerants in this study have not been subjected to empirical studies. This is only partly because of the way in which they, as a type, have been defined in the present work. For, as argued previously, independent travellers, of which itinerants are a sub-type, occupy a key position in prevailing understandings of how tourism development progresses. In summary then, there is a lack of knowledge about the ways, means and travel patterns of independent travellers on short-term trips - the itinerants.

However, the focus on backpackers in this chapter is also for more analytical reasons. For, whereas it can be claimed that backpackers relate to a shared culture of sorts, thus having something in common that can be expressed in ethnographic terms, no similar intracultural linkage seems to apply to the itinerants. Their similarities are not nearly as much the result of touristic social interaction and are therefore best expressed in sociological terms. Curiously, when younger itinerants do interact socially, it is not uncommon that this takes place within the framework of the backpacker road culture, to which the itinerants often affiliate themselves![128] Thus, even for the understanding of itinerant tourism, it makes sense to take a closer look at the road culture of backpackers.

5.1.   A tourism culture: basics on backpacker tourism

There is much to support the point of view that the global volume of backpacker tourism is rapidly growing. Yet few figures are available, which is not surprising since the notion of backpacker goes beyond a traditional definition by means of fixed, objective criteria. It is, however, calculated that young budget travellers account for 8% of international visitors to Australia.[129] Since Australia is one of the most popular choices among backpackers,[130] this figure may represent a contemporary global maximum. Nevertheless, it still demonstrates that in terms of travel volume and market proportion as well, backpacker tourism merits attention.

Other indicators support this. The growing number of backpacker guidebooks and the growing number of small businesses servicing backpackers indicate as much, and this growth is also repeatedly emphasised by specialist travel agencies. The number of tourism research publications on backpackers is also growing, although on a more limited scale.[131] But although far from thoroughly researched, enough material exists, including the author's own, to outline some global basics. Regional variations on backpacker tourism and

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128   Cf. Sørensen, 1992b.
129   Loker-Murphy & Pearce, 1995.
130   Either in its own right, as an addition to a south-east Asia trip, or included in a round the world trip.
131   For example, see Cohen, 1973, 1989; Errington & Gewertz, 1989; Hampton, 1998; Johnsen, 1998; Krogstrup, 1999; Loker-Murphy & Pearce, 1995; Meijer, 1989; Pryer, 1997; Riley, 1988; Schwartz, 1991; Smith, 1994; Sørensen, 1992a, 1992b, 1995, 1997, 1999b; Teas, 1988; Vogt, 1976; Ødegård, 1995.

cultural specifics can easily be found, but the author finds it relevant to view the back-packer culture as taking place globally. [132]

5.1.1.   The global culture of backpacker tourism

An approximate definition of backpackers would be that they are self-organised, multiple-destination pleasure tourists who ascribe much importance to the spatial and organisational matters of their mode of tourism, and who have embarked on a prolonged journey which, when viewed in a larger perspective, takes on the character of a rite of passage.

However, such a definition cannot be used objectively to separate backpackers from other tourists. For rare is the backpacker who fully lives up to this definition throughout the trip. For one thing, it is not uncommon that backpackers buy a starter kit, consisting of, say, travel insurance, air-tickets, one or two nights at a hotel in the city of arrival, and transfer to this hotel. This leaves the self-organised parameter somewhat debatable, and it is further enhanced by fact that many, if not most backpackers include organised tours (safaris, trek-king trips) in their itineraries. Furthermore, what one person considers to be a long holi-day, another considers to be a short backpacker journey; and as for the pleasure dimension, quite a few backpackers partly finance their travel by spells of work during the trip. It all boils down to the fact that backpackers cannot be singled out purely by means of a formal definition. The key parameter is the person's own perception of his/her travelling and tourism activities, rather than the strict boundaries of a definition.

And yet it makes sense to employ the backpacker category. For even though backpackers may not live up to the formal parameters of the definition, these parameters not only de-scribe how backpackers view themselves, they are also ascribed with importance beyond that of self-definition because they form the baseline of these people's travel ideology. In short, the category makes sense from the point of view of the backpacker. Backpacker, therefore, is not so much a definition as it is a social category, at the same time an individ-ual self-perception and a socially constructed identity, and thus an obvious object for eth-nographic inquiry.

Backpackers are predominantly of Western origin (West Europe, North America, Austra-lia/New Zealand). The vast majority of them fall within the 18-36 age span, the youngest age groups (18-23) being more prevalent in Europe, North America, and New Zealand and Australia; less so in the Middle East, Central America, and Asia; and even less so in South America and especially in sub-Saharan Africa. In the latter two areas, and to some extent also in the other non-Western regions the most prevalent age group is the middle to late twenties.

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132   The following is in part based on the above publications, but especially based on the author's fieldwork and fieldstudies of backpackers in various regions (East and Southern Africa nov. 1990 - may 1991; South East Asia feb.-april 1992; Magreb feb.-april 1993; Turkey aug.-sep 1994; Bornholm june-aug. 1996; India dec. 1997 - jan. 1998).

In terms of travel patterns, backpackers usually employ the regional tour, the open jaw, or the multiple destination areas patterns.[133] All three patterns can be thought of as including initial uninterrupted transport for some distance to the (first) area of interest - typically this means air transport - and such a description fits backpacker tourism very well.

Backpackers often have an academic education and generally their level of education is high, well above the general level in their home countries. Their travelling activities can almost be described as a temporary brain drain of the generating societies. But the word temporary must be emphasised, because contemporary backpackers do not have much in common with the description in a few publications from the 1970s,[134] of drifters and escapees from affluence.[135] Contemporary backpackers must be seen as (future) pillars of society, on a temporary leave from affluence, but with clear and unwavering intentions to return and picking up their careers.

Temporarily, however, normal life is suspended. Many backpackers are at a cross-roads in life:[136] recently graduated, married or divorced, between jobs, last trip before settling down; such explanations are frequent when backpackers are asked why they travel.[137] Hence, backpacker tourism mostly belongs to the transitional periods of a life cycle. Whereas this can lead to the conclusion that the transitional situation brings about the desire to travel,[138] the author believes that the reverse causality mostly applies. In-depth interviews with back-packers revealed that, even though the transitional situation was true, it was not the cause for the travel. Rather, a wish to travel had made the person quit the job, caused the marriage to break down, etc. In other words, the transitional period was often self-created.[139] In fact, this is more logical, as travelling is usually a planned venture. After all, few people have the necessary economic means for a prolonged period of travel. Incidentally, self-imposed transitional periods fit the contemporary understanding of the position and use of rites of passage in modern societies even better![140]

When backpackers are asked about travel party, by far the most will answer that they travel alone or that they travel with one other person (spouse, fiancee, friend). In a rigid sense of the term, i.e. travel party throughout the trip, this may be correct, but in fact most back-packers spend most of their time in the company of other backpackers, at the lodgings and restaurants favoured by the backpackers (and recommended in the guidebooks), and in the

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133   See chapter 3.
134   Cohen, 1972, 1973; ten Have, 1974.
135   Actually, it is doubtful whether terms like drifters or escapees cover the travellers of those days. Perhaps it was more ideology than characteristics (Sørensen, 1992b). Conversations with travellers from the sixties and early seventies indicate that, for most, motives and intentions were not that different from those of the backpackers of the nineties.
136   Riley, 1988.
137   Riley, 1988; Sørensen, 1992b.
138   Graburn, 1978; Riley, 1988.
139   Sørensen, 1992b.
140   Cf. Hughes-Freeland & Crain, 1998; Moore & Myerhoff, 1977; Morris, 1987; Turner, 1974, 1977, 1992.

impromptu and temporary travel parties which they form with other backpackers along the road.[141]

As one of the few anthropologists to do so, Crick has expressed surprise at how rarely a concept of *touristic culture* is used in anthropological tourism studies.[142] The critique is very appropriate, for the use of such a concept seems the best way to comprehend the peculiarities of tourist interaction within certain tourist types. Certainly in relation to backpackers, a concept of touristic culture provides a relevant and valuable framework. This is not least because, even though the ideology of backpacker tourism can to a large extent be summed up as getting *away from areas spoilt by tourism, going to unspoilt areas, and meeting the natives*, in reality backpackers spend most of their time in the company of fellow backpackers, as mentioned above. Thus, although the specific other backpackers, with whom a backpacker socially interacts, are continuously replaced with other backpackers, the replacements share the travel characteristics of the backpacker: prolonged liminality, ideological emphasis on matters of organisation and nomadism, plans subject to rapid change, and so on.

There is almost a double bind in this. On the one hand, backpackers have in common the fact that they are backpackers(!) and, being strangers in a strange place, other backpackers are the most familiar strangers. On the other hand, backpackers come from different backgrounds and different places. Thus, being a backpacker is also the only thing which with certainty they have in common. Hence, backpackers' conversations are very much centred on travel matters, as this is both practically and socially important and constitutes the only certain common subject of conversation. In fact, much backpacker conversation can be summed up by the following three questions: Where have you been? Where are you going? How much did you pay?

The conversational focus being on travel matters means that norms, codes of conduct, status parameters, hierarchies and other phenomena which are often analysed by means of a concept of culture, may emerge, take root, and be transmitted from experienced backpackers to newcomers, even without the use of fixed and permanent societal institutions as transmitters. To view backpackers' social relations in this way is suitably covered by classic concepts of culture, where culture is perceived as social structures of unification and subsumption.[143]

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141 Riley, 1988; Sørensen, 1992b, 1999b.
142 Crick, 1994.
143 In anthropological terms, this would be concepts of culture rooted in theoretical traditions like functionalism or structuralism: concepts of culture developed against the background of studies of "primitive" societies perceived to have changed only very slowly, with change primarily brought about by external factors, e.g. the coming of the white man. As it is, such a concept of culture is still very influential at the broad societal level, and particularly in tourism. It doesn't take long to recognise the influence of this concept of culture in, for instance, the promotional material for expedition-like tours to areas like highland Papua New Guinea. Such tours are quite often marketed as visiting stone age people, thereby indicating that, whereas "we" have continuously changed, "they" have only started changing since the coming of the white man - and that, therefore, if you want to see the authentic culture, you've better hurry! C.f. Sørensen, 1998; Sørensen, 1999a.

But more important, norms, conduct etc. are continuously discussed, negotiated, challenged, and changed through backpackers' social interactions. The possibility of this is enhanced by the combination of, on the one hand, the continuous and large replacement of backpackers within the backpacker community, and on the other, the almost complete absence of fixed or permanent institutions with an ability to hold and transfer social and cultural codes and capital from one cohort of backpackers to the next. Only the travel guidebooks can be said to perform this function, otherwise the backpacker community or culture is an open and manipulable system. Whereas classic and more rigid concepts of culture fail to comprehend such aspects, it is very much in line with contemporary anthropological theory, where culture is conceived as negotiable and manipulable open systems rather than structures of unification and subsumption.[144]

In short, many aspects of backpacker behaviour can be grasped only if the influence of a backpacker culture is taken into consideration. It makes it possible to understand why many backpackers are excessively preoccupied with budgeting, even though most of them do not have to scrimp and save - most are better off than their often shabby appearance would suggest. But both the shabby appearance and the ability to get by on the cheap are important status parameters whose particulars are upheld, challenged, changed, and conveyed to new backpackers within the framework of the backpacker touristic culture. The ability to travel inexpensively signals road competence - one knows one's way around and knows how to acquire things and services at non-inflated (i.e. non-tourist) prices. Likewise, the well worn equipment and clothes serve to document travel experience and rough (i.e. non-ordinary) travelling. Additionally, shabbiness and thriftiness can also be interpreted as part of the experimenting with one's identity that is an essential part of prolonged rites of passage, in this case affluent middle class Westerners taking on the role and presumed appearance of the less affluent and mingle with other social classes or ethnic groups.

The backpacker culture also reinforces the importance ascribed to matters of organisation and nomadism. The cultural function of these factors is often to distinguish between a non-tourist us and a tourist other. The standard backpacker argument is that tourists are led or herded, whereas backpackers arrange things themselves. From backpackers' point of view, this means that they are better able to get off the beaten tourist tracks, find the less accessible and faraway places and the non-tourist throbbing life in the big cities. For not all areas off the beaten tourist tracks are equally attractive to the backpacker; they generally favour the extremes. That is, either the large cities, or what they perceive to be the less accessible and faraway places, the non-tourist outback. Likewise, not all methods of travel convey

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144 E.g. Bourdieu, 1977, 1984; Fardon, 1995; Fox, 1991; Hannerz, 1992; Olwig & Hastrup, 1997. In fact, the author believes that the most important contribution which tourism anthropology can offer anthropology in general is not an empirical insight into the sociocultural dimensions of tourism. Rather it is the theoretical challenge that the phenomenon of tourism has the potential to contribute to contemporary attempts to rethink the conceptual frameworks by means of which anthropology perceives, conceptualises, and analyses culture and society (cf. for example Appadurai, 1986, 1990; Clifford, 1988, 1997; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Hannerz, 1987, 1990; Kuper, 1992; Malkki, 1992). However, the debates have not sought much inspiration from tourism - which may in part be because, so far, the contributions from tourism anthropology to these debates have been negligible (Sørensen, 1995).

equal status: travelling overland between A and B conveys more status than flying between the same two locations.

The most popular overland travel routes connect the popular peripheral locations and the large cities, to form the main backpacker trails, and most backpackers spend most of their time along these trails. The cultural space of backpacker culture is localised along these trails, where one can find the small hotels and restaurants which almost exclusively cater to backpackers. The popularity of the main trails is reinforced by recommendations in back-packer guidebooks, which almost every backpacker brings along, but also by the sharing of information among backpackers - *the grapevine*,[145] reinforces the popularity of certain trails. On the other hand, most backpackers also spend some time off the main trails. This pattern is actually culturally reinforced, because backpacker status can be gained by getting off the trails, perhaps discovering new places, and sharing the information with other backpackers when back on the main trails again.

The discovery of new places means that the main trails are not static. Other backpackers may decide to use the new information and, depending on what they later communicate to other backpackers again, even more may decide to check out this new place. If enough come along, lodgings and restaurants catering for the backpacker taste and purse may open, an informal but very real service infrastructure comes into being at the location, and a new trail is established. Most often this development does not happen, but on the other hand it is usually this way that new backpacker destinations and trails come into being. And, of course, such a development fits very nicely into the TALC model.[146]

However, it is important to bear in mind that the areas which backpackers visit off the main backpacker trails need not necessarily be without tourism development. Most back-packers who travel temporarily off the main trails do not head for the totally unknown but stay within the areas described by their guidebooks. In fact, and despite the ideology of getting beyond tourism, the average backpacker is more likely to reject than select areas which are uncharted in backpacker terms. *We can't go there, its not mentioned in the book* is a sentence frequently heard by the author among backpackers.[147]

This means that backpackers encountered off the main trails do not necessarily deviate in other ways from mainstream backpacker tourism. They may deviate, but it is more likely

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145   The information on the grapevine (a term which many backpackers and several travel guidebooks use) consists not only of more or less trustworthy information such as prices, places and recommendations, but also of travel tales and travel myths. Its function is only partly informational; equally important is its ideological and socio-cultural function for the backpacker culture since the exchange of information is also simultaneously a producti-on of meaning in that the very act of exchange reconstitutes the social construction of the backpacker as identity (cf. Sørensen, 1992b).

146   See chapter 2.

147   Jargon like "the book", "the bible" or "the guide" are commonly used in areas where a single guidebook domi-nates, and it attests to the influence of such guidebooks. Most producers would probably be pleased to learn that the customers depend upon their product. Yet, Tony Wheeler, founder of Lonely Planet which is arguably the largest publisher of backpacker travel guidebooks, laments this dependency (Rothenborg 1997). According to his statement, such dependency upon a guidebook is contrary to the very travel philosophy of Lonely Planet.

that they are simply encountered in one of the temporary spells off the main trails. It is therefore important to examine whether the backpackers encountered off the main trails are of a standard or a deviant variety. Travel norms, travel routes and narrative style when talking about travelling are important items on the check list, as is inquiry into the reasons for the choice of the specific off-trail route.

5.1.2.   Backpackers in Europe

Most in-depth studies have been concerned with Western backpackers in non-Western countries. This also applies to most of the author's previous fieldwork. But although not radically different, backpacker tourism in Europe must nevertheless be seen as a regional variety; in some ways it differs from the general description of backpackers and backpacker culture above. Thus, whereas the author is inclined to believe that the fundamentals of backpacker tourism are global, regional variations are easily found.

At the practical level, backpacker tourism in Europe is much more a seasonal phenomenon than backpacker tourism in developing countries. Climate, of course, is an important factor in this respect, and the further north and the further away from the prime urban tourism attraction areas one travels, the more climate is likely to affect seasonality. However, climate only partly explains the seasonality. Equally important for the seasonality are the graduation schedules and summer breaks at schools and universities in Europe and North America.

This is reflected in the age of backpackers in Europe. More of them belong to younger age groups, and more of them travel for a shorter period of time than is the case for backpackers in developing countries. However, the author believes that this is also because Europe is the home ground of the European backpackers. For them it means that fewer barriers - psychological, practical and economical - stand between the desire to travel and the actual realisation, even for relatively shorter periods. As the barriers may be perceived as less steep shorter-term backpacker tourism in one's home continent may not be perceived in as radical terms as it would be to do the same in a foreign continent. Conversely, if time is available and money for a prolonged period has been accumulated, one's own or another Western country may not be perceived as being enough; instead a person might in this case decide to go all the way and travel in developing countries.

The barriers may be seen as somewhat higher for backpackers from other Western continents who want to travel in Europe, but still not as high as for travel to non-Western countrie. From a distance, travelling in Europe seems less strange and difficult than travelling in non-Western areas. Hence, first-time backpacker experience is probably often acquired in one's own or another Western country, typically the first trip during or after high school or graduation.

In Europe certain trails are favoured too. However, they are not as clearly demarcated as in the developing world, which is also the result of a more elaborate transportation infra-

structure. When adding that backpacker culture in non-Western areas to some extent also gives rise to a sticking together attitude and sticking out visual conspicuousness, this means that backpacker tourism culture is less influential on travelling decisions in Europe than in non-Western areas. However, there are a couple of main routes in Europe. Most notable is perhaps the Mediterranean trail which starts in Morocco or Spain and usually ends in Turkey, although some continue through Syria, Jordan and Israel, to Egypt. The Mediterranean trail is probably the most popular European trail for non-European backpackers.[148]

In Northern Europe the picture is more blurred. In Scandinavia the popular areas seems to be the capitals (especially Copenhagen), the Fiord land of Western Norway, and the Lapland and North Cape wilderness of Northern Scandinavia. Lately, the Baltic countries have become popular, having obtained a reputation as a travel frontier for intrepid backpackers, and Scandinavia is apparently often included *en route* to this area. Bornholm, however, was not expected to be very popular for backpackers, even though its character and location actually make it suitable as a destination for the relaxational travel breaks that many backpackers include in their travel itinerary.

However, before presenting and discussing backpacker tourism to Bornholm it must be mentioned that fieldwork data is not the only qualitative information source. Other elements supply qualitative insight and context as well, and when contemplating the presence or absence of specific tourist types at a specific destination, it is necessary to consider the issue of information gathering and the character of available information. Most analyses of tourist information concentrate on the content and character of tourist brochures and travel catalogues.[149] Yet, with exceptions,[150] the author doubts that much relevant insight as regards travel-tourism can be obtained this way. Being promotional, such material focuses on the attraction of visiting, not on the attraction of travelling. Simply put, such material argues why you should *go* there, not why you should *stop* there! A more promising avenue of study is tourist guidebooks.

5.2.   Backpackers and travel guidebooks

Apart from a few studies with an historical angle,[151] guidebooks have been surprisingly little scrutinised by tourism researchers. They are rarely mentioned, and when they are, only in passing. The author knows of only a few studies of contemporary guidebooks about

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148   The author has conducted fieldwork at each end of this trail (Morocco, 1993, Turkey, 1994), and in both cases he encountered backpackers who intended to, or had followed this route on the north side of the Mediterranean. However, he also encountered itinerants, who intended to travel in that one country only, but who were nevertheless affiliated to the backpacker environment. More on this later.

149   E.g. Cohen, 1989; Dann, 1996; Dilley, 1986; Silver, 1993; Thurot & Thurot, 1983.

150   See for instance Cohen, 1989, for a study of promotional material from small scale tour operators in Northern Thailand who cater for the backpacker jungle trekking market.

151   E.g. Böröcz, 1992; MacCannell, 1989: 57-76; Towner, 1984. To date, the most thorough historical analysis of guidebooks and their significance for the rise of tourism is probably Buzard, 1993.

a specific destination or country,[152] but is not aware of any in-depth study of the relation-ship between guidebooks and actual tourist activity, behaviour, and preferences. Even sim-ple systems of classifications seem to be absent. And yet it would be foolish not to acknowl-edge the importance of guidebooks.

A growing number of guidebook titles are now available and this growth supports the view that the number of self-organised and nomadic tourists is growing. The connection is logi-cal: the guidebook substitutes the tour operator and the tour guide. It is thus reasonable to expect that guidebooks are influential upon independent travellers' decisions and choices, both before and during the tourism period. Therefore, when contemplating the character and extent of independent travel to Bornholm, a necessary foundation for any interpretation is the extent of the coverage and the evaluation of Bornholm in the guidebooks.

Furthermore, and as mentioned previously in this chapter, travel guidebooks serve an im-portant function for the backpacker culture, globally as well as regionally. They are the only element which resembles a fixed structure with the ability to hold and transfer infor-mation and culture from one cohort of backpackers to the next. In travel regions where a year-round ongoing backpacker culture can be found, the influence of the guidebooks on the backpacker culture is perhaps not so incontestable or predominant since the backpacker culture is better able to sustain itself by means of interpersonal social interaction. In other words: in such areas, the guidebooks are very influential on travel choices and travel and consumption patterns, but their influence on the backpacker culture is complemented by oral communication. The picture is somewhat different in travel regions with a pronounced backpacker seasonality. In such regions, cohorts of backpackers do not overlap, hence oral on-site transmission of culture is limited.[153] In such regions, where backpacker culture can be described as a seasonal culture, guidebooks and other written sources[154] will almost necessarily have a more manifest cultural influence.

However, not all guidebooks are equally interesting in this case, and some method of clas-sifying guidebooks needs to be designed for the purpose of this study. A simple way to classify guidebooks is to distinguish between those addressing single destination tourists, and those addressing multiple destination tourists. Thus, at the extremes, guidebooks cov-ering only a single vacation destination (e.g. a resort area, a small island, a city) can be

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152 Bhattacharyya, 1997; Jacobsen, 1999; Jacobsen, Heimtun & Nordbakke, 1998; Lew, 1991. To date, the most influential writing on guidebooks is probably still Barthes' short but sharp critique of Guide Bleu to Spain. Barthes argues that, contrary to what it advertises, the guide is an agent of blindness (Barthes, 1972: 76)!

153 The term *on-site* implies the actual time period as a backpacker. The author is well aware of the fact that the passing on of backpacker culture, or for that matter any touristic culture, from one cohort to the next or from one person to another does not only take place during the touristic period of time. Equally important is the post-tourism narrative back home of one's tourism and travel to future backpacker prospects. Certainly, touristic cultures are also conveyed this way, and it is likely that this presents travel ideologies in a more unadulterated way, since the post-tourist in question is more in control of the narrative in the post-tourist situation than when being the tourist. However, although very relevant in relation to the subject of backpacker culture, this area of research is too vast to be included in the present study.

154 E.g. travel magazines, but also noticeboards and backpacker-to-backpacker information books at backpacker lodges and, increasingly, electronic sources like websites, chatrooms and newsgroups.

classified as vacation guidebooks, whereas guidebooks covering several countries can be classified as travel guidebooks. In between are the bulk of the guidebooks, those covering a single country. However, even these guidebooks very often exhibit an approach and/or emphasise certain types of information which makes it possible to classify them as one or the other.

In practical use, the distinction is of course more blurred. For instance, a backpacker may use a vacation guidebook that covers only a destination where he/she stops for an extended period; conversely a vacationer may use a travel guidebook if it supplies the best or only information about a destination, or if the user prefers the style of a specific guidebook series. Nevertheless, among independent travellers, travel guidebooks, especially those where much importance is ascribed to the travel dimension, are more prevalent and influential than vacation guidebooks. It is the author's impression that almost all overseas backpackers to Europe and most intra-European backpackers use such travel guidebooks.

Bornholm, like almost all of Europe, is included in several such travel guidebooks, but it was chosen to limit the research to travel guidebooks from the three publishers that are arguably the most influential, not only in terms of titles available and numbers printed, but also in terms of influencing the ideology of independent travel. In all three guidebooks, 'travel' means more than transport, hence, in terms of travel ideology, they are in keeping with the criteria for independent travellers. The three guidebooks are *Scandinavia and Baltic Europe on a Shoestring* from Lonely Planet, *Rough Guide to Scandinavia* from The Rough Guides and *Let's Go Europe 1997* from Let's Go Publications.[155] All three belong to frequently updated guidebook series which in broad terms address the same segment, although nuances are discernible. Previously, such travel guidebooks were used almost exclusively by backpackers, but the range of users has expanded in recent years.

Of the three guidebook publishers, Lonely Planet is arguably the most used, probably the one with the most titles and widest geographical coverage - and undoubtedly the most criticised and controversial. The discussion and controversy, however, are caused not so much by the actual publications and their content as by the symbolic position that guidebooks from Lonely Planet occupy in public tourism discourse. Especially because of their popularity, global coverage and widespread use, guidebooks from Lonely Planet in the public discourse symbolise not only a certain type of guidebook but also a certain type of tourist. In the public tourism debate, in which an alleged self-righteousness of backpackers has been the target of much critique and derision, the Lonely Planet guidebooks have come to symbolise the backpackers, their travel activities and norms and values. Even in certain circles among backpackers and similar independent travellers, the use of travel guidebooks and in particular Lonely Planet guidebooks is much scorned and seen as a symbol of the lesser traveller, as is vividly described in Alex Garland's acclaimed novel, *The Beach*.[156]

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155   Bendure, Friary et al., 1995; Brown & Sinclair, 1995; Hundley, Eelkema & Sherman, 1997.
156   Garland, 1997.

Whether or not the critique is justifiable,[157] the influence of the Lonely Planet guidebooks is undoubtedly large and the growth of backpacker tourism and that of the Lonely Planet publishing business doubtless share a common history. Whether Lonely Planet is a major cause of the growth of backpacker tourism or whether a growing backpacker tourism has been the cause of Lonely Planet's success is to some degree a question of the chicken or the egg. However, it is fair to say that Lonely Planet has been very important in opening wider travel horizons for the many who, without a guide and advice, would not have taken the leap into travelling in what appears at first sight to be the very different travel and tourism environment of the Third World. Lonely Planet's first publications covered the Third World and Oceania, areas to which there were almost no guidebooks, and certainly no travel guidebooks, before Lonely Planet. Only recently has Lonely Planet moved into the less pioneering and much more competitive areas of Western Europe and North America which they now, on the other hand, cover with several series of guidebooks.

Compared with this, the Let's Go guidebooks have covered Europe for much longer. Of American origin, the Let's Go guidebooks are the only one of the three considered here to be updated annually. *Let's Go Europe* has for quite some time been a popular guidebook and, to the knowledge of the author, was for many years the only guidebook to cover all of the continent. In the heydays of Interrail and Eurrail, *Let's Go Europe* was almost standard equipment for the one or two month tour of Europe. To some degree this still reflects the user profile of the Let's Go guidebook user in Europe. It is the author's impression that many users are on school/university break journeys or what can be described as post-graduation educational summer tours of Europe.

As in the case of Let's Go, the areas which are covered by the travel guidebooks from Rough Guides are also scattered all over the globe but without a comprehensive global coverage. It is the author's impression that, Rough Guides attempts to position itself as an alternative to Lonely Planet in the market for travel guidebooks to the non-Western scene. In general, Rough Guides seems to focus less on the lodging and transport practicalities of travel, and more on local culture, and social and cultural activities of the areas visited. By furthermore subtly arguing that they provide better insight and understanding, Rough Guides, in the eyes of this author, tries to impart the message that the users of Rough Guides are more seasoned as travellers (i.e. not needing all the practicalities), and more sophisticated. On the European scene, however, other competitors seem to be equally im-portant. It is hard *not* to read the following as an intentionally ill-concealed diatribe against *Let's Go Europe*:

Let's not go to all the same hostels and pensions that your friends have stayed at year after year. Discover a new face of Europe with this **Rough Guide** *as your companion. It's packed with information on the continent's most fascinating cities and towns in thirty countries, yet it also points out the best beaches, the quaintest tavernas and the hottest*

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157 As it is, the author finds that the critique is somewhat misplaced and, more importantly, that much of the critique of backpackers is interesting in that it tells us more about the critics and their values, than it actually tells us about the backpackers.

nightclubs while bringing you up to speed on Europe's cultural, political and contemporary life.[158]

5.2.1.   Bornholm in travel guidebooks

Bornholm is more than briefly mentioned in all three guidebooks presented above, especially when the size of the travel region covered by the guidebook is taken into account. A striking example of this is the coverage in *Let's Go Europe*. This guidebook covers all of Europe, plus the Mediterranean countries Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Israel, and Turkey, almost all of which are popular arenas for backpacker travel. All of this is covered in 900 pages. A destination such as Bornholm thus has to compete for coverage with a multitude of other possible travel stops, yet Bornholm is allowed a full page in this guidebook.

Although not in enthusiastic terms, all three guidebooks view Bornholm favourably. Bornholm is presented as a slow-paced rural getaway, a nice place for a break from the exertions of travel or from the large cities. In short, Bornholm is presented as a possible place for a vacation-like break from travel. This fits nicely into general backpacker travel patterns. For such breaks travel guidebooks generally recommend places which they describe as *not touristy*, *unspoilt*, or with words to that effect. At first sight it is therefore surprising that Bornholm is evaluated positively, since Bornholm is the county in Denmark with the most massive influx of tourists in the high season, when taking the size of the island and the number of local residents into account. This fact is only vaguely indicated in the *Let's Go* and *Lonely Planet* guidebooks and, although mentioned in the *Rough Guide*, it is not considered further. Furthermore, none of the guidebooks mentions that most of the recommended facilities only operate in the tourism season. However, this may also attest to the fact that the tourism impact on Bornholm is not as visibly dominant as in many resort tourism areas elsewhere in Europe.

The three guidebooks provide basic information - hostels and campsites, local transport, primary attractions and sights - the essentials for independent travellers. Transport to Bornholm is well covered, especially transport to/from Copenhagen, but connections to Germany and Poland are also mentioned. It is interesting to note the way that prices for transport between Copenhagen and Bornholm are described in the *Let's Go* guidebook. The prices for a daytime ferry/bus ticket through Sweden are the same as for a steerage class ticket on the overnight ferry between Copenhagen and Bornholm. Nevertheless, the *Let's Go* guidebook declares that the overnight ferry from Copenhagen is the cheapest transport option. Since prices for both options are mentioned in the same paragraph of the guidebook, the apparent fault is not the result of insufficient research. The point is that in backpacker terms and backpacker logic, the overnight ferry on steerage *is* the cheapest option, since it secures a sort of accommodation for the night, whereas the day bus necessitates additional accommodation expenses!

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158   Found at the Rough Guide internet homepage, http://www.travel.roughguides.com/catalog/2htm.

Such examples of apparently erroneous information are widespread in travel guidebooks and in tourist conversations. Yet, whereas blatant errors are easily detected by an informed reader, some insight into the motives of the tourists in question is necessary in order to detect which apparent flaws are indeed flaws, and which must be explained by means of insider logic like the above example. Tourism research has a tendency to neglect such insider logic of tourism cultures, but it deserves attention as it often adds a new dimension to the understanding of tourists' motivation and behaviour.

In summary, the travel guidebooks present Bornholm favourably although not enthusiastically, and supply basic but, from the independent travellers' point of view, sufficient information about the island, its facilities and how to get there. Thus the low number of backpackers encountered on Bornholm can not be explained by an absence of backpacker-relevant information. Nor can it be explained by dissuasive information. The explanation for the low numbers lies elsewhere. However, before considering this, a closer look at some of the backpackers and itinerants who actually did come to Bornholm is in order. [159]

6. Fieldwork: independent travellers

6.1. Methodology

6.1.1. Ethnographic fieldwork

Empirical data production on independent travellers on Bornholm was carried out by means of ethnographic fieldwork. The methodology of ethnographic fieldwork is aptly termed participant observation, often making it impossible or even undesirable to uphold a strict analytical distinction between the observer and the observed. As such it is somewhat intuitive in approach; experience and impressions gained through participant observation are often impossible to express as clear-cut data; instead they must be seen partly as an

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[159] Admittedly, the three English-language travel guidebooks described here may not be fully representative; travel guidebooks in other languages may present Bornholm more negatively. However, the author believes that the three guidebooks do represent the general tendency. First, the three come from, arguably, the largest publishers of such guidebooks; second, in global terms, English is the mother tongue of the majority of backpackers; third, English is the most widely spoken language in the West from which the independent travellers come; and fourth, English is the common language within the multinational culture of backpackers. Moreover, textual analysis of guidebooks, although a fascinating subject, is beside the point here. The three travel guidebooks briefly considered demonstrate sufficiently the general character of the representation of Bornholm in such guidebooks.

insight-giving context, partly as qualitative data which may be labelled intersubjective, often with very blurred boundaries between data and context.

The orientation of ethnographic fieldwork is predominantly qualitative, not least because a main objective is always to grasp the world view of the society, culture or social beings studied. Quantitative data is not unheard of in the ethnographic field; on the contrary, it is often one of the aims of the fieldwork to produce quantitative data that can support the qualitative data and insight. Yet, when quantitative data are produced during ethnographic fieldwork, it is often impossible to adhere to traditional scientific procedures of validation. Therefore, from a stringent quantitatively orientated point of view, both the quantitative and qualitative data produced through ethnographic fieldwork may well be viewed as soft.

However, the main advantage of ethnographic fieldwork is the obtaining of qualitative insight. This is not least because the participation element results in a simultaneous pro-duction of both qualitative data and qualitative context, often without a clear-cut separation between the two. The data may not be as hard or clear-cut as desired, but may deal with matters for which quantitative exploration is impossible, or for which the relation between efforts in and gains of a quantitative exploration is much out of proportion. Therefore, one may argue that ethnographic fieldwork, not despite but because of its character, can serve as a shortcut in many ways: data not as robust but the coverage more holistic.

The fieldwork for this study was conducted from mid June to early September 1996, at varying levels of intensity; the most intensive period was late June to mid August (main tourism season). Unlike most other examples of ethnographic fieldwork, where the re-searcher must travel far, the author was, so to speak, able to commute to and from the field. It can be argued that this may be a disadvantage, since the involvement with the people studied becomes rather abrupt, whereas the ethnographer who is far away from home can-not perform a daily retreat from the field and therefore is inclined - or forced - to involve him/herself more fully in the lives and doings of the people studied, thereby improving the participation element of ethnographic fieldwork. However, since the number of informants were few, it was impossible to unfold the full insight-producing potential of social partici-pation. Furthermore, as multiple destination tourists are not stationary, it makes participa-tion, when at all possible, more abrupt and fragmentary than in traditional ethnographic fieldwork. This means that, in comparison with the latter, ethnographic fieldwork among tourists, especially among independent travellers, is dependent on an attitude of swiftness towards obtaining data whenever opportunities occur, since the ethnographer cannot rely on extended periods of contact. All this made the fieldwork more dependent on interviews than is traditionally the case.

From previous experience of fieldwork in similar settings, the above was expected in ad-vance. Therefore, it was decided to pursue a strategy of evening and night-time fieldwork, the argument being that the best locations for encountering possible informants were at the

types of lodgings they were most likely to use (youth hostels and camp sites[160]), and that the best times were in the evenings, when they returned to their lodgings after the activities of the day. Hence, in the afternoon the ethnographer commuted to the field, booked himself into relevant lodgings, and spent the evening and night there. If independent travellers were found, interviews were obtained if possible. In a few instances the ethnographer was also able to participate in and observe the independent travellers' activities of the following day. Usually, however, this was not possible, and in this case, or if no independent travellers were encountered, the ethnographer returned to his office in the morning.

As can be seen from the above, ethnographic fieldwork often involves the very self of the ethnographer. As such, it is the strongly held opinion of the author that any intentions of objectivity in the classic positivist sense of the term are not only futile but miss the whole point of ethnographic fieldwork and evaluate its quality by means of the wrong scientific paradigm! Although basic data can be accrued by means of ethnographic fieldwork, ethnographic data in the full sense of the term are the outcome of a cognitive process, which is continuously on-going during (and indeed also before and after) fieldwork. As such, ethnographic data are not "collected" or "gathered" - they are "produced".

A note on the issue of ethnographic fieldwork and classification of informants through their self-perception: in principle, the definition stated in chapter one and used in the survey-based case study, applies to the qualitative part as well: independent travellers are also self-organised multiple destination tourists. In practice, however, the definition was applied less rigorously and more strategically in the qualitative part than in the quantitative part of the study. Whereas formal parameters were crucial in the quantitative study, the key points in the qualitative study were the combination of, on the one hand, how the objects perceived their own activities in spatial and organisational terms and, on the other hand, what meaning they ascribed to the spatial and organisational matters. For tourists to be classified as independent travellers, matters of organisation and nomadism had to be regarded as more than simply travel technicalities; they had to mean something. To exemplify, this implied that a tourist who, at some time during the trip, had bought an inclusive tour of a few days duration (which many backpackers do during their journey[161]), did not necessarily fall outside the remit. The important parameter were the informant's own perception of his/her travelling and tourism activities, rather than the strict boundaries of a definition. In the field, therefore, deciding whether a specific person was part of the remit or not, depended as much on the informant's comprehension of his/her own touristic activities as it depended on the formal criteria of the definition.

In practice this meant that a simple screening process was not enough. Only through a dialogue, sometimes lengthy, was it possible to determine whether or not a specific person could be included as an informant. The author has conducted similar fieldwork before, and

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160   Despite the title, youth hostels in Denmark are not exclusively used by youth tourists. Rather they function as low budget hotels, often used by families with children. Most youth hostels have separate rooms with two or four beds, as well as dormitories.

161   Cohen, 1989; Sørensen, 1995, 1999b.

even though the above process is not always as laborious as it may sound, it is nevertheless time-consuming. Some informants, typically backpackers, were relatively easy to identify since their ideological stance towards travel and trip organisation permeated their whole tourism behaviour. Others, however, were more difficult to identify, namely those whose tourist identity and ensuing tourism behaviour were not centred on matters of travel and organisation, even though they did ascribe much importance to such matters. These were typically itinerants.

The author has no doubt that the above may well have influenced the composition of informants - the chances are that the more conspicuous informants are overrepresented. However, this is not considered to be a major problem, since the focus of the qualitative study lies elsewhere. Any expectations of a representative outcome of a qualitative study of such a dispersed object as independent travellers are not only naive, they miss the whole point, since the value of ethnographic fieldwork is not to be assessed in terms of producing quantitative data, but in terms of obtaining social insight. Hence, the production of solid data on the relative size of travel-tourist sub-types was outside the grasp of the qualitative study. Moreover, it can be argued that these more conspicuous informants also are those who, more than others, propagate and influence touristic social norms. Thus, by getting hold of such informants, the ethnographer has obtained information from those who, in an independent traveller context, correspond to key informants in other, more conventional cultures. In such more conventional cultures, defined by means of terms like tribal, urban, ethnic, modern, and so on, key informants do not disseminate information which can be termed representative - but they often provide the social insight which the ethnographer aims for.

6.1.2. Data production

Concrete data production was carried out as interviews, preferably recorded. The interviews were structured around two axes, one being based on the questionnaire of the general survey of visitors to Bornholm; the other being more directly orientated towards independent travellers. However, although structured around these two axes, the interviews were only semi-structured, since ample room was purposely made for further probing and for the informants to elaborate on aspects that they themselves found interesting. It was the author's experience from previous fieldwork that, apart from supplying a qualitative context, it was often through the informants' elaborations that hitherto unnoticed aspects came to light, and it was also often through un- or semi-guided elaborations that travel-ideological dimensions were accentuated. The fieldwork on Bornholm gave no reason to change this strategy.

A note on the ethics of ethnographic fieldwork is suitable: although it was possible to conduct the fieldwork "under a tourist cover", this was not done. The author finds it improper to abuse the open social setting of tourism. When a person was identified as a probable informant, the author explicitly informed him/her about the intentions of the conversations, thus making it possible for the person to refuse further participation. As it turned out, the

strategy was inexpensive in terms of data loss since only one person refused further participation. In fact, the ethically correct procedure can be argued to have been a productive advantage, for one thing because the interview in two instances brought about contact with other independent travellers. But more generally also because a under a tourist cover type of fieldwork would lead to a very time consuming indirect questioning procedure with a big risk of loosing contact with the unwitting informant before desired information was obtained, whereas the ethically correct procedure enabled the ethnographer to get to the heart of the matter relatively quickly. This is all the more important when conducting fieldwork among a fluid group such as independent travellers.

6.1.3. Data corpus

The number of full interviews totalled 12. In addition to these, basic data sets were produced in 10 instances, where the informant was positively identified as an independent traveller, but where, for various reasons, a full interview was not possible. The basic sets vary, from a few pieces of information gained through small talk, to more substantial information gained from a more lengthy conversation. The 12 full interviews lasted between 90 minutes and three hours. All of the 22 data sets contain sufficient information to classify the informant according to the ritual character of the trip, as described in chapter three. Table 18 shows the distribution.

Table 18: Typological distribution of informants

	Full interview	Basic data set
Backpackers	6	2
Itinerants	6	8

When trying to obtain interviews, the author pursued the same strategy towards both types, but was evidently more successful in relation to backpackers. However, this is not surprising. When comparing backpackers and itinerants, the former tend to travel for a longer time and with a less fixed schedule and thus have more time to talk to a researcher. Furthermore, they may be more inclined to accept an interview as it resembles the lengthy discussions among backpackers which are an important part of the backpacker milieu.[162] Indeed, the willingness, even eagerness, of the backpackers encountered on Bornholm to participate in an interview, confirmed the backpackerness of their tourism culture, even though they were encountered off the main whereabouts of that culture.

6.2. Independent travellers: backpackers

6.2.1. Backpackers on Bornholm

Oh yes, we have some foreign backpackers among our customers. Only last week an American backpacker spent two nights in our dormitory.

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162   Cf. Riley, 1988; Sørensen, 1992b.

The above was stated in the middle of the high season by an employee at a youth hostel on Bornholm. Despite the arrival of large numbers of new customers every day, she neverthe-less remembered the one recent backpacker, which certainly indicates that the arrival of such visitors was not exactly an everyday incident!

Only eight backpackers, six male, two female, were encountered during the fieldwork. Six (five male, one female) travelled alone, the two remaining were a couple. None travelled with children, and none of the six interviewed had children. In terms of age, half were in their early twenties; the other four were in their late twenties to middle thirties. Only one of the eight backpackers was European (British); the other seven consisted of four Americans (including the one female who travelled alone), one Australian, and a couple from New Zealand. Thus, for all eight, English was the first language of their home countries.

Information about education was obtained on seven backpackers: four had an academic education (one bachelor, two masters, one PhD), one was an architect, whereas the couple were both nurses. The two youngest (two male Americans) were academics and recent graduates; that is, they had not had a job between graduation and travelling. The other four had worked for between two and eight years from graduation to starting this trip.

Two of the six had previously travelled as backpackers.[163] Both had done so just after graduation, and in both cases in their native continent plus bordering countries. For the other four, this was their first major trip. Indeed, for the three non-Europeans of these four, this was their first trip outside their native continent.

Regarding the travel patterns of the six interviewed, one was on a round the world trip, two were on a regional tour, while the remaining three employed an open jaw pattern. Except for the one on a round the world trip, they did not intend to travel outside Europe. The intended length of trip for these were between two and four months, whereas the one going round the world intended to spend three months in Europe out of a total travel time of one year. This person, an American male, intended to travel in the Baltic States, and so did two of the others. The intended length of stay on Bornholm varied from four to eight nights; however, three had not decided on a specific day of departure but left the decision pending, whereas the other three had booked departure ferry tickets.

Other Scandinavian countries were included in the travel plans of all six. The three who had no intention of visiting the Baltic countries had already visited Norway and/or Sweden when they were encountered on Bornholm, whereas the three who intended to visit the Baltic countries would travel through Norway and/or Sweden on their way there. In other words, a rough north-south outline of (intended) travel routes shows that the three who did not include the Baltic countries in their trip were travelling south, whereas the other three were travelling north.

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163   The Australian male (architect) and the American female (academic).

However, the north–south or south–north travel route shows only the most general outline of their travel patterns. For only one of the six backpackers interviewed bypassed the rest of Denmark. Even though Bornholm can be used as a north–south stepping-stone, only one included Bornholm in this way. The other five included Bornholm as a kind of detour from visits to the rest of Denmark - all of them came to Bornholm by means of the overnight ferry from Copenhagen, and all of them intended to return to Copenhagen the same way. None spent money on cabins, all travelled steerage. By backpacker standards, steerage travel on the *Bornholmstrafikken*[164] ferries is quite comfortable, depending of course on the amount of passengers. But even more important, in backpacker terms the overnight ferry was considered a bargain, as paying for overnight travel resulted in free accommodation for the night. Therefore, when asked about ticket prices for the crossing, all five declared it cheap.

All the eight backpackers encountered used the cheapest possible forms of accommodation. One brought his own tent, and used camp-sites or illegal camping; two stayed with friends; the others used the youth hostels on Bornholm.[165] Thus, in terms of accommodation, backpackers were indistinguishable from low budget tourists in general.

This also applied to the issue of attractions visited while on Bornholm. Backpackers visited the same top attractions as do almost all other first time visitors: the Hammershus castle ruins, the Østerlars round church, the beaches, and the picturesque seaside villages. If any, the difference was that the backpackers spent less time on actual sightseeing, and more time relaxing at their lodgings and wandering in the surrounding village. This is fully in line with expected behaviour: generally the tourism schedule of backpackers is less heavily booked than the schedule of ordinary holiday tourists.

All in all, the above characteristics contain no surprises. The similarities and variations covered by means of only six backpackers are almost a stereotype of backpacker tourism in Europe in general; none of the interviewed can be said to deviate from the mainstream of backpackers. In fact, the total lack of deviant features was the most surprising feature! After all, it would not be unreasonable to expect that backpackers encountered off the main trails would also differ in other ways from backpackers in general. However, they did not. This makes it no less interesting to examine why these backpackers went to Bornholm, instead of somewhere else.

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164   The state-owned shipping company which provides the bulk of the transportation to/from Bornholm.

165   The fact that the backpackers encountered were using cheap accommodation options does not in itself indicate anything general about spending levels on Bornholm. After all, they were searched for in such places. Thus, the data in themselves do not rule out the possibility of up-market backpacker-tourism. On the other hand, the extent of up-market backpacker tourism is likely to be extremely limited, not only on Bornholm, but in general. After all, since backpackers are distinguished from itinerants by means of the ritual character of the trip, as rite de passage tourism, and since the combination of the independent travelling mode and the rite de passage dimension entails a prolonged period of travel, it makes it a costly affair to be an up-market backpacker. Most backpackers splurge from time to time and use more expensive services (transport, meals, lodgings). However, because of price levels, it is unlikely that much splurging takes place in Scandinavia. All in all, the author is confident that the lodgings where he searched for backpackers were in the price-range that by far the most backpackers would opt for during a visit to Bornholm.

6.2.2.   Why Bornholm? - backpackers

Why I included Bornholm in my trip? Well, as a matter of fact it was rather coincidental. Originally I intended that a week in Copenhagen would be my only stop over in Denmark, before I pushed off for Estonia, Latvia and the rest of Eastern Europe. But my camera broke, and I have to wait a week for it to get fixed. And I had done Copenhagen so I decided to see a bit of the country. So I decided to go to Bornholm - or rather, I checked my guidebook. And Funen and Bornholm seemed to be the most Danish areas of Denmark, if you get my point. So I more or less drew lots, and Bornholm won! No, there's no specific reason to choose Bornholm, but I like the scenery, and also its not touristy and crowded. I like sitting at a small cafe like we're doing now and looking at the local life.

<div align="right">Aaron, Australia</div>

None of the six backpackers interviewed had visited Bornholm before. All six viewed it as a detour from the main trails, where most of their previous travelling time was spent, and to which they intended to return. In this respect they demonstrated typical backpacker behaviour: most of the time is spent on the main trails, interspersed with detours. Some detours are more popular than others, but it quickly became evident that Bornholm is neither on the main trails, nor is it a popular detour. Of course the basic evidence for this consisted in the lack of backpackers on Bornholm during the main European backpacker season. But almost as importantly, conversations revealed that the few who did come to Bornholm had not got the idea through the grapevine. Not only that, none could remember Bornholm ever being mentioned in backpacker conversation. This could hardly be because of lack of information since, as mentioned previously, Bornholm is well covered in the three most popular backpacker guidebooks to Scandinavia. But despite this, Bornholm was apparently not on the backpacker conversation agenda.

This was hardly a surprise to the author. More surprising was the fact that, of the backpackers interviewed, only one had come to Bornholm because he specifically wanted to see the island. He was also the only one among the backpackers who did not visit any other places in Denmark. For the other five, the decision to include Bornholm in their travel was based on matters *not* connected to Bornholm *as such*. All five stated that the visit to Bornholm was intended as a relaxing release from the exertions of travel before "hitting the road again"; two used Bornholm in this way because of the presence of Danish friends on the island,[166] whereas for the other three, the selection of Bornholm (instead of somewhere else) as a temporary travel break was more or less coincidental. The way in which the Australian, quoted above, selected Bornholm, amply illustrates this point: if his camera had broken in another country or if Funen had been chosen instead of Bornholm, he would, in all likelihood, not have thought any more about Bornholm on this trip.

The low number of backpackers encountered during fieldwork limits how sharply drawn any conclusions can be. Nevertheless, the information obtained from the few backpackers who did come to Bornholm seems indirectly to indicate that not choosing Bornholm is not

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166   Incidentally these friends were not Bornholm residents, but holiday visitors to the island as well!

the result of a selection process, because the place is simply disregarded. At the risk of oversimplifying: visiting or not visiting Bornholm can not be viewed as a matter of choice, if Bornholm is not even considered as a possible option.[167] Yet a few did consider Bornholm an option and did decide in favour of Bornholm, and this leads us to consider how they perceived their visit and what meaning they ascribed to it. To do so, it is necessary to take into account the social meaning that is often ascribed to the term tourist.

It is often said that in many social spheres the term tourist carries negative connotations and is used in a rather derogatory manner.[168] This is certainly the case among backpackers. Some view their own activities as the antithesis to tourism, whereas others, more pragmatically, view their own activities as tourism, but a better kind of tourism than ordinary tourism. Only few backpackers employ the term tourist in ways that resemble descriptive neutrality.[169]

Also in this respect, the few backpackers on Bornholm reflected the general backpacker attitudes and norms. When asked *are you a tourist?* four of them vehemently denied so, whereas two accepted such a classification, but with the above reservation - they clearly saw their own mode of travel as a better kind of tourism. But there is a twist to this. For they all asserted that precisely the Bornholm part of their trip was a sort of tourism. The explanation for this apparent discrepancy lies in the fact that all six viewed the Bornholm part of their trip as being "off duty" from travel, it was a "holiday away from the daily travel life"! In other words, a distinction between ordinary and non-ordinary was reproduced within the non-ordinary frame of travel life. The Australian quoted above illustrates the point as he perceived Bornholm as a relaxational stopover.

This pattern is very common among backpackers: periods of travel and intensive exploration are interspersed with temporary vacation-like breaks, the content of which often resembles recreational tourism. In rough terms, the longer the total trip length is, the more common this pattern is. Both in travel guidebooks and on the grapevine, the most highly recommended destinations for this purpose are usually relatively remote areas which still belong to the alternative tourism scene, i.e. destinations without institutionalised mass tourism. However a certain level of tourism infrastructure is necessary to fulfil the relaxation intentions; hence, in TALC terms, these destinations tend to be in the involvement or

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167   The issue is further considered in the following chapter.
168   Crick, 1985, 1989; Culler, 1981; Dumont, 1984; MacCannell, 1989; Van den Abbeele, 1980.
169   Riley, 1988; Sørensen, 1992b.

early development stage.[170] On the other hand, it is not at all uncommon for backpackers to use well developed tourism destinations for temporary vacation-like breaks, especially if they are (perceived to be) peripherally located.

6.2.3.   An unterritorialised culture - situated elsewhere

Probably the most striking feature of the backpackers encountered on Bornholm was the degree to which the variations and similarities of only six backpackers formed an almost stereotype representation of the social phenomenon of backpacker tourism in Europe. Their only major deviance, the inclusion of Bornholm, of course differentiated them in pure geographical terms, yet it was but a particular variety of the general tendency to leave the main trails temporarily. In all other ways, they exhibited no surprising features, perhaps with the exception of the fact that, in five out of six cases, the selection of this off-trail destination was based on matters which were not connected to the destination *per se*.

In other fieldwork, the author has primarily studied the backpacker culture as seen from the main trails in Africa, Asia, and Europe. In all instances it was evident that backpackers gained status within the backpacker environment by temporarily leaving the main trails and, when returning, exchanging the experience and information with other backpackers (who almost all had off-trail travel experience to exchange too). If relating this pattern to the Bornholm data, the author this time witnessed the phenomenon from the other side, from an off-trail position. However, the Bornholm data did not point to any necessary re-thinking of the process: all the backpackers interviewed came from the main trails and intended to return to them.

This meant that, although the social setting and the social interaction of backpacker-culture was not present on Bornholm, backpacker culture was not without importance for the backpackers there. On the contrary, norms, codes of conduct, status parameters, etc. were easily recognisable as belonging to the general backpacker environment. Thus, since the inclusion of Bornholm in their travel was rather coincidental, the backpackers' whole approach towards the destination was conditioned by a tourism culture whose cultural space was situated elsewhere.

The material presented in the preceding pages illustrates that the application of a concept of culture improves the insight, even when analysing particulars of backpacker tourism -

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170   The fact that backpackers use different areas or destinations for different purposes adds an interesting dimension to the understanding of destination development. In TALC terms this means that the development from an exploration to an involvement stage may not necessarily be a matter of attracting other tourist types with slightly lower degrees of exploration intention; it may also be that such a destination attracts what is essentially the same type of tourists, the change being that it now serves a purpose more resembling recreational tourism, thereby also speeding up the development process. The Swahili town of Lamu in Northern Kenya provides a particularly good example. From starting out at the end of the African *hippie trail* in the early seventies, its popularity grew with the upsurge of backpacker tourism. At the time of the author's visits there in 1988, 1990 and 1991, it was by far the most popular recreational stop-over for backpackers in Southern and Eastern Africa, with plenty of inexpensive lodgings and restaurants. At the same time, however, Lamu also attracted a number of more institutionalised tourists, and the difference in this respect between 1988 and 1991 was evident.

limited as it is - to Bornholm. The author has no doubt that the same would apply to analyses of a number of other tourist types, especially types where intra-type social interaction represents a marked characteristic. Such touristic cultures can usually be located in and delimited by means of the geographical area where the social interaction happens (e.g. a resort displaying a certain visitor type homogeneity), but they need not be: the enforced social interaction within fixed groups on cruises or on organised multiple destination tours provides other settings for touristic cultures to unfold in. These two examples typify conventional anthropological use of the concept of culture, in which a culture is either located (a geographic location, e.g. the village) or bounded (interaction within a limited group, e.g. pastoral nomads). In both cases the culture is placed, locationwise or groupwise. The backpacker culture, however, falls outside these two since it cannot be delimited by a fixed place or a fixed group - it is neither located nor bounded. Hence, in order to study backpackers thoroughly by means of a concept of culture it is necessary to develop a concept of culture whereby, rather than placing cultures, culture *takes place*, wherever that place is physically localised.[171]

However, the use of a concept of touristic culture has its limits; not all touristic aspects or tourist types are relevant to this form of analysis. For the application of a concept of tourism culture to be relevant, it is necessary that it substantiate the hypothesis that the social interaction produces meaning which influences tourism ideology, norms, codes of conduct, status parameters and other elements of the social being. Whether this is the case for the itinerants, which the following section deals with, is doubtful.

6.3.   Independent travellers: itinerants

As mentioned earlier, independent travellers have not been the subject of much intensive research, despite the discursive position that they implicitly hold. Furthermore, the research which has been undertaken on independent travellers has almost exclusively focused on backpackers. The author is not aware of any in-depth studies of those tourists which in this study are termed itinerants. This means that, whereas data and insight from this study on backpackers can be related to other material, including the author's own, a similar empirical context is not available for itinerants, neither for introductory nor for comparative purposes.

Nevertheless, a growth in the number of itinerants would seem to be a logical conclusion of the ostensible changes in tourism demand, considered in several places in the preceding chapters. The itinerant mode of tourism can be seen as combining the growing importance of self-organisation, novelty and travel with the pragmatics of a cyclic holiday which renders the backpacker mode impossible in practical terms (whether or not the backpacker mode is desired).

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171   Cf. Broe, 1996.

6.3.1.   Itinerants on Bornholm

More itinerants than backpackers were encountered during the fieldwork. Nevertheless, the number of full interviews obtained only totalled six, while basic information was obtained on a further eight people. The relatively lower degree of success in relation to itinerants was the result of various circumstances. First of all, the itinerants' schedule was generally more heavily booked, leaving less free time. The itinerants were therefore less inclined to be interviewed. Secondly, the general mode of social interaction among backpackers makes it quite natural to turn conversations into interviews, especially if the interviewer has sufficient knowledge of backpacker culture to suggest the interview in a culturally correct way. Thus, a relatively low degree of success in relation to itinerants is also an outcome of a relatively easier social access to the fewer backpackers.

The 14 itinerants on whom data were obtained consisted of nine males and five females. Of these, five, four males and one female, travelled alone; one female travelled with her son (approximately 10 years old). The remaining eight travelled in groups of two, of which three groups were male−female couples while the last group comprised of two males. The itinerants covered a wider age span than the backpackers: from 22 to 44. However, they were not evenly spread within that span: two were younger than 23; 10 were between 25 and 32, and two were 42 or older. Thus, the age of most of the itinerants fell within the main backpacker age span.

Contrary to the above age data, itinerants clearly differ from backpackers in terms of nationality. Four of the itinerants were from Denmark; six were from neighbouring countries to Bornholm[172] (two Swedes, four Germans); two were from other European countries (Swiss female, British male). Only two were non-European, and in both cases other factors were influential. One, a Brazilian female, was married to one of the above Danes and was a Danish resident, hence visiting Bornholm did not necessitate foreign travel. The other was a Polish-American male who, as a political refugee from the 1980-81 unrest in Poland, had been granted American citizenship. His reasons for travelling some distance to visit Scandinavia (and Poland) were grounded in travel desires which stemmed from a time when he was living much nearer.

Information about education was obtained from eight itinerants. One had an academic education; two were university students; and five had medium-length theoretical/practical education (teacher, pedagogue, social worker). No unskilled labourers and no manual labourers were registered.

It was interesting to note that, of the six itinerants interviewed, five had previously travelled as backpackers. Information on this is not present for all of the other eight basic information sets, but four of these were positively identified as having previous backpacker experience. Travel guidebooks were much used; five of the six interviewees used one of the previously mentioned travel guidebooks, and so did at least four of the other eight itiner-

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172   I.e. countries with direct sea transport links to Bornholm.

ants. Yet a cautionary note is due since the sight of a travel guidebook was a decisive factor for the ethnographer when determining whom of the many tourists to approach and screen. Therefore, no generalisations can be made about the importance of guidebooks among itinerants to Bornholm, but there seems to be a close connection between previous backpacker experience and the use of certain travel guide books.

When compared with backpackers, the areas included in the itinerants' trips were much smaller and more clearly delimited. None of the itinerants' travel plans included countries outside Poland, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. Information about travel patterns was obtained on 12 itinerants. One employed an open jaw pattern, two a regional tour pattern, two (one travel party) employed an en route pattern, while seven (four travel parties) employed a trip chaining pattern. For the six itinerants interviewed, the total time of trip varied from two to six weeks, while intended length of stay on Bornholm varied from two to seven nights.

The itinerants were apparently much more differentiated than the backpackers in terms of travel patterns. However, if scrutinised more closely, a certain structure can be found behind this dispersion. The one itinerant whose permanent residence was outside Europe employed the open jaw pattern, and the two itinerants from non-neighbouring countries included Bornholm in a regional tour pattern, whereas in all but one case a trip chaining pattern was employed by itinerants from neighbouring countries.[173] In all instances, Bornholm was included in itinerant tours which were limited to a region on one continent.

6.3.2. Why Bornholm? - itinerants

When the ethnographer asked the itinerants why they included Bornholm in their trip, they clearly demonstrated more articulate and lucid reasons for the visit than did the backpackers, and although the reasons did not necessarily have much to do with Bornholm *per se*, the inclusion of Bornholm was clearly less coincidental. There appeared to be three reasons for including Bornholm. One informant included it as it contained specific attractions - in this case round churches. Five informants, including all the Danish informants, perceived Bornholm as something which necessarily had to be included in a tour of Denmark, not because of its attractions of Bornholm but because of its national affiliation.[174] Finally, the third reason was that Bornholm was a convenient stepping-stone and stopover en route between Sweden and either Germany or Poland, in which case the rest of Denmark was bypassed.

Thus, although the inclusion of Bornholm was not unambiguously connected to Bornholm *per se*, it was not coincidental either. On the contrary, all six interviewed itinerants had deliberately chosen to include Bornholm before they left home, and all six were evidently

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173   The one exception to this was a travel party of two German friends who employed an en route pattern, as they were on their way back from a journey in their camper van to the North Cape. It could be argued, though, that they should be classified as employing a chaining pattern, as the outward and homeward journey was not fully identical.

174   Among these was the one person out of six questioned who had visited Bornholm before, namely a Dane whose one previous visit dates back to a school camping trip.

much better informed about the island than any of the backpackers. Whereas none of the backpackers interviewed prior to arrival had obtained any information about Bornholm other than what was included in travel guidebooks, all six itinerants interviewed had obtained additional information. Only one, however, had obtained promotional tourist information from tourism authorities or tourism providers. For the other five, the information consisted of books about the island, including vacation guidebooks.

This difference in attitude towards the destination was also evident in the level of activity while on Bornholm. As part of three main reasons for visiting, the view was expressed that Bornholm was considered and planned as one of the more relaxing stops of the journey and that it fulfilled this role. In terms of the travel-structural role of Bornholm in independent travellers' plans, Bornholm thus fulfilled the same role among backpackers and itinerants, the one of *R and R from travel exertion*. Yet despite this structural likeness, the itinerants nevertheless demonstrated a much higher level of activity in terms of excursions, sightseeing, etc. when compared with the activity level of the backpackers encountered. Thus, although Bornholm fulfilled the same structural function for all backpackers and most itinerants, this must be seen as a result of the use of different scales of comparison; evidently itinerants crammed more attractions and activity into a given time period than backpackers did.

6.3.3.   Itinerant tourism - a social phenomenon

The material on itinerants presented above should be approached with caution, not only because of the low numbers but also because of the possible influence of the selection method. For instance, the itinerants encountered used the same cheap accommodation as the backpackers. Hardly surprising, however, as they were searched for at the same places! If, hypothetically, it was possible to obtain information on all visitors to Bornholm who were classifiable as itinerants, the profile and the variations would probably be somewhat different from what is presented here. Therefore, it is not possible to conclude that the itinerants generally resemble the backpackers, but rather that the itinerants encountered by the ethnographer were those who resembled the backpackers in terms of characteristics (age, expenditure level, party size, mode of local transportation, etc.).

Certainly, the itinerants encountered on Bornholm resembled the backpackers in many ways, which is no surprise when taking the above into account. However, it is interesting to note that the resemblance went beyond that of characteristics and into the issue of the ideological importance of the mode of tourism. The itinerants were less homogeneous than the backpackers in terms of importance ascribed to matters of organisation, nomadism and novelty-seeking but, although such matters did not have the identity-creating importance which it had for the backpackers, matters of organisation and motivation were nevertheless important in relation to how the itinerants perceived themselves and their tourism. This was especially evident when interviewees were asked to describe their mode of tourism. Almost invariably itinerants argued that, contrary to *ordinary tourists* whose aspirations were seen as "doing nothing", they organised things themselves and were mobile in their

search for enriching novel experiences. In other words, itinerants generally used these key parameters to create a rather snobbish distinction towards what in their eyes were less respectable forms of tourism!

It was clear that the itinerants who had previous backpacker experience in particular were eager to distinguish themselves from what they saw as ordinary tourism and to describe themselves as better tourists. Clearly these itinerants shared the norms and values of the backpacker tourism culture, and it seemed that the more recent their backpacker experience was, the more important it was to uphold the distinction.

However, to a considerable extent all of the itinerants demonstrated tourism attitudes which resembled those of the backpacker. The author has repeatedly encountered this backpacker-like sub-segment of itinerants during previous fieldwork among backpackers. In these cases, although the itinerants were not the main subject of the fieldwork, it was impossible *not* to consider them, since they were closely affiliated to the backpacker environment, travelled along the same main trails, used the same accommodation, etc. Thus, to a very large extent they partook in the backpacker culture, although more in the sense of adhering to norms and standards rather than in the sense of participating in the continuously ongoing reshaping and renegotiating of that culture.

If Bornholm had been on the main backpacker trails, i.e. if Bornholm had been located within the main space of backpacker culture, these itinerants would probably have been attracted to this cultural space, and a considerable degree of social interaction between backpackers and itinerants would take place. But, although the backpacker culture was very influential on norms, standards and choices of the backpackers encountered on Bornholm, the culture was not socially visible and therefore not possible to affiliate with.

From what is presented in this section it is evident that in relation to itinerants on Bornholm it is not profitable to employ a concept of tourism-culture. The itinerants were evidently more of a diverse group than the backpackers. This in itself does not necessarily preclude any analytical value of a concept of culture, since the itinerants shared many characteristics, also in terms of tourism ideology. But the homogeneities and heterogeneities of the itinerants were not connected to intra-touristic interaction; they were caused by other conditions. The itinerants' tourism ideology and attitude and their tourism demand characteristics, were not shaped and/or changed by means of interaction with other itinerants. Their social and demographic characteristics indicated middle class, as did their use of key parameters to create a distinction from other types of tourists, but contrary to the backpackers, the distinction from other tourists was not an ethnographic feature, i.e. learned through intra-type interaction; it was a sociological feature, which must be seen in relation to the generating societies.

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6.4.   You're my first local! Interaction between travellers and locals

You live here on Bornholm? Then you're my first local!

<div align="right">Sbyszek, USA.</div>

The above was exclaimed during an interview with the one non-European itinerants encountered on Bornholm when he learned that the ethnographer was living on the island. Words to the same effect were used by a backpacker and these statements call attention to the issue of tourist–local interaction. The issue deserves a brief comment here, because the data supplied by the present study add some interesting angles to standard knowledge on the issue.

At first sight, independent travellers in general and backpackers in particular appeared to exercise a high degree of social interaction with the local population on Bornholm. If in fact this was true, this would be fully in accordance with the travel ideology of backpackers,[175] since a main theme is that backpackers get off the tourist trails and meet the local population. A major status marker among backpackers is therefore to be accommodated for free by local people since among backpackers this signals true encounters. Two backpackers had obtained free accommodation with Danes. Additionally one backpacker and one itinerant stated that they had friends on the island.[176]

Apparently then, there was some degree of interaction with local persons. However, appearances can be deceptive. For when the ethnographer examined more closely *how* the contact was initially established, the picture looked quite different. In all four cases, the contact had *not* been established during the independent travellers' visit to Bornholm, but previously, and elsewhere. In all four cases contact had been established in situations when both parties were away from home, three of the four in situations where both parties were holiday tourists. Equally significant, of the four "local" contacts, only one was a Bornholm resident; the other three were holiday visitors there.[177] *None* of the backpackers and itinerants interviewed had become acquainted with any local residents during their stay on Bornholm. And furthermore, apart from service-related instances, none of the non-Danish independent travellers could recall episodes of social interaction with persons who they were certain were local residents on Bornholm.

The lack of social interaction is also present in the previously quoted statement from the Australian backpacker, Aaron, who said that he liked to sit at a small cafe and look at the local life. Yet, what he described this way was in fact the tourism high season activity at the harbour of a small village; the "locals" at the cafe and in the harbour area were in fact

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175   Which, as described on the previous pages, many itinerants adhered to.
176   None of these four informants were residents in Denmark.
177   One case in particular illustrates the point: a male backpacker from California, who had included Bornholm in his European trip for the purpose of visiting a Danish friend - who was on vacation on Bornholm. And not only that: they had originally become acquainted in Hawaii - which both had visited for leisure tourism purposes!

other tourists; and the cafe is in business only in the tourism season. However, in Aaron's eyes the village was truly off the beaten tourist track and lived up to his expectations of the seaside village. Furthermore, since Aaron did not speak German, Danish, or any other Scandinavian language, the illusion was not disturbed by experiences of linguistic inconsistency.

Independent travellers or other explorer tourists are often thought to exercise much more interaction with a host population than other types of tourists.[178] When such types of tourists have been studied at all, it has mostly been in relatively pristine tourism areas, where tourism development has only recently started. It might thus be argued that the independent travellers encountered on Bornholm deviated in this respect if compared with similar tourists in less tourism-developed areas. Many backpacker destinations in less developed countries are examples of such areas, and the author's fieldwork among backpackers has often been conducted at such destinations. Yet the degree of interaction witnessed on Bornholm did not differ from what was witnessed in such places during previous fieldwork. In other words, the author's total fieldwork experience leads him to believe that the level of interaction between independent travellers and locals on Bornholm was *not* particularly low. Rather, the case is that only rarely is the level of interaction very high, and only very rarely is it as high as the travel ideology of the independent travellers would imply.

The Bornholm impressions are based on limited data. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note the consistent discrepancy between, on the one hand, the ideological importance which these types of tourists ascribe to the "meet the natives" dimension and, on the other, the actual level of interaction. Since furthermore these types of tourists have not been subjected to much in-depth study, it almost inevitably leads one to suspect that the higher level of local interaction often ascribed to these tourists may be based more on their own tourism ideology than on their actual exploits. Tourism research may have had a tendency towards accepting their tales, rather than studying their actual activities.

6.5. Fieldwork - conclusion

The immediately striking feature of independent travellers on Bornholm is of course their modest number. No quantitative estimate of the volume can be made on the basis of the fieldwork, but for the backpackers, all indicators point to the conclusion that Bornholm attracts only very few. A similar unambiguous statement can not be made on the itinerants since, firstly, the data on those who were found indicated a more complex and less uniform subject, and secondly, the itinerants who were identified, in all likelihood did not cover the entire variation-span of itinerants on Bornholm. Still, the fieldwork did indicate that numbers were small. Although scarce, the material presented in this chapter merits a few concluding comments.

Even though the few backpackers who included Bornholm in their journey thereby deviated from most other backpackers, it was a particular example of a normal deviation, since al-

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178   Cf. Butler, 1994; Cohen, 1972; Smith, 1989b, 1994.

most all backpackers temporarily leave the main trails. In this and in all other respects, the backpackers encountered on Bornholm were almost stereotype examples of backpackers. Therefore, the data on the few backpackers on Bornholm did not in any way indicate that their presence there was the result of any emergence of new geographical preferences among backpackers or that the few backpackers which destinations like Bornholm can attract are special in any way.

The itinerants may be a different and more complex matter but the lack of comparative material renders it difficult to investigate. The fact that most of the itinerants encountered had previous backpacker experience implies that this experience can influence later choices of tourism mode. It must be emphasised that former backpackers do not necessarily pursue itinerant tourism, and conversely, that itinerants do not necessarily have previous back-packer experience. Having said that, the high proportion of itinerants who had previous backpacker experience nevertheless indicates that it is worth investigating at a more general level what types of tourism former backpackers employ. Being so ideologically strong a tourism mode, it is conceivable that previous backpacker experience influences a number of these persons' tourism choices. If that is true, and if this influence takes the shape of itinerant tourism, the coming years will witness a growth in itinerant tourism as more and more ex-backpackers become potential recruits of itinerant tourism. Furthermore, and equally importantly, a growth in itinerant tourism would seem to be the logical conclusion of the alleged changes in demand motivation, towards more independence, more nomadism, and more novelty.

Returning to the present study, itinerants and backpackers used the same key parameters to differentiate between themselves and (other) tourists. However, the social use of this differentiation is not the same. Among backpackers the differentiation is used in the creation of their social identity, thereby creating an *us backpackers* world, although the cultural space of this identity was situated elsewhere than Bornholm. The itinerants, on the contrary, used their identity individually to create social distinction between *the tourists* and *me and my better mode of tourism*, but it was not used collectively for the creation of an *us itinerants* identity.

Moreover, the author is of the opinion that this, the non-existence of an itinerant culture, is not simply a result of the low number of itinerants. Whether or not main trails for itinerants exist in Europe is not known to the author. It is not unlikely that such itinerant trails exist or that they are identical with main backpacker trails, but even so, the author doubts that a concept of touristic culture would provide much analytical insight into itinerants. As already argued above, a profitable application of a concept of culture in relation to tourists is only possible if either the tourists' radius of action is limited (e.g. resort-tourism, a party tour), or if there is an intra-type gravity, which makes the tourists in question inclined to value the intra-type social interaction. Being nomadic, self-organised and erratic, the first option applies neither to backpackers, nor to itinerants, but whereas the second option does not apply to itinerants either, it applies to backpackers, and this difference, which makes a

cultural concept more relevant for backpackers than for itinerants, stems from the difference in the ritual character of backpacker and itinerant tourism.

The rite of passage character of backpacker tourism enhances the backpackers' tendency to seek the company of other backpackers - their fellow initiates. The backpacker culture is to a large degree dependent on the intra-type gravity, the communitas, caused by the liminal dimension of the ritual - betwixt and between.[179] Compulsory rites of passage generally involve an element of testing, which the initiates go through together, and the same often applies to self-inflicted rites of passage such as the backpacker journey. However, the self-inflicted rites of passage are better described as self-testing, since the specific rite of passage is not socially compulsory and is not undergone within the confines of a stable group. Yet the self-testing of the backpacker journey is, as in compulsory rites of passage, very much a matter of passing the tests. Not that many "fail" the test, but the notion that it is important to succeed is a key feature in rites of passage. However, being a self-testing venture, the specifics by means of which backpackers' abilities are tested are not predetermined but are a matter of continuously ongoing social (re)negotiation. The result is a dependency-creating double-bind: the successful self-testing basically consists of being able to cope individually, but one needs other backpackers not only to confirm one's individuality but also to compare one's accomplishments with and to affirm the relevance of the scales of measurement!

Contrary to this, itinerant tourism has the character of a rite of intensification. Its function is not that of the social management of social transition, but to reinstate, reconfirm, and renegotiate social cohesion. Although rites of intensification also contain an element of testing, it is neither as pronounced nor as important as it is in rites of transition. Therefore, the intra-type gravity is not as pronounced, since other itinerants are not needed for affirmation of scales of measurement and confirmation of success. This means that the communitas of the liminal period is not enhanced by the self-testing dimension. Thus, whereas the ritual assists in the creation of a group identity for the backpackers, it assists the itinerants in the construction of social differentiation, especially towards organised tourists.

Finally, the difference in the character of the ritual may also partly explain why the itinerants were better informed than backpackers about Bornholm prior to the visit. Whereas ultimately for the backpacker, the ritual is more important than the specific places visited - the ritual promotes the travel and visit - the reverse is the case for itinerants where the travel and visit promote the ritual.

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179   Cf. Turner, 1970: 93-111; Wagner, 1977.

7.   Bornholm and independent travellers: choosing a destination

7.1.   Absence

It was concluded in the previous chapter that Bornholm does not attract many independent travellers in general and especially not backpackers. This limited amount is in conformity with both TALC and Plog's model. At first sight, and when taking the level of tourism development on Bornholm into account, this would then seem to support the explanatory value of these models. However, even if the general objections raised in chapter two are disregarded, the explanatory value of the models is questionable on the grounds that the reasons for absence may not be in line with those which these models offer.

Both models emphasise that the development and institutionalisation of a destination makes it less attractive to novelty-seeking or exploring tourists and makes these tourists avoid the destination and seek out other less developed areas. However, this argument is only valid if the tourists in question actually possess such knowledge or impression - correct or otherwise - about the destination and on *that* basis decide not to visit the destination. If such knowledge is not possessed, it can hardly be the decisive factor in determining to avoid the destination. Regarding the backpackers on Bornholm, it was very clear that not only did they not possess such information prior to arrival, but even on the island they did not realise the local extent of tourism either!

Of course, this is not necessarily in conflict with the models, for the simple reason that the data only represent those who did come, not those who stayed away. Admittedly, only vague information about those who did not come can be obtained from examining those who came. Yet several indications point towards the conclusion that backpackers' non-choice of Bornholm is *not* a matter of *deselecting* but is a matter of not considering, regardless of the actual development stage. Firstly, the descriptions in what is very often the decisive information source for backpackers, the travel guidebooks, do *not* present Bornholm as "touristy". Had this been the case, it would have made many backpackers deliberately reject the destination, but since Bornholm is not described as touristy, this cannot be the cause of deliberate rejection. Secondly, Bornholm does *not* have a bad reputation on the other important information source, the backpackers' grapevine. Rather, it has no reputation at all! And thirdly, if one takes into account that all the backpackers encountered on Bornholm could be classified as mainstream, it is reasonable to suggest that the limited knowledge of Bornholm and tourism to Bornholm which the backpackers demonstrated is typical for backpackers in Europe. In all likelihood, therefore, the general reason for backpackers' non-inclusion of Bornholm has *nothing* to do with the actual tourism development

stage of the island - backpackers do not know enough about this to be deterred, so to speak.[180]

The itinerants were better informed about Bornholm. The Danish itinerants of course knew of its reputation as a holiday destination, and so did the Swedish and German itinerants who were questioned about this. The three itinerants from non-neighbouring countries had all obtained information about Bornholm prior to their trip. Nevertheless, there was a marked difference between these three on the one hand, and the Danish, Swedish and German itinerants on the other, in that the former apparently did not experience Bornholm as being much influenced by tourism, and had not gained such an impression through the material obtained. The conclusion is evident: to perceive Bornholm as much influenced by tourism one has to be informed that it is so; otherwise tourism's influence is not very visible to the visitor. The Danish, German, and Swedish itinerants came from the countries where Bornholm is best known as a holiday destination, consequently they "knew" that Bornholm is a holiday destination and perceived the island accordingly. The other itinerants, however, did not have such preconceived perceptions to confirm.

However, not least because of the difference in ritual character between backpacker and itinerant tourism, it is likely that in general, itinerants' travel decisions are based on a more comprehensive foundation of information. Therefore, it is likely that during the time of the fieldwork itinerants could be found elsewhere in Europe who had considered but rejected Bornholm, because of its level of tourism development. On the other hand, as the itinerant sub-type in question was those who, in terms of travel attitude and ideology, most resemble backpackers, the author finds it unlikely that the low number of this sub-type is caused by the tourism development stage of Bornholm. That is to say: if such itinerants did know about the development stage, it would make them reject Bornholm, but if they, like the backpackers, did not know, it is necessary to look for factors other than the objective tourism character of a specific destination in order to explain their absence.

7.2. Investigating tourist destination choice

The above leads us to consider how tourists choose a holiday destination. The issue has been considered in numerous studies,[181] and while there is no agreement on what concepts to use, there seems to be a consensus on modeling it as a longitudinal funnelling process of choice, starting with a number of destinations, which is reduced through a selection-rejection sorting, until a final decision is made. Furthermore, it is generally acknowledged that even before this process starts, a number of destinations is left out for various reasons (economy, strangeness, distance, etc.), leaving a set from which the final choice is eventu-

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180　The backpackers' *I'm not a tourist* ideology may support the impression that they are better informed than other tourists about the places they visit, but the author's fieldwork material strongly suggest that this is not so. Most often, backpackers' only source of information are the introductory chapters in the travel guidebooks, and it is the author's impression that backpackers are not nearly as well informed about the destinations visited as is for instance the keen cultural tourist.

181　Among many, cf. Ankomah, Crompton & Baker, 1996; Crompton, 1992; Crompton & Ankomah, 1993; Mazursky, 1989; Philipp, 1994; Um & Crompton, 1990; van Raaij & Francken, 1984.

ally made. This is very relevant in relation to the absence of independent travellers as it describes the difference between lack of consideration and rejection.

Thus, at the general level, as a framework by means of which the selection can be comprehended as a process, the author acknowledges the value of the above. However, transforming this into concrete empirical studies of selection processes is fraught with problems. Three are worth mentioning here:

1. The conceptualisation aspect. An implicit consequence of the conceptualisation is the understanding that the selection is the result of a process which progresses by means of reasoning. It does not necessarily imply a common or generalised rationale, but it does imply that the final choice is the result of deliberate selections. The conceptualisation, therefore, can only to a very limited extent grasp the social implications of apparently irrational motivations such as *We went to resort X in Spain last year, therefore we'll go to resort Y in Turkey this year*.
2. The methodological aspect. Data on the progression of the funnelling process can only be obtained by repeat questioning. This may enforce a consciousness upon the respondent about the process and may enforce a rationality towards his/her own selection, which would perhaps not have been there otherwise. Hence, instead of testing the validity of the conceptualisation, the methodology and the conceptualisation tend to become mutually reinforcing.
3. The focus aspect. The focus is on choice, not on non-choice. That is, the focus is on what makes certain people select a specific destination, not on what makes the same people not select another destination. To be sure, the issue is not totally ignored, since the models operate with different sets of non-choice, but with the focus on selection the non-choice side is not explored to the same degree. At most discussion covers why certain possibilities are considered but rejected, whereas the issue of why other possibilities are disregarded without even being considered, is left almost unexplored.

The cumulative effect of the above is that explanations of non-choice are left as implicit and related to the rejection-type of non-choice, without being related to the lack-of-awareness-type of non-choice. In other words, it is assumed that non-choice is the result of some sort of reasoning. These implicit assumptions are especially manifest in relation to peripheral areas, since the physical and geographical dimension of peripherality and its effects are often seen as a deterrent, as the main reason for not visiting. "The transport is too expensive", "it is too far away", "it takes too long to get there", "it is not easily accessible" - such expressions or scientific conclusions along the same lines are common when trying to incorporate the influence of peripherality upon tourists' destination choice.[182] However, while these statements are not wrong, they cover only a part of the picture, namely tourists whose absence is the result of deliberate rejection, they do not cover tourists whose absence are the result of a lack of consideration. Of course, the issue of barriers to

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182 For example, see Böröcz, 1990; Greer & Wall, 1979; Keller, 1987. Distance and economy factors are more thoroughly discussed and reviewed in Pearce, 1995.

visiting is also relevant in relation to the lack of consideration set - although one is aware of the existence of Tierra del Fuego one may never even consider going there because it is so far away. But even in this case, the place is still present on the person's touristic mental map, precisely because it has been located - as far away - whereas other peripheral destinations are not even present on the same person's touristic mental map, regardless of their objective location.

This leads to the conclusion that, in order to comprehend the issue of non-choice, it is necessary to discern between at least three levels:

1. unmapped (thus unconsidered);
2. mapped but disregarded;
3. considered but rejected.[183]

The three levels should not be thought of as necessarily hierarchical and linked in a process. The mapping, consideration and rejection may take place simultaneously, e.g. when browsing a catalogue from a tour operator (*I've never heard of this place before, but I don't want to go there*). This also leads to the point that mapping is not necessarily to be understood in the geographical sense of the term. Rather it should be understood broadly as an emergence of awareness.

The basic reflections presented in this section demonstrate that the issue of destination selection is not well suited to examination by means of distinct, direct questioning. In particular this is the case for the non-choice side of the issue, since direct questioning imposes a reasoning upon the respondent towards topics which perhaps were not handled by means of reasoning. The imposed reasoning makes the lack of consideration of (unmapped or mapped) destinations take on the character of rejection. The question of whether a non-choice is caused by rejection or lack of consideration may seem a bit like splitting hairs; yet the author finds that it is important to refine the insight, not only why a destination is chosen, but even more importantly, how and why other destinations are *not* selected!

7.3. Backpackers, destination choices, and Bornholm

Backpackers' presence and absence on Bornholm illustrates the points raised in the preceding pages. As argued above, explanations of non-choice are generally left implicit in the destination selection studies, and the explanations are therefore difficult to criticise. However, since the cumulative effect of the approach is that the implicit explanations are related to the rejection–selection level, the implicit rejection explanations are located in a relationship of binary opposition towards the selection explanations. Thus, the author does not find it unreasonable to suggest that in relation to backpackers they could amount to something along the following list of supposed impediments:

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183 Actually, several of the studies mentioned in note 181 demonstrate that the issue of considered but rejected must be understood on more than one level.

1. Awareness impediment: backpackers are not aware of Bornholm as an option.
2. Information impediment: backpackers do not know enough about Bornholm to decide to visit.
3. Knowledge impediment: backpackers wrongly believe that Bornholm is a dead end.
4. Distance impediment: Bornholm is remotely located.
5. Economy impediment: transport to/from Bornholm is too expensive for backpackers.
6. Development impediment: backpackers avoid Bornholm because of its tourism development.
7. Attraction impediment: the attractions on Bornholm does not appeal to backpackers.

None of these is valid.

1, 2 and 3: Bornholm is covered in the guidebooks which backpackers use. Backpackers may not possess additional information, but that is quite normal, even for popular destinations. A dead end is not in itself a deterrent; besides, the guidebooks contain sufficient information for backpackers not to be wrongly led to believe that Bornholm is a dead end.

4: Rather than an impediment, remoteness is attractive to backpackers if the place lives up to perceptions of remoteness. In fact it is likely to be the other way around: backpackers are not attracted to Bornholm because the guidebooks do not present it as particularly remote! In the eyes of many backpackers, Bornholm is not remote enough.

5: As argued in chapter five, the transport is not considered expensive for the Scandinavian region. On the contrary, backpackers seem to consider the overnight ferry a bargain since they get a sort of accommodation for free.

6: Discussed previously in this chapter.

7: At first sight, the attractions on Bornholm may not appeal to the backpacker. However, their character (townscapes, non-contrivance, beaches) is not different from what backpackers seek on the secondary trails. And the guidebooks do not present the attractions on Bornholm as second rate.

The conclusion is evident: the lack of backpackers on Bornholm cannot be explained by means of supposed impediments. Some of the supposed impediments are not influential, others are quite the opposite of impediments. On top of this it must be remembered that what one tourist considers to be an impediment, another might see as an irresistible challenge or as a necessary sign in order to confirm one's image of a place. The impediments are probably more relevant in relation to itinerants, but the more backpacker-like the itinerants are, the less relevant the impediments probably are.

The preceding pages may seem a rather cumbersome way of stating the obvious, namely that, for certain tourist types, certain areas are more attractive than others. Or more sharply: if there is no reason for a specific tourist type to visit a specific destination, then there is no reason to consider why they do not visit! However, since backpackers are almost absent from Bornholm, it seems proper to tackle the issue of apparent impediments before

considering the other side of the coin, namely whether there are any reasons at all for backpackers to include Bornholm in their trip?

The approach taken here, to see the destination from the backpackers' point of view, provide us with the possibility of qualifying this question in relation to the character and content of backpacker journeys. Given that there is no specific reason for backpackers to visit Bornholm, but on the other hand no paramount impediments keeping them away either, could Bornholm be considered attractive because of its ability to serve a specific purpose? The most likely purpose is indicated by the data presented in last chapter, namely the use of Bornholm as a vacation-like travel break. For all but one backpacker, Bornholm was not included because of the content of the destination, but because of expectations about its ability to serve this purpose. Likewise, Bornholm fulfilled a similar structural function for the itinerants, namely as one of the more relaxing travel stops.

Destinations which serve as vacation-like stopovers for backpackers can be found in many places along or off main trails, and if Bornholm is seen from the backpackers' point of view, it apparently has what it takes to serve this purpose: non-contrived atmosphere with an abundance of old lived-in buildings, nature, a well tended rural landscape and, although a cold-water resort, plenty of sandy beaches. In addition to this there is a number of attractions which are of a suitable magnitude: worth a visit as a diversion but not to a degree (must see/do) as to distract from the primary purpose of the stopover, which is the relaxation.

An important attraction of the popular vacation-like stopovers for backpackers is usually that they attract other backpackers, thereby sustaining a localised backpacker milieu. The key point in order to initiate or uphold such dynamics is the spreading of information and recommendations through the backpackers' grapevine.[184] Bornholm does not have any reputation - good or bad - on the grapevine, and when the author asked the backpackers what they would tell other backpackers about the island later on, it was very clear that, although they were all positive about the island and saw it as worth a stopover, Bornholm would not be among the stopovers that they intended to talk much about with the fellow backpackers that they would meet later on. Although Bornholm was largely unknown within the general backpacker community and therefore status-wise contained some potential discovery value, it was clear that not much road status was to be gained from divulging information about this destination to other backpackers.

At first sight this seems rather strange: the character of the island makes it suitable as a vacation-like stopover, and the few backpackers who used it this way were positive about it;

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184   Which is often tapped by the guidebook authors. Travel guidebooks, including those mentioned earlier, often maintain a grassroots ideology and encourage readers to submit information for the next edition. This enhances the liminality of backpacker culture and an attitude of *we're in it together*. Whereas backpacking continues around the year in developing countries, it has a marked seasonality in Northern Europe. It is therefore likely that the influence of the grapevine will be more indirect in the latter case. For instance, even if the backpackers who visited Bornholm, recommended it to all the backpackers they met, it would probably not have any major effect the same year; but it would perhaps be visible in later guidebook editions if backpackers also submitted their recommendations to the guidebook writers.

yet the island was not likely to receive much favourable mention on the grapevine. So why were the backpackers not likely to recommend Bornholm as a destination for recreational travel stops, and why doesn't the inclusion of Bornholm produce much travel status?

To some degree, the price level in Scandinavia *does* act as an impediment. It is not necessarily prohibitive for backpackers, but if the backpackers' journey includes countries with a lower price level, they might as well make their vacation-like stops in places where they get more for their money. However, this is only relevant if the journey takes the backpackers to such cheaper areas within a reasonable period of time. If a backpacker spends a prolonged period of time (say more than four weeks) in Scandinavia, it is likely that he/she would want to make a vacation-like stopover while in Scandinavia. Hence, the relative price level functions only as an impediment to some, and even for these, other circumstances could warrant the extra spending, for instance the location of a well established backpacker hangout, the main attraction thus being the presence of other backpackers. In short, the Scandinavian price level, although to some backpackers an impediment, is not a prohibitive one, as the impediment is more structural than financial: if other factors warranted it, the financial impediment would have been overcome; conversely, even if the financial impediment had not existed, the structural impediment would in all likelihood still have had the same power. Hence, the price level can only to a limited degree explain why Bornholm is unlikely to be recommended for a recreational travel break among backpackers.

The author believes that the reasons for the absence of backpackers must be sought at the social level. The step from the practical or functional level to the social level is contained in the refinement of the question *why don't backpackers visit Bornholm?* to *why is it not considered?* which the issue of supposed impediments illustrates. The supposed impediments of remoteness, transport and limited information do not have that character in the eyes of the backpacker - on the contrary, they are not severe enough to serve self-testing purposes. Pushing it a bit, it can be argued that *if*, in the eyes of the backpacker, these impediments had been real, they would be more likely to attract than to deter the backpackers, because of the travel challenge that such surmountable impediments pose, and of the image of remoteness and peripherality which they sustain or strengthen for the backpackers - one of the favoured extremes of backpacker journeys.

An example will illustrate this. At the time of the author's fieldwork in Southern and Eastern Africa (1990-1991), it was very popular among backpackers to travel in the eastern provinces of Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo). The only major attractions in the area were a gorilla sanctuary and trekking in the Ruwenzori Mountains. However, most of the backpackers who travelled in the area did neither of the two. Travelling in Eastern Zaire was apparently very hard: backpackers described the transport as almost impossible, the lodgings as squalid, and the food as appalling. And yet this was precisely what made eastern Zaire attractive: instead of being prohibitive, the difficulties were seen as the ultimate travel challenge - hence, the attraction of eastern Zaire consisted of impossible transport, squalid lodgings and appalling food!

To be sure, not considering, rejecting or selecting a destination is an individual matter, but it is one which is socially organised since, in the case of Bornholm, it not only depends on the socially organised perceptions of peripherality, but also on the socially organised parameters of status within this specific touristic culture. Therefore, backpackers' lack of consideration of Bornholm is only partly caused by the destination and its contents *per se*. Equally important is that the necessary travelling does not emit the right signal - it does not sufficiently connote peripherality in the eyes of the backpacker. For, if a backpacker seeks what he/she perceives as remoteness or peripherality, then it is not supposed to be too easy to get there - and the more he/she has absorbed the backpacker culture (or the more it has absorbed him/her) the more this applies. But Bornholm falls in between the two extremes that backpackers are especially attracted to. Bornholm is neither perceived in terms of throbbing vibrancy, nor in terms of exotic remoteness; if thought of at all, it is more likely to be in terms of quaintness, cosiness, etc., but this is not what backpackers are in search of. Or rather, if they are in search of it, they will seek it at places where it is cheaper, where there are other backpackers, or where the attainment provides them with a greater but still surmountable travel challenge!

The preceding pages mainly concentrate on backpackers, for the simple reason that backpackers can be put into perspective by means of comparative material, whereas the author is not aware of comparative material regarding itinerants that can be used for such a purpose. However, the scarce data on itinerants on Bornholm indicated a more complex and less uniform subject than that of backpackers. Hence, and taking the theoretically derived less uniform character of the itinerant mode of tourism into account, it is not unreasonable to suggest that itinerants' non-selection of Bornholm may be caused by more diversified reasons.

It is likely that more itinerants than backpackers deliberately reject the destination because of perceptions of its tourism development and impact. Since itinerant tourism is more likely to be intra-continental, and since the itinerant mode of tourism, as opposed to the backpacker mode, is based more on the tourism content than on the ritual process, which results in a more tightly packed tourism schedule, itinerants are more likely passively or actively to have obtained information[185] about prospective destinations prior to departure. Through such information they may have formed images which make them deliberately reject the specific destination. Similarly, for itinerants a non-selection is more likely to be a matter of enforced rejection for financial reasons than it is for backpackers: a more heavily booked tourism schedule is likely to ensure that the average daily costs of transport are higher for itinerants than for backpackers and transport to and from Bornholm may be the deterring factor. However, for quite a large proportion, especially those itinerants with previous backpacker experience, absence is likely to be covered by the explanations suggested above for the backpackers.

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185 Information is to be understood in a very wide sense of the term, from hearsay and word of mouth, through the destination marketing material, to non-touristic publications and news about the area.

8.   Reflections

A decade ago, Urry concluded a paper by stating that: *The growth (...) of a series of post-modern cultural developments has left many seaside resorts 'high and dry'!*[186] Urry was particularly interested in the effect of cultural change upon the domestic seaside resorts of industrial Britain[187] which, among other reasons, were attractive because of an absence of manufacturing industry.[188] In an industrialised era, this absence indicated peripherality, but whether or not such destinations could objectively be characterised as peripheral, it was probably *not* perceptions of peripherality which made the destinations attractive.[189] The rise and fall of the British seaside resort[190] was caused by cultural changes which probably cannot be related to changes in the perception or attractiveness of peripherality.

But as numerous studies attest, the processes of cultural change progress as rapidly as ever, and equally numerous tourism studies argue that tourism demand has undergone major changes during the last 15 to 20 years, not only in terms of demand characteristics but also in terms of sociocultural meaning ascribed to tourism consumption. It seems reasonable to link the two as Urry does, in order to consider whether cultural changes also affect other types of tourism receiving areas than the traditional seaside resort. How and to what extent do cultural changes affect tourism to those peripheral areas that depend on perceptions of peripherality for their attractiveness? Can this be explored in relation to a specific destination? And are certain types of tourists particularly suited to serve as indicators of how cultural developments in the generating societies may affect tourism at the specific destination? More precisely, do the presence, absence, and tourism patterns of travel-tourists and independent travellers in specific peripheral areas indicate anything about the local impact of such changes?

A brief recapitulation is in order. Tourism research into the subject of changing tourism demand and consumption seems to concentrate on the following three *characteristics*:

- more mobility while on holiday;
- more independence;
- higher emphasis on activity and/or novelty at the expense of recreation and/or change.

The latter two in particular have attracted research attention whereas the first is more implicitly indicated. To these three characteristics the author would add the following two interconnected *social features* of the holiday experience:[191]

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186   Urry, 1988: 53.
187   Cf. also Urry, 1990b: 16-39 on this theme.
188   Urry, 1988: 49.
189   Using Urry's terms, perceptions of peripherality are connected to the romantic tourist gaze, whereas holidaymakers at the working class seaside resorts employed a collective tourist gaze (cf. Urry, 1990b), hence the nostalgia of peripherality was at the most an added value to the other more tangible attractions of the resort.
190   Urry, 1990b: 16.
191   The sociological background for these assumptions are discussed more thoroughly in Sørensen, 1998.

- more coherence and less inversion between everyday life and holiday life; the connection is still one of ordinary vs. extraordinary, but the relation between the two is not oppositional.
- tourists may spend as much as ever on tourism, but for a growing number the social significance of high-spending is not "king for a day" status, but "willing to pay for self-realisation" status.

The three characteristics can be seen as separate tendencies which capture the tourism consequences of certain changes in the tourism generating societies. Tourists who exhibit one or several of the characteristics are not evenly spread across age groups or social/cultural layers of the generating societies. Nevertheless, if the first two characteristics are combined they approximate the travel-tourist, and if the last characteristic and the additional two social features of the holiday experience are added, a situation is reached which resembles that of independent travellers. For this reason, the phenomenon of independent travel can be argued to embody the tourism essence of the above three characteristics, and it might serve as a cautious indication of how this is revealed in relation to a specific destination. However, the value of independent travel as an indicator hinges on placing it in proper perspectives, both diachronic and synchronic.

Diachronically, although nomadic tourism has apparently become more important lately, it is not a new phenomenon. Conventional tourism history traces the beginnings of modern tourism back to The Grand Tour. This opinion has been contested by pointing to other forms of pre-modern tourism-resembling phenomena or by questioning the conventional conception of tourism history,[192] but it remains unchallenged that The Grand Tour played an influential part in the formation and development of modern tourism. And multiple destination tourism has not been extinct since the days of The Grand Tour. As stated repeatedly, independent explorer tourism (including independent travel) is conventionally seen as the precursor of organised mass tourism at up and coming destinations, yet not much reliable material exists on such visitors. Thus, the presence of independent travellers at a destination may be but is not necessarily the result of changing demand patterns. The destination may have attracted independent travellers for several years. Conversely, an absence of independent travellers may not necessarily indicate that the destination lacks the ability to attract the *new tourists*. Instead it may be seen as a local level indication that the general numbers of such tourists might be lower than what current understanding suggests.

Synchronically, independent travellers cover only a part of the wider category of travel-tourists. Being more sharply profiled in terms of tourism ideology than travel-tourists as a whole, they nevertheless share their organisational and spatial characteristics. Therefore, knowledge on the broader phenomenon of travel-tourism at the destination can serve as background information by means of which the local presence or absence of independent travellers is put more clearly into perspective. Simply put, "many" independent travellers out of "few" travel-tourists at a well developed destination can be interpreted as an indica-

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192   Adler, 1985, 1989a, 1989b; Nash, 1981; Smith, 1989a; Towner, 1995.

tion of a strong local impact of global processes, whereas the opposite either indicates limited local impact of global processes, or - again - that the extent, impact and importance of *new tourism* may be somewhat overrated.

The survey data demonstrated that almost 10%, a surprisingly large share of the holiday tourists to Bornholm, could be classified as travel-tourists, but the fieldwork data implied that independent travellers, both backpackers and itinerants, were few. An interpretation of the Bornholm material, therefore, in all likelihood must be located within a continuum delimited by the following extremes:

1. Bornholm does not attract many *new tourist* visitors.
2. The number of new tourists is lower than prevailing tourism discourse suggests.

The first of these is related to empirical matters, including the value of travel-tourists in general and independent travellers in particular as an indicator, whereas the second is related to theoretical matters, including reconsidering the explanatory power of theories on tourism development.

After this recapitulation, the purpose of this remaining chapter is to reflect upon global processes, mainly exemplified by means of travel-tourism and independent travel, and the effect of such processes upon local destinations, especially developed destinations in peripheral areas.

However, the intention in the following is not only to apply the knowledge gained through the study to the global–local question, but also to reconsider discourse issues in tourism research. For the absence of independent travellers on Bornholm may indicate that Bornholm does not attract "new tourists", or it may indicate that the volume of "new tourism" is somewhat overrated. But what must also be considered is that conventionally used parameters of tourist classification, especially that of how the holiday is organised, which have been used throughout this study, may reveal more about a predominance of middle class background within the research community than they reveal about actual differentiation of tourists. To some this (self-)criticism may seem harsh, yet Butler indicates as much in his incisive critique of the concept of alternative tourism.[193] And less sharply phrased, it seems likely that a process is underway whereby technical, organisational and cultural developments are making certain classical taxonomies within tourism research somewhat obsolete, a process which captures both the theoretical and empirical dimensions of this study.

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193   Butler, 1990, 1994.

8.1. Peripheries, modernities, and tourists' motivations and images

The discussion in the previous section also concerns the value of independent travellers as an indicator of the local impact of changing fundamentals in tourism demand. Regarding the Bornholm data, the first question inevitably is whether the lack of independent travellers on the island can be explained away by means of conventional factors, e.g. barriers which prevent prospective visitors from visiting, or matters which makes them shun the destination. If, for example, the access to or the sojourn on Bornholm is very expensive, it could cause an enforced rejection. Likewise, if the reputation of the destination is notoriously negative in the social stratum which generates most independent travellers, this could make the destination shunned, deliberately rejected. In such cases, a lack of independent travellers could be accounted for by means of almost tangible matters and their absence explained without the assistance of the insider angle of ethnographic fieldwork.

The issue was considered in the previous chapter and although based on limited data it was found that the low number of independent travellers on Bornholm could only be explained by such factors to a very limited degree. Regarding the backpackers, neither expenses nor the reputation of the destination could explain their absence; although Bornholm attracts many tourists in the high season this has not provoked a negative reputation in the manner of e.g. many Mediterranean resorts - simply put, backpackers probably do not know of Bornholm's reputation as a holiday destination, and the few backpackers encountered on the island certainly had not registered the tourist influx. Regarding itinerants, it is likely that some are hindered by expenses and/or know enough about the tourist influx to deliberately reject the destination. On the other hand, the fact that itinerant tourism is more a regional or intra-continental affair than backpacker tourism, would seem to raise the number of prospective itinerant visitors. All in all, chapters six and seven demonstrated that, even though the low number of independent travellers was in accordance with the predictions of TALC and Plog's model, the reasons for the absence of independent travellers were beyond the grasp of the explanatory framework offered by these models. Hence, the value of independent travellers as indicators is not diminished by the above mentioned conventional matters.

At the same time, however, the survey data demonstrated that a surprisingly large number of travel-tourists did visit Bornholm, and furthermore that, since many of these were repeat visitors, this could not solely be explained by novelty seeking. And this gives rise to a brief reflection upon the value of travel-tourists in general as an indicator. This is especially pertinent in relation to the changing touristic meaning and importance of peripherality perceptions that the erosion of the hegemony of high modernity is likely to bring about - as stated earlier, the tourism conception of periphery and peripherality may be neither uniform nor static.

For without wanting to classify all travel-tourists as postmodern tourists, one can nevertheless argue that postmodernism tourism, taken to its logical conclusion, does *not* auto-

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matically result in a growth in novelty seeking. And least of all when it comes to the often interdependent perceptions of peripherality and authenticity. If anything it is rather the reverse. For postmodernism in tourism implies the abandoning and rejection of the core touristic myth of nostalgic evolutionism, and this unsettles certain aspects of the modernist meaning of novelty. This is not to say that the importance of novelty in tourism experiences necessarily declines, but novelty becomes the motivation because of novelty and not because of the authenticity which is often implied in the modernist notion of the novel experience.[194] For the belief in being able to find "real authenticity" or "real meaning" out there,[195] while embraced by the modern tourist, is consciously rejected by the post-modern tourist through his/her dissociation from the ideology of modernism. Therefore, the fact that novelty seeking does not explain travel-tourism to Bornholm cannot be interpreted as signifying that Bornholm attracts no postmodern travel-tourists.

In all likelihood there are only a few tourists who takes such a conscious stance towards their own tourism motivation as implied in the above - and even fewer who actually maintain the stance in their tourism - but the conclusion then has to be that the truly postmodern tourist is still quite a rare species! However, if intimations of postmodernity[196] are also growing and spreading in tourism, the implied decline of the importance of authenticity may have some effect upon peripheral areas which depend on perceptions of peripherality. For perceptions of authenticity and perceptions of peripherality demonstrate an intrinsic linkage in terms of tourism attractiveness.[197] The peripheral areas in question may not necessarily become less popular; but, in a truly postmodern tourism context, the popularity of the peripheral area is not sustained by implied authenticity.

The concept of authenticity can be stretched to cover almost anything, but the authenticity implied in the dichotomous positioning of centre vs. periphery is not the only perceptional matter which will be affected by a change from modern to postmodern tourism. Other dichotomies by means of which the structural opposition between centre and periphery are perceived (modern vs. backward, urban vs. rural, destroyed vs. intact, culture vs. nature, etc.) will be affected as well. Yet these dichotomies also demonstrate that it is not without justification that the coverage of the concept of authenticity is far-reaching because, within a modern context, implications of authenticity are important in how the meaning of these dichotomies is shaped. Therefore, what is touristically implied in the notion of peripherality takes on a different meaning when comparing modern with postmodern.

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194   The fact that authenticity is often implied in the idea of the novel experience can be seen in the countless expressions which run along lines such as: *It was not only novel to me, but to all since I was among the first visitors there, and the natives' activities were authentic and not staged* - not to mention the host of tourism marketing material running along similar lines. Admittedly it is a stereotype, but ever since 1955, when Levi-Strauss decried the hack travel writers of those days in the most famous of anthropological travelogues, Tristes Tropiques, it has been common knowledge that the ultimate tourism experience is the novelty of the unspoiled and (therefore) authentic.
195   Cf. Cohen, 1979a; Turner, 1973.
196   Bauman, 1992.
197   Blomgren & Sørensen, 1998. Page, 1994; Wanhill, 1997.

Thus, the chances are that the much debated influence of the postmodern in tourism consumption and perception,[198] will potentially affect peripherality-seeking tourism more than e.g. urban tourism, special interest tourism or resort tourism. However, this does not necessarily imply that areas which now attract the peripherality-seeking modern tourist will be unable to attract the postmodern tourist. On the contrary, they may have a competitive advantage! For getting to a peripheral destination implies travel, and the changing and declining meaning and importance of authenticity may cause an erosion of the dominating relation of subsumbtion whereby travel is subsumed under site. In other words, the travel dimension of tourism may be restored to honour. To throw light upon this it is necessary to further reflect upon postmodernity in society and tourism.

8.1.1.   Return to nostalgia?

In chapter two it was argued that a core touristic myth of modernism is that of nostalgic evolutionism. This myth becomes increasingly difficult to sustain the closer the tourist type comes to that of the postmodern, and the myth is rejected by the fully postmodern tourist.[199] At the same time however, nostalgia is a recurrent theme in writings on postmodern consumption and society,[200] and it appears that nostalgia is a key feature of postmodernity. The growing importance of heritage, socially as well as in tourism, seems to point the same way, especially since the contemporary refashioning of heritage[201] involves postmodern features such as overt staging, edutainment through participation, or ludic reframing. At first sight, therefore, the two statements seem somewhat contradictory - one says that nostalgic evolutionism is rejected by the postmodern tourist, the other that nostalgia is a key element in postmodernity. But what nostalgia? And how nostalgia?

A reconciliation of this apparent contradiction may be found in what Bauman terms the postmodern reenchantment of the world.[202] As the author sees it, in postmodernity, including postmodern tourism, nostalgia is cherished, it has become explicit, and has thus changed in character. Whereas nostalgia in a modern context is a structurally embedded social matter, postmodern nostalgia can be interpreted as a way of expression which takes the shape of a representation, an *icon*.

Postmodernity has embraced nostalgia as something to be consumed, but dissociated from implications of authenticity. The "iconification" of nostalgia implies that the traditional hierarchy of importance between sight, site and travel is eroded. Sight and site are not in themselves loosing out in importance - the postmodern tourist also wants to see and do specific things at specific places. But since, for the postmodern tourist, neither the icon (sight) nor its location (site) are accorded intrinsic authenticity, the specific things at spe-

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198   Cohen, 1995. Errington & Gewertz, 1989; Harkin, 1995; Hughes, 1995; Munt, 1994; Nuryanti, 1996; Pretes, 1995; Urry, 1988, 1990a, 1990b, 1995.
199   Cf. Sørensen, 1998.
200   Among many, see for instance Edgar, 1987; Jameson, 1984; Stauth & Turner, 1988; Urry, 1990b.
201   See Lowenthal, 1985, for a critical and fascinating study of this subject.
202   Bauman, 1992, cf. also Jacobsen, 1997a.

cific places have ceased to function in the modern way in which tourists "confirmed" the lost authenticity at home through finding it out there.

The consequence, therefore, is the loss of *a priori* primacy of sight and site over travel. That is to say, the meaning of travel is not necessarily solely instrumental (getting to the site of the sight), neither in terms of social definition, nor in actual postmodern travel experience. Perhaps it is almost paradoxical but, although the renouncement of authenticity means that the far corners of the earth decline in symbolic significance - no matter how far away from home you travel, you will not find real authenticity at the site you get to - it does not imply that those who travel suffer the same loss of significance. On the contrary, since authenticity can no longer serve to prove the peripherality, the travel involved in getting there might be the only thing left to authenticate the peripherality.

This is all rather complicated, but the heart of the matter is whether the visit causes the travel, or the travel causes the visiting. And travel, the spatial movement, is also for the postmodern tourist possible as an attraction in its own right, despite the decline in the symbolic value of the places that are the goals of the postmodern tourist's travel.

8.2. Travel-tourists and peripheral areas

8.2.1. Return to travel?

The above reflections are *not* meant to imply that the postmodern is a necessary condition for travel to obtain value in its own right. The argument is that postmodernity does not necessarily pose a threat to peripheral areas whose attractiveness in a modern context hinges on perceptions of peripherality. Instead, the meaning of such destinations may change, from being the cause of the travelling because of their (perceived) authenticity to, ultimately, being the cause of travel stopovers.

In fact, this *is* a restoring to honour of the travel dimension. The attraction of peregrination and the deeply felt need to travel are recurrent themes in much travel writing and is prominent in the writings of such famed authors as Chatwin, Pirsig and Theroux.[203] It would be foolish to dismiss the strong influence of travel writing upon the shaping of daydreaming. For, as Urry argues, daydreaming is central to much holiday-making, since daydreaming is not a purely individual activity but a socially organised one.[204]

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[203] E.g. Chatwin, 1977, 1988, 1990; Pirsig, 1981; Theroux, 1976, 1979, 1989. Danish equivalents would be writings such as Jensen, 1998; Kløvedal, 1978; Tin & Rasmussen, 1983. As an interesting aside, many of Theroux's travelogues are about train journeys. In fact, several of them are all about the train journeys and not much about the places to which the trains brought him (e.g. Theroux, 1976; Theroux, 1979). Not only do trains imply *true travelling* in the discourse of travel, as opposed to "transport" (just as the stagecoach was a century or so ago - as opposed to trains!); furthermore there is a certain nostalgic ring to the notion of trains and train travel (Dann, 1994).

[204] Urry, 1990b: 83.

In the structuring of the story, many travel accounts or travel fictions resemble the narrative structure underlying many classic myths involving travel: the hero embarks on the journey, not only because he wants to, but also because he feels he has to. He travels far and overcomes many obstacles on his way to the encounter with the beast, slays it and returns home, apparently the same; yet he is not unchanged, the journey and the experiences have transformed him, and he is unable to find rest at home. Soon, therefore, he embarks on another journey, from which he does not return.

Apart from slaying the beast, a key trope in myths involving travel is the transformation of the self which travelling brings about, a theme which is also present in the religious pilgrimage.[205] More to the point of pleasure travel, Bruner forcefully argues that the notion of transformation of self through tourism and travel is a powerful part of tourism discourse, and furthermore that, although tourism advertising abounds with examples of the theme, it should not be dismissed merely as the hyperbolic language of tourism advertising. For even though the actual tourist usually does not personally experience a transformation of self, the theme is essential in the socially constructed idea of what tourism is all about.[206] Against this background it seems reasonable to suggest that, although the attraction of travel has not been much studied, and although in much tourism travel is seen as just a necessary evil for the getting from A to B, throughout the history of tourism the transcendence of travel has nevertheless been a constituting figure in the discourse of tourism.

Tourism discourse is a growing field of research and its scope has been considerably extended. However, much work still needs to be done, also in term of research critiques. For tourism discourse studies may be creating their own discourse, in which images of tourist places are assigned an *a priori* privileged position as research object. For one thing it means that the influence of the discourse of tourism upon the non-touristic everyday life back home in the generating societies, what one might term *reverse impact*, is still left almost unstudied. More pertinent to the subject of the present study is the fact that it also leaves certain elements of the travel dimension of tourism somewhat in the dark. Not that the travel dimension is disregarded, but the value of travel for the understanding of site or sight is only reflected on in passing.

In his study of The North Cape, Jacobsen remarks that *Easing the access often makes a place less elevated or impressive*.[207] Part of the attraction of a place which is presented as The end of the world[208] is the travel involved in getting there. This is a parallel to the argument of the previous chapter, and both cases illustrate that it is relevant to study how perceptions of site and sight are influenced by the travel involved.[209]

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205   Turner & Turner, 1978. Cf. Morinis, 1992, on the convergence of pilgrimage and tourism.
206   Bruner, 1991.
207   Jacobsen, 1997a: 353.
208   Jacobsen, 1997a, 1997b; Jacobsen, Heimtun & Nordbakke, 1998.
209   Blomgren & Sørensen, 1998. Sørensen, 1997.

In the case of Bornholm, the travel needed to get to there does not emit the right signal to backpackers; it does not sufficiently connote peripherality. For, although Bornholm can be classified as peripheral, and although a sojourn on Bornholm is likely to evoke subjective perceptions of peripherality, these characteristics are on a lower level than for many other peripheral areas in Europe. And in the eyes of the backpacker the lower level of peripherality is not sufficiently compensated for by any rigours of travel. *Getting there is too easy*!

8.2.2. Independent travellers and destinations in peripheral areas

If we return to the Bornholm case study within that context, it is evident that the Bornholm data does not explicitly corroborate the many theories concerning changing tourism. The corroboration is more implicit, in that the absence of independent travellers to Bornholm is in consistency with such theories' view of the motivational and attraction-demanding features of *new tourism*. Simply put, the theories in general seem to indicate that one should not expect to find many such new tourists on Bornholm - and this expectation is certainly corroborated with respect to independent travellers.

Although not hard evidence, the data on backpackers on Bornholm, plus general knowledge on backpacker tourism, leads the author to conclude that it is pointless to try to attract large numbers of backpackers to Bornholm. Bornholm falls between the two extremes which attract backpackers. In the eyes of the backpacker, Bornholm is neither urban and throbbing, nor remote, exotic or in other ways symbolising "far away and much different". If thought of at all among backpackers, it is likely to be in terms such as cosy, romantic, rural; but without perceptions of *difference* from other places which present the same impression, and with the travel involved being perceived as unchallenging, Bornholm is in all likelihood not considered at all by the great majority of backpackers. It is simply disregarded. All the more so since none of the attractions on Bornholm is a must which could compensate for the perceived lack of *difference* in backpacker terms.

Attracting itinerants, however, may be a less futile matter. Both practical conditions and the difference in the ritual character of their tourism make them less inclined to seek out the extremes. Bornholm is thus more likely to appeal to itinerants than to backpackers, both in terms of geographical preferences and in terms of perceived attractiveness. Furthermore, since a growth in the itinerant mode of tourism not only seems a logical conclusion of general shifts in demand motivations but may also be a favoured mode of tourism among the growing number of ex-backpackers, the growth potential for this mode of tourism may merit some consideration. Whether itinerant tourism offers any business potential specifically for Bornholm is beyond the scope of this study, but in more general terms it seems likely that many peripheral destinations who cannot attract backpackers will be able to attract itinerants.

One might ask whether there should be any reason to try to attract backpackers or itinerants to any destination - after all, they are likely to stay for a shorter time and spend less than single destination tourists. Yet, in a broader context, the reflections upon destination

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evolution throughout this study indicate that backpackers and (other self-perceived) explorers often function as path breakers, destination discoverers, and development momentum creators, more or less as described by TALC and Plog's model. Moreover, their presence at such an emerging destination is not necessarily limited to an initial exploration stage: the use of different destinations at different stages of development for different purposes is a prevalent pattern among backpackers. This means that independent travellers are not only of interest in order to set the wheels of development in motion: they are also potential clients at the subsequent development stage(s) of a peripheral destination.

For, contrary to their own ideology, independent travellers do not avoid the established tourism infrastructure like poison. Wheeller argues that latter-day independent travellers *(...) utilize much of the same infrastructure as the organized tourists and are part of the same system.*[210] Or, as Bruner expresses it: *(...) once the tourist infrastructure is in place, the traveler can hardly avoid the well trodden path of the tourist.*[211] The author's studies of backpackers and other nomadic *anti-tourists* leads him to conclude that, if there ever has been much of a difference, *nowadays the distinction between tourist and traveller is not so much one of differences in actual performance, as it is one of self-perception.* However, what is quite underexposed in tourism research is how the use of established touristic facilities is structurally fitted into the travel of the anti-tourists, and how such tourists perceive their own use of such facilities.

Nevertheless, attracting travel-tourists not only makes sense in relation to the initial kick-starting of destination development. Travel-tourism may also supply an important clientele during a critical transition period from non-institutionalised to institutionalised tourism, and the Bornholm data calls attention to the fact that travel-tourists may constitute a significant segment even at later stages of development. One might even speculate on whether a conscious and strategic *use* of independent travellers at the initial stages can be used to speed up, yet still keep under control, the dynamics of destination development. Hampton argues along such lines and actually goes one step further, by arguing, in economic as well as social terms, that one might also consider whether it is always desirable for the host population and the host country to go beyond the initial stages of destination development.[212]

8.3.   The end of conventional taxonomies?

In an interesting comment, Teigland notes that, even though there is widespread consensus on the supposition that tourism is becoming more and more self-organised, a couple of studies concerning the changes in the German holiday market from 1970 to 1990, actually indicate that organised trips cover a growing share of the total number of trips![213] If these results denote a general tendency within the Western world it would seem to shake the

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210   Wheeller, 1992: 105.
211   Bruner, 1991: 247.
212   Hampton, 1998.
213   Teigland, 1996: 187-188.

foundation of this study, which is based on the assumption of a growing significance of independence and individualism in tourism. However, the general assumptions and the specific studies may not necessarily be contradictory.

First of all, a proportional increase of organised trips does not preclude a numerical growth of self-organised trips. Secondly, the changes may not only be quantitative: a qualitative change is likely to have occurred as well. In simple terms, this means that, if more people travel longer distances, this is likely to cause a growth in the need for the institutionalised tourism system. Thirdly, the growing importance of individualism and independence in tourism may not necessarily articulate itself fully at the practical level, it may be that the articulation is more social or ideological. This means that the difference is in how tourists view their tourism rather than in what they actually do - but it still signals a growing importance of individualism and independence. Thus, Teigland's comment gives rise to a critical reconsideration of the classic dichotomic separation between organised (institutiona-lised) and self-organised (non-institutionalised) tourists. For it may be that what is happening is that such taxonomies are declining in explanatory value. These issues will occupy this last section.

Throughout this study a differentiation has been made between the organised and the self-organised holiday tourist. It has been argued that this must be seen as an analytical distinction rather than an actual, absolute difference. Yet, both popularly and scientifically, a distinction between organised and non-organised is prevalent and it structures much understanding of tourism. Expressed in slightly different terms, the distinction between organised and non-organised is one of whether the tourist buys a manufactured product, or manufactures his/her own product. However, one might raise the question of whether the diffuse area in between is growing. Is the composing of one's personal holiday product becoming one of combining semi-manufactured products? Is that the essence of the future of the tailor-made holiday - that one uses different tailors for different elements of one's holiday?

The widespread consensus within tourism research on the subject of growing independence and individualism can easily be rethought in this slightly alternative way. That is, a growing independence may not result in a shift from the one extreme of the fully packaged to the other extreme of the fully ad hoc self-organised. Instead it may result in a shift from both extremes to something in between, the individually executed combination of various semi-manufactured modules, acquired from one or several suppliers. This cannot be dismissed as mere futuristic ruminations. In fact, Bornholm supplies ample evidence on its actual existence as it is not uncommon for holidaymakers to book a summerhouse from an agency, book the ferry ticket from the *Bornholmstrafikken* and use one's own car for the transportation. Other examples from other destinations can easily be found. In such cases, whether the self-composed combinations are classified as organised or self-organised may be almost accidental, since this may depend both on the methodology of the study in question and on how informants perceive their own actions.

Actually, the Bornholm example may be even more far-reaching in its implications. For what it also points towards is the possibility that the individual piecing together of semi-manufactured products may have taken place for quite some time. If this is in fact the case it not only calls into question the explanatory value of conventional parameters of tourist classification, it also calls attention to the possible existence of deeply rooted biases within the tourism research discourse. At the very least it points towards contemplating whether a distinction between organised and self-organised can be used at all objectively, or, as is the opinion of the author, whether its main value lies in the analysis of certain tourists' self-perception, in its social use as a distinction-creator by those who perceive themselves as self-organised.

However, even though individual piecing together of various semi-manufactured products to form a holiday is probably neither a new nor an uncommon phenomenon, it seems reasonable to suggest that the actual opportunities to do so are now growing. Both for suppliers and for customers, technological developments are likely to reduce previous structural impediments of information and communication for such a development. The rapid growth of the internet and the World Wide Web (WWW) have provided the suppliers of semi-manufactured tourism products with an easier market access, and as more and more potential customers become familiar and comfortable with the use of WWW more and more potential customers will be able to piece together their own designer holiday, without the assistance of a travel agent or tour operator.

An example from the recent future could be that a customer, by means of a tour operator's WWW homepage, books a starter kit, consisting of air transport, a hotel room for the first night, and transfer between the airport and the hotel,[214] whereas the other elements of the holiday (e.g. travel insurance, four days of farm holiday, seven days at a beach hotel, a day trip on a fishing boat) are bought directly from the supplier by means of the WWW and without the interference of professional middle men. All done as instant booking, confirmation and payment. The coming into being of such options means that any objective distinction between institutionalised and non-institutionalised becomes even more blurred than *de facto* it already is.

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214   Such starter kits, with a content more or less as described above, have been available for several years for the inter-continental backpacker tourist, to be purchased by conventional means from a travel agent. After the first night or nights of acclimatisation at the pre-booked hotel out there, the backpackers are then presumed to fend for themselves, if necessary with advice and assistance from the travel agent's own local backpacker assistance bureaux. Who said anything about counter-tourism? The upsurge of such starter-kits for the backpacker market can be seen as yet another indicator of the growth of backpacker tourism, in the sense that they seem to be targeted towards the hesitant yet prospective backpacker who prefers a less swift and more secure transition into the strangeness out there. This is all the truer since the starter kits seem primarily to be using the most popular backpacker gateways where the backpacker service infrastructure is already well established (e.g. Bangkok, Singapore, Jakarta, Kathmandu) and thus where the transition from here to there already involves the least practical difficulties in terms of obtaining local transport and lodging. In ritual terms, the backpacker travel agent has manufactured a less difficult separation stage. But although counter-tourism isn't what it used to be (if it ever was!) and although the author has noted advertisements for starter kits containing up to nine separate elements, the users of such starter kits definitely do not perceive themselves as organised tourists. Thereby it also provides an excellent example of the difference between objective classification and subjective perception of organisational matters.

From a supply point of view, the appropriation of such new booking behaviour means that small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) within the tourism industry will be less hampered by traditional structural constraints, especially previous barriers of scale, whereby a certain magnitude is necessary in order handle volume tourism. This is often considered a key problem for the development of alternatives to volume tourism.[215] For peripheral areas this could be of great importance since it may enable the exploitation of niche areas hitherto considered too small to be profitable to market. This could be supported by the building of SME-networks, which the new electronic means of communication may further, and the direct customer contact which they provide.[216]

Yet this leads directly back to the issue of the social importance of organisation. For an interesting question is how and to what extent the resolutely independent travellers will use possibilities of piecing together one's own holiday out of semi-manufactured modules?

On the one hand there *are* indicators which suggest that, even among the most footloose tourists, who see themselves as a latter day counterpart to archetypal travellers of former times (*once there were travellers*),[217] the new information technology is used, both in the pre-travel stage and while on the road. The homepages of Lonely Planet are noteworthy in that they not only supply information about their guidebooks, one can also find fresh travel information which is not included in the latest edition of the travel guidebook. This includes a "reboot" of selected guidebooks, i.e. a printable update on important changes since the publication of the last edition. Lonely Planet also operates electronic notice boards for backpacker-to-backpacker communication which take on the character of a virtual grapevine: requests from prospective backpackers who seeks information about specific areas and options, or who seek a travel companion for specific periods in specific areas, the latest information which backpackers have communicated to the publisher[218] or want to communicate directly to other/future backpackers, and so on.[219] Large parts of the grapevine, even tales and myths,[220] can now be reached electronically, and if one takes a closer look at the character of the information which backpackers' divulge on such noticeboards, it seems like the backpacker travel culture and ideology is repeated in hyper-space, despite the lack of physical contact. A growing number of backpackers also tap the virtual grapevine while on the road: information on the whereabouts of Internet-cafés and other means of internet

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215   Britton, cited in Pearce, 1994: 29.
216   Ioannides & Debbage, 1997.
217   Contemporary role models for such independent travellers typically include the previously mentioned traveller-authors Chatwin and Theroux.
218   Se note 184.
219   All the major travel guidebook publishers now have homepages with a content more or less like those of Lonely Planet. The homepages for the three guidebook publishers discussed previously are: Lonely Planet: http://www.lonelyplanet.com/; Let's Go: http://www.letsgo.com/; Rough Guides: http://www.travel.roughguides.com/.
220   Se note 145.

access is much in demand on the real grapevine, and is included in the latest editions of the travel guidebooks.[221]

On the other hand, the author has yet to come across any resolutely independent travellers who have booked parts of their trip through the Internet. And in fact this is not surprising. For somehow it seems to be a contradiction in terms to combine all the electronic wizardry with the travel-to-encounter-the-not-so-modern ideology which is still a mainstay in most contemporary backpacker tourism. One only has to think of how it will affect the image of, say interior Papua New Guinea, with its inherent impression of adventurous travel and exotic encounters, if, prior to departure, one booked one's lodgings in the mountain tribe's long house by means of the tribal welcome homepage. Nostalgic evolutionism may not survive this!

Less radically phrased, a growing instant-booking access to areas which were previously favoured haunts of those tourists who deliberately seek what they perceive to be the not-so-modern, may force such tourists to search for it in other places. But then again, not necessarily so. Perceptions of pre-modern or not-so-modern and of the peripherality which such notions most often imply, are not timeless and unchanging.[222] As long as perceptions (be they real or imagined) of a disparity, a development difference between visitor and visited, are still viable, explorer-tourism to the area is not a contradiction in terms, not even if the tourists in question themselves employ the instant booking-system.

Nevertheless, instant electronic (booking) access to the far corners of the earth, no matter where one is located, does imply an erosion of the concepts of space and place, and of home and away. It does not necessarily have to mean that independent travel in general is approaching the qualitative quantum leap of going postmodern, but it supports the suggestion that elements of the postmodern can be found in contemporary society,[223] and also in independent travel.

A core issue of this last chapter has been to reconsider and question the dichotomy between organised and self-organised. In connection with both conceptual and practical matters, the self-evidence of the dichotomy for the objective classification of how the tourist organises his/her holiday has been questioned. However, it must be reiterated that, when it comes to analysing how many tourists themselves perceive how they organise their holiday, the dichotomy seems to be as valid as ever! In objective terms, the development towards semi-manufactured products encapsulates certain likely changes in both tourism products and customer behaviour and as such it is very interesting for the tourism industry and may in particular reduce old barriers for tourism enterprises in peripheral areas. But in terms of

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221 Actually, it seems that free e-mail addresses on the internet (yahoo, hotmail, etc.) are rapidly replacing poste restante and "snail mail" as the main way of communication with friends and relatives back home. The global backpacker is probably online once or twice a week. One might thus presume that the future far, far out is where there is no net access!
222 Cf. Blomgren & Sørensen, 1998.
223 Cf. Bauman, 1992.

tourism as a social or ideological configuration it is important to bear in mind that, for many tourists, the matter of tourism organisation is a subjective condition. Irrespective of how many semi-manufactured elements they have bought before departure or during the trip, they may still perceive themselves as self-organised.

Until recently, tourism research has tended to dismiss the importance of independent multiple destination tourism. If considered at all, the opinion has apparently been that it was very modest in numbers and, being low-budget, not very interesting in economic terms - the local planning approach more often than not being how to filter it away. There is still a dearth of studies, especially of the less conspicuous types of travel-tourists, but a growing number of publications have recently treated backpackers. Furthermore, the appearance of a few conceptual studies have promoted a growing recognition of the diversity of multiple destination tourism patterns. No distinct discourse or schools of thought on the subject have appeared as yet within tourism research, but the growing number of publications have furthered our awareness and our understanding of the phenomenon.

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9.   Conclusions

The data, contemplations and interpretations presented in this report can be summarised in the following conclusions.

The study has presented empirical material at two levels of classification. The category of travel-tourists, self-organised multiple destination pleasure tourists defined by means of practical travel matters, is located at a generic level. A segment of the travel-tourists consists of the independent travellers, defined by means of self-perception rather than objective parameters. Independent travellers are characterised by a travel attitude that ascribes much importance to and derives much meaning from spatial and organisational matters of the holiday, from a perception of themselves as self-organised and nomadic. A further segmentation of independent travellers can be made along the lines of the ritual character of their tourism: whereas the ritual character of backpacker tourism is most fittingly described as rite of passage, the ritual character of itinerant tourism is better described as a rite of intensification.

The generic category of travel-tourists was studied by means of data from a departure survey of tourists to Bornholm. On the one hand, the data demonstrated a higher share of travel-tourists than conventional destination development thinking would lead to expect. On the other hand, this could not be explained by referring to purported fundamental changes in tourism consumption. This was concluded from the fact that novelty seeking, which is often assumed to characterise these changes, could not be detected in the first/repeat visit rates of the travel-tourists. In fact, travel-tourists exhibited a higher proportion of repeat visitors than any of the organised tourist categories. These results suggest the value of further reflections and studies on the generic category of travel-tourists. For it may be that self-organised multiple destination tourism has long had a greater size than its representation in tourism research would lead to assume. Certainly, the phenomenon deserves much more research attention than it has attracted hitherto.

For several reasons, the backpacker segment of independent travellers is the core topic of this study. Firstly, the author has researched this tourist type before in other locations; secondly, comparative material exists, although limited in amount; and thirdly, backpackers seem to be the most relevant type in relation to the issue of intrepid tourists, desti-

nation development and peripheral areas. The main backpacker trails and destinations where a specialised service sector is located and where the backpackers spend most of their travel time are usually where backpacker tourism is studied. This was also the case for the author's previous fieldwork among backpackers. In this study, however, the subject was studied off the main trails, at a destination that does not attract many backpackers. It was therefore interesting to investigate whether those backpackers who did come to Bornholm deviated in any way from the mainstream backpackers to be found along the main European trails. For although most time is spent along the same routes, almost all backpackers do leave these trails from time to time and for various reasons. It was concluded that the backpackers on Bornholm did *not* deviate from the mainstream of backpackers, neither demographically nor in social or motivational terms. The only deviance was the inclusion of Bornholm in their travel. For only a few backpackers were encountered on Bornholm, despite an intensive search. Furthermore, the inclusion of Bornholm in their travel was more or less coincidental, and not a result of the attraction of Bornholm as such.

The issue of the non-inclusion of Bornholm in the travel schedules of backpackers in Europe was considered at length in the report. Deliberations were based partly on the data obtained on the island, partly on the author's knowledge of and ethnographic insight into the backpacker culture. It was found that the reason for the absence of backpackers was *not* the result of a conscious rejection of Bornholm. In other words, backpackers did *not* reject Bornholm because of the high level of tourism development there. Bornholm was not perceived as "touristy" among the backpackers who did visit the island, and it is not likely that many backpackers have rejected Bornholm for this reason. The cause for absence was in all likelihood located elsewhere.

The findings of the study suggests that the reason why Bornholm is not attractive to backpackers is that, in their eyes, *Bornholm is not exotic or remote enough*! Being very much a rite of passage type of tourism, backpacker tourism is very much about challenge and self-testing, and firmly anchored to the liminal community of backpackers - initiates who on a voluntary basis have temporarily stepped outside normal social norms. Viewed from such a perspective, Bornholm is not different enough or remote enough to serve a self-testing purpose. Among backpackers, Bornholm, in all likelihood, is not rejected; it is not even considered - it is simply disregarded. Bornholm may be perceived as cosy, quaint, rural, but in no way special enough to include in the journey, and in no way *in*accessible enough to merit sustained backpacker attention. *Getting there is too easy*.

The itinerant segment of independent travellers, while still being few in numbers, seem to be larger than the backpacker segment on Bornholm. This makes sense structurally. Being a rite of intensification rather than a rite of passage type of tourism, the self-testing value of travelling is less important for itinerants than for backpackers, and therefore the perception of the destination does not to the same degree have to reflect this. Furthermore, since itinerant tourism is usually performed within a shorter time frame, Bornholm is probably a more relevant option for the itinerant than for the backpacker.

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Interestingly, it turned out that quite a few itinerants had a past backpacker career, and their previous backpacker experience clearly influenced both choice of travel mode, organisational matters, and perceptions of tourism and travel. With the growth of backpacker tourism in recent years it is likely that the impact of backpacker tourism on post-backpacker patterns of tourism demand will expand in the future. The logical conclusion of this would be that there is a growing market potential in itinerant tourism. However, the market potential may exist more in principle than in practice, for the simple reason that, unlike backpackers, the itinerant segment is derived entirely analytically. Itinerants are not a homogeneous segment, and although the tourism market is getting more and more accustomed to cater to the individual pleasure tourist's needs, tastes and desires, itinerants are difficult to communicate with as a segment. Itinerants and backpackers share a key characteristic that distinguish them from single destination tourists: they are unterritorialised - they come from many places, they go to many places, and they go to more than one destination on each trip. But furthermore, and, contrary to the backpackers, itinerants cannot be understood by means of a concept of touristic culture. Thus, whereas for backpackers, their disparate character is countered by an identity-producing and profile-making culture, the equivalent is not the case for itinerants. Itinerant tourism and itinerants are analytic concepts which makes sense sociologically, but not as discrete, identifiable market segments. Nevertheless, the sociological significance of this segment, and especially of its likely future growth, should not be overlooked.

In total the numbers of independent travellers on Bornholm were small, and at first sight this would seem to corroborate conventional tourism development models such as those described in chapter two. However, although corresponding to the models, the data do not corroborate them, for the simple reason that the models' rationale does not correspond to the independent travellers' reasoning. Contrary to expectations caused by the models, the absence of independent travellers on Bornholm can *not* be ascribed to its of stage development. In other words, the absence of independent travellers is not a matter of conscious rejection. Independent travellers are not scared away by impressions of a "touristy" destination, for in all likelihood among such tourists Bornholm does not have this reputation. Rather, it has no reputation at all!

The above gives rise to a final conclusion regarding the theoretical and conceptual issues of this study. For it exemplifies that, in many ways, tourism research is still governed by perspectives, concepts and assumptions whose application value are doubtful, to say the least. And in this respect, the issue of independent travellers is interesting, for it brings to light some fundamental dimensions in prevailing tourism research discourse.

First of all it is interesting to note the discrepancy between, on the one hand, the central role that such travellers are implicitly allotted in the tourism research discourse, and, on the other hand, the limited amount of actual empirical studies of such tourists.

Secondly, the study of multiple destination tourism demonstrates that the theories and concepts of tourism research are still very much destination-bound. Within tourism re-

search, travel is to a large degree viewed as a practical matter, as transport. The attraction of the spatial movement and the influence of the travel on the choice and perception of destinations is clearly an area that awaits further exploration.

The above also points towards the third point to be mentioned here, namely the fact that the inevitability of many concepts and classifications used within tourism research may be questionable. In this study, this was exemplified by means of the issue of holiday organisation. It was pointed out that, in fact, the distinction between organised (institutionalised) and non-organised (non-institutionalised) may not be as clear cut as hitherto presumed. Not only can it be expected that, in practice, technological advances will further blur any distinction; we can also question whether a clear distinction has really ever existed, or whether the alleged distinction belongs more to the realm of travel and tourism ideology.

And yet, recent changes in tourism demand and consumption are often claimed to be responsible for a greater emphasis on individuality, novelty/activity, and nomadism. The two would seem difficult to unite. However, this author would argue quite the opposite. It may well be that *tourism research has to some degree mistaken tourists' narratives for tourists' actual deeds*. For what is at stake here are not the actual, objective organisational and spatial matters, but the tourists' perceptions of and emphasis on such matters. *If more social value is ascribed to matters of organisation and nomadism, more tourists will understand their tourism activities by means of such attributes*. In other words, like any other social and cultural activities, tourism activities are subject to constant reinterpretation, according to changing norms and values. And it is then up to tourism research to improve its abilities, not only to distinguish between tourists' self-representations and their actual actions, but also to grasp the interaction of act, attitude and self-perception. It is hoped that the present report has assisted in this respect.

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