



School of Business,
Economics and Law
GÖTEBORG UNIVERSITY

**Tourist Identity Expression through
Postmodern Consumption - A Focus on the
Home-Exchange Phenomenon**

Helena Arente and Veronika Kiiski

Graduate Business School

Tourism and Hospitality Management
Master Thesis No 2005:78
Supervisor: Eva Gustavsson

Abstract

Postmodern society has facilitated the expansion of alternative, non-institutionalized travel trends, which oppose mainstream tourism by providing consumers with a broader range of opportunities for self-actualization. Home-exchange presents special interest, as it is neither a new nor a small trend in independent tourism, yet has received little attention from the academic research society. By temporarily exchanging homes, consumers have a unique opportunity to organize custom tailored trips without soliciting the services of travel mediators. The main purpose of this study is to examine the home-exchange phenomenon using the concepts of motivation, lifestyle and identity expressions of the tourism consumers. In-depth interviews with home-exchange participants from two countries (Canada and Sweden) provided the empirical data for a deeper understanding of this trend's practices. The findings indicate that the home-exchange phenomenon to some extent could be understood as an expression of emancipation from the traditional tourist image, and as such home-exchange plays a role in the identity construction of postmodern travelers. That fact underpins the call for the development of new traveling activities, through which tourism consumption can be mobilized by tourism providers exposing consumers' self-identity.

Key-words: tourism, travel, home-exchange, home-swapping, alternative tourism, DIY tourism, FIT, consumption, postmodernism, motivation, lifestyle, identity.

Acknowledgements

Our most heartfelt thanks go to all the home-exchanger families that agreed to participate in the study. Contributing not only their personal time, but also sharing some of the intimate experiences, each of those people gave us a special inspiration for work.

Next, we give gratitude to our supervisor, PhD Eva Gustavsson, for the advice and constructive criticism that helped us to improve the quality of the study.

Helena's deepest appreciation goes also to Matt Haley, for all his love and strong support.

And, finally, we thank each other for the smooth teamwork we were able to accomplish writing this Master Thesis in two different countries.

Helena Arente and Veronika Kiiski

Göteborg, January 2006

List of Tables and Figures

Figure 1. ‘Quadrangulation’ model35

Table 1. A list of the study participants46

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

1.1 Problem area and discussion.....	1
1.2. Home-exchange phenomenon in focus	3
1.2.1. Evolution of home-exchange	3
1.2.2. Leading home-exchange business organizations.....	4
1.2.3. Voices pro and con the home-exchange	5
1.3. Disposition of the study.....	6

2. Literature review

2.1 Conceptualization behind the literature review	8
2.2 Tourism and Postmodernism.....	8
2.2.1. The phenomenon and its research settings	8
2.2.2. Features of Postmodernism in Tourism	11
Globalization	11
Post-Fordism in contemporary tourism	12
Massification and commodification	13
Authenticity and hyperreality	14
Stylization of tourism	17
Travel and tourism relationship.....	18
2.2.3 Understanding tourism and tourist typologies.....	19
2.3 Tourism motivation.....	22
2.3.1 Tourist drive.....	22
2.3.2 Mixing psychological and sociological perspectives.....	22
2.3.3 Logos and Eros	24
2.4. Focus on touristic consumption	25
2.4.1 Initiators of tourism demand.....	25
2.4.2 Evolution of tourism consumption	26
2.4.3 Philosophy of consumption	26
2.5. A Tourist's place in society	29
2.5.1 Identity concept.....	29
2.5.2 Lifestyle influences.....	30
2.5.3 Identity expression through symbolic consumption	31
2.6 Summary of the literature review.....	33

3. Home-exchange as a research area	
3.1 'Quadrangulation' of home-exchange with non-institutionalized tourism trends	34
3.1.1 Vacation ownership / rental	35
3.1.2 Contemporary cultural tourism	37
3.1.3 Action leisure pursuits	38
3.1.4 Long-term budget travel	39
3.2 Research objectives	40
4. Methodology	
4.1 Methodological issues related to research subject	42
4.1.1 Eclectic way in qualitative tourism research	42
4.1.2 Interpreting phenomena of qualitative research	43
4.2 Explanation of procedure	44
5. The home-exchangers' story told to us	48
6. Analysis	
6.1 Motivation	54
6.2 Lifestyle	62
6.3 Identity	71
7. Conclusions	76
Content footnotes	82
Bibliography	83
Appendix A	93
Appendix B	94
Appendix C	95
Appendix D	96
Appendix E	97

1. Introduction

1.1 Problem area and discussion

Last summer I was a Parisian. My family and I would wake up in the morning to the sound of pigeons in the courtyard garden, and I'd head out to my neighbourhood boulangeries for butter croissants and pain au chocolate. I'd make cafe au lait for Jeff and me in the kitchen, and we'd enjoy our petit dejeuner with the sound of French sirens, delivery trucks and neighbours in the street below. I shopped for cheese, dinner and wine in the specialty food stores along Rue Cler, and I visited the cafe next door for an afternoon kir or a quick cafe. I loved my new life, even if only for a month.

(Barbara Carver, an experienced home-exchanger, as cited in Ottawa Citizen Saturday, December 27, 2003)

The quotation above is one of the many stories presented in media towards an exciting, 'hot' way of travel. Yet, home-exchange is neither a new nor a small trend, with a tremendously little awareness about its existence among the ordinary citizens. We, as representatives of the general public, got the first glimpse of the phenomenon by watching an entertaining television program on families that were filmed during the swaps. Ignorantly estimating home-exchange as a very new trend, we were surprisingly astonished to find that there exists a huge community of practitioners of this way of traveling. In fact, many of the exchangers had years and years of home-swapping experience. As the students of tourism program we got very interested to examine this phenomenon deeper in order to give it a new academic look.

Behavioral patterns of tourism consumption in the postmodern societies has undergone certain alterations, and brought up consumers' nostalgia for self-actualization. Increasingly, the consumers desire to become active participants in the tourism performances, using a particular way of traveling that can be individually connected with some aspects of their private lives. This tendency has facilitated the expansion of non-institutionalized, Free Independent Travel (FIT) and Do-It-Yourself (DIY) trends, which oppose mainstream tourism by providing consumers with a broader range of opportunities for their identity expression. Thus, the studies of the identity address many ongoing questions about tourism practices and politics of tourism.

The literature review prepared for this study indicates that consumer behavior in tourism traditionally has focused on motivation (Dann, 1981; Nash, 1981; Pearce, 1982), typologies (Boorstin, 1964; Cohen, 1974; Smith, 1989), and destination choice and the decision process

itself (Iso-Ahola, 1982; Goodall, 1991; Mansfeld, 1992). Plenty of models based on internal and external stimuli, influenced by personality, social, and economic factors, have been developed (Hudson, 1999). Yet, as pointed out by Hudson (1999), from a socio-cultural point of view, these models are both too stereotypical and generalized. For instance, the implications of the increasingly popular trend of tourists who do not want to be ('feel like') total strangers to a destination while they evolve in the local community. Should they be considered non-users of tourism products, as are people with the lack of motivation, or is it just a constraint they are facing caused by a specific 'non-appealing' tourist label? Hudson's observations raised some serious thoughts in our minds. With our discovery of home-exchange websites, filled with offers of immersion into another culture and society without 'becoming a tourist', it hit us! *Home-exchangers* pose as an excellent example of 'tourists' who do not want to be considered as tourists. These are people who, *while traveling*, want to live other people's lives, reside in their homes, cook in their kitchens, chat with their neighbors, and practice their hobbies. In short, transpose their lives onto someone else's. This was one of the hidden 'types' of tourists perfectly representing postmodern consumption patterns. As noted by Brown, "postmodernity is a depthless world of simulation", where what is imagined, and how one presents them self, is more important and/or better than what is real (1995, p. 80).

Our primary aspiration for this study came from individual apprehensions that being a tourism and hospitality professional involves many facets; not only an understanding of tourist motivation, their consumption patterns and cultural/service encounters, but also an appreciation for the fascinating variety of identity expressions and lifestyles an individual can pursue. It is also clearly important to become a trend predictor, and to trigger the imagination of place and space when developing a marketing strategy.

For instance, Cooper (2002) with regards to earlier work by Pearce (1982) discussed the relevance of the socio-cultural network in non-institutionalized travel. Touristic consumption encounters where the tourist is treated as an equal, or even as a friend, form the basis of the 'non-tourism' understanding of various tourism trends, especially home-exchange. Encounters which the tourist perceives as non-touristic – hence natural, true and meaningful - provides them with a feeling of really being treated 'Not-Like-Tourists' (Cooper, 2002).

It has been pointed out in marketing and consumer behavior research that there are very little, if any needs and wants of humans that cannot be satisfied by the market (Gabriel & Lang, 1995). Yet, customers are the ones who create the market, not the actual offers. No products or services can be applied to everybody or be truly global even if they seem truly

generic, since people are far from generic. People are demographically and psychographically diverse, and the socio-cultural environment of their locality influences them differently. Sony's Walkman is often used as an example for this paradox: in the Western world the motive for possessing it is that of enjoyment of music without being disturbed by others. This was not the reason for developing and inventing the Walkman by a Japanese man – he wanted to listen to music without disturbing others. Handy here comes a quote of Brown:

How, moreover, can we forget those supreme monuments to the new product development process – fat-free fat, beefless beef, decaffeinated coffee, alcohol-less alcohol, sugar-free sugar and, as the appropriately hyperreal brand name, *I Can't Believe It's Not Butter!*, constantly reminds us, butterless butter? (1995, p. 115)

Consumer choice has become a fetish, a prize for the winner in the postmodern consumption game (Gabriel & Lang, 1995, p.187). Thus, with this study we have set our aspirations to study the trends of postmodern travel, focusing on one in particular – the home-exchange.

1.2 Home-exchange phenomenon in focus

1.2.1 Evolution of home-exchange

The proliferation of mass media information sources such as television and the Internet created the unique communication environment where new and remarkable trends of tourism are bursting into bloom. One of them, home-exchange, provides modern tourists the extraordinary opportunity to avoid the solicitude of tourism's 'surrogate parents': travel agents, carriers, and hotel managers (Urry, 1990, p.7), and to organize an individually customized tour for their family. A home-exchange vacation is partly cultural immersion, partly creature comfort, and wholly a relief from overspending. An attorney in the San Francisco Bay Area, Elaine Lee, who belongs to a home-exchange program, says: "I save lots of money and I have a kitchen, which helps me save even more. I find that staying in a home, rather than a hotel, really allows me to savor the lifestyle and culture that I'm visiting" (as cited in O'Neill, 2004, p. 93). Thus, home-exchangers have the chance to experience their destination with the insight of somebody who lives there.

According to Consumer Reports Travel Letter (2001) home-exchange started as a thrifty holiday idea mainly for teachers and professors and then quickly spread to retirees who have

the time and urge to travel. Now, working couples, families, and singles are taking notice too, as they realize there is a greater opportunity to travel if they do not have to pay for accommodation. Two parties exchange homes, short or long term, for nothing more than a modest membership fee. Home-exchange companies facilitate the arrangements by offering listings of potential swaps on web sites and in printed directories. People, who are interested in trying home-exchange, can find an exchange partner by either posting an ad or answering someone else's. If one has access to the Internet, the only required thing is to type 'home-exchange' into a search engine to see how many operators are serving the demand worldwide. Online listings and e-mail provide consumers with quick and convenient communication with potential exchange partners. Websites give access to up-to-date listings, photos of exchange properties, and fast two way communications. Dozens of home-exchange companies do business on the web, and they differ in their membership costs as well as in the number and variety of listings they offer. According to O'Neill (2004) it is possible to find homes from palazzi in Italy to beachfront bungalows in the U.S. through exchange clubs, which have Web listings and directories clients can browse for annual fees that range from \$30 to \$125 USD. More than 30,000 people belong to these clubs. Roughly half are families with children still at home, a third are retirees, and the rest are younger couples and singles (p.94).

1.2.2 Leading home-exchange business organizations

The Consumer Reports Travel Letter (2001) gave its highest ratings to two companies, HomeLink and Intervac. They are the oldest operational home-exchange clubs (founded in 1952 and 1953, respectively), and thus likely to be the most stable. Both companies have large databases of listings and official branches in many countries (18 for HomeLink, 29 for Intervac), which certainly demonstrates their worldwide reach. They are also the only ones based in Europe. Membership in these exchange clubs cost \$50 USD per year. People can better score a swap in the target destination by joining a club that most closely matches their needs. There are five major clubs and about 15 specialty clubs (such as one for seniors only). The best reason for joining a particular club is that its listings blanket the region a family is most interested in visiting. Intervac has 7,000 members, of whom nearly 1,300 are Americans and more than three times that many are Western Europeans. By contrast, 3,300 of the 6,000 members of HomeExchange.com are Americans, and the rest are mostly Western Europeans and Australians. Another distinction among clubs: exclusivity. Most allow only members to view phone numbers, addresses and private e-mail addresses. But

"open network" clubs, such as HomeExchange.com, set up blind e-mail addresses at which members receive inquiries. Members can then arrange swaps with non-members who contact them. Although members-only clubs say they offer more privacy, open-network clubs say they supply a larger pool of prospects (Consumer Reports Travel Letter, 2001).

1.2.3 Voices pro and con the home-exchange

The allure of a vacation which includes free accommodation and the chance to explore a destination as if one was a local attracts more and more people to home-exchange. A family does not need to have a fabulous house and/or live in a tourist-worthy destination to participate in a home-exchange. According to home-exchange companies, a participant's small but comfortable home should be fine for most exchangers, who generally appreciate free digs and may be using a house merely as a bedroom between jaunts. For homeowners in small towns or remote locations, finding an exchange partner can be more of a challenge, but it is still possible. "You'll have to work harder, perhaps answering many ads and thinking of creative ways to sell your hometown as an attractive destination" (Consumer Reports Travel Letter, 2001 p.15).

The benefits of home swap are obvious. The money saved by home-exchangers can be substantial - up to thousands of dollars, depending on the length of their stay; they are eliminating not only lodging costs, but often car-rental tariffs, too, since many home-exchange arrangements include use of a vehicle; they can also trim their food budget by shopping locally and eating at their temporary home, cutting down on restaurant meals. Furthermore, they will have a stable base from which to venture out on day trips or longer journeys, and then be able to decompress from those travels in an environment cozier than a hotel room. Other perks: having their home occupied while they are away decreases the risk of burglary, and home-exchange partners may also get a live-in pet-sitter and someone to water their plants.

But there are some concerns, which can be easily underestimated. As says Anne Salmon, who has been swapping the houses over the past 10 years: "If you're precious about your car or house, then don't do it!" (as cited in Craigie, 2003, p. 42). She also recommended starting negotiations 12 months before planning to go, particularly if work commitments restrict holiday times; "...and make sure you have a fair understanding of what's being offered!" (p.42). Craigie (2003) also pointed out:

"... if you're nervous about allowing a stranger to move into your home, your virtual guarantee is that, of course, you are moving into theirs. Problems do arise but, according to HomeLink, not often. It is best to

establish mutual trust as early as possible. Once you have poured over the swap lists and picked, say, three potential targets, communicate by phone, email or snail mail and get to know one another, preferably at least six months before departure.” (p. 45)

Roy Prince, the owner of HomeExchange.com said: “Your aim is to build your comfort level, so by the time you're doing it, the idea that you're exchanging homes with a stranger isn't there. Instead, you feel like you're exchanging with friends" (as cited in Consumer Reports Travel Letter, 2001, p.16).

Furthermore, Consumer Reports Travel Letter (2001) claims that home-exchange is definitely not for everyone:

You have to feel comfortable opening your home and possessions to someone you've probably never met face-to-face. If you have qualms of any kind, you should probably say no. Keep in mind you'll be staying in somebody else's house, which is different from staying in an anonymous hotel room. Your fellow exchanger may have different standards of cleanliness or neatness from yours. (p. 12)

In fact, varying standards of cleanliness rank as the biggest complaint from exchangers, according to Roy Prince, owner of HomeExchange.com, based in Santa Barbara, California. However, owners of several home-exchange companies said the most serious problems they had seen were damaged furniture, broken dishes, the rare occasions when a deal falls through at the last minute, and one thirsty exchanger who helped himself to his host's expensive wine cellar. Roy Prince says: "When I talk to people who exchange two and three times a year and have been doing it for a while, they say, 'We've had experiences that are not perfect, but we continue to do it because the majority of our experiences are still fabulous'" (as cited in Consumer Reports Travel Letter, 2001, p.14).

Additionally, fulfilling the dual roles of host and guest, home-exchange partners will have more responsibilities than if they were checking into a hotel. As guests, they will have to clean up after themselves instead of enjoying complimentary maid service. The host duties can be even more extensive, from making sure their house is clean and hospitable to leaving their exchange partner detailed information on the workings of the household and their hometown's attractions.

1.3. Disposition of the study

In this chapter - *Problem Area and Discussion* - we have conceptualized a demarcation of the home-exchange phenomenon as presented by popular mass media. The following *Literature Review* relates to an in-depth investigation of the academic setting. We also

outline different theoretical approaches related to the concept of the ‘postmodern traveler’ and to contemporary philosophy of consumption. Several interesting questions related to method arose during the theoretical review, and are summarized in the chapter of *Home-Exchange as an Area for Research*. To analyze the empirical records a platform is built, called ‘Quadrangulation’ model. The process of gathering the data is presented in the following *Methodology* chapter. Empirical study is presented in two chapters: *The home-exchangers’ story told to us* and *Analysis*. The first chapter is sketched out as a story, and the latter is analyzed under the spotlight of motivation, lifestyle and identity. Findings of the study are combined in the final chapter – *Conclusions* - where we estimate the possible impact that this rapidly developing trend might have on the tourism industry; reflect our personal attitude to the home-exchange phenomenon; and make suggestions for the further research.

2. Literature review

2.1 Conceptualization behind the literature review

Tourism and culture tend to overlap and there is no clear frontier between the two. Therefore, tourism can be considered a cultural aspect of dynamic contemporary societies, where culture plays a multifaceted role: culture is simultaneously a resource, a product, an experience, and an outcome. Furthermore, many of the changes occurring in the culture of tourism have been explained in terms of postmodernism, post-fordism, flexible accumulation and consumerism, which altogether have been named a postmodern cultural paradigm. This paradigm has brought characteristic features and trends into the development of tourism, which Urry describes as: "... travel rather than tourism; individual choice; avoiding the package holiday-maker; need to be educated traveler, and a global operation that permits individual care and attention" (1990, p.96).

Contemporary tourism in the context of postmodernism is the field of this study, with a focus on the sociology of tourism demand. Although the academic research recognizes destination characteristics that demark the supply of tourism as closely linked to shaping behavioral processes, demand of tourism is often chosen to be a more attractive facet for highlighting the dynamics of tourism consumption from a sociological perspective, due to the focus on socio-cultural needs satisfaction. Thus, only the latter perspective will be in focus of the following literature review.

This chapter begins with an overview of postmodern influence on the tourism marketplace, and is followed by an analysis of the theoretical aspects – motivation, lifestyle, and identity expression - in the demarcation of the postmodern traveler. Furthermore, it should be particularly acknowledged that three authors, N. Wang, J. Urry, and S. Brown, were especially important for undertaking this study as their work inspired and guided our writing.

2.2 Tourism and Postmodernism

2.2.1 The Phenomenon and its Research Settings

If 'modern' is that which is current, up-to-date or progressive, and 'post' is that which lies beyond, comes after or exceeds, how is it possible, outside perhaps of the pages of science fiction, to be beyond the present, to be later than latest, to exceed the extant – to be postmodern? (Brown, 1995, p. 60)

Reviewing literature on postmodernism in relation to tourism, from the perspectives of philosophy, sociology and psychology, the following typical characteristics can be listed for the phenomena: fragmentation, globalization, symbolization, inauthenticity, pastiche, society as a spectacle, consumerism, schizophrenia (construction of multiple realities), humanities and pluralism, and crisis of representation in socio-cultural and intellectual life (Brown, 1995; Ryan, 1997; Wang, 2000). More descriptive characteristics or the 'conditions' have been listed by Hollinshead (1997). To name a few related to tourism: a general attenuation of feeling, a new phase of commodity fetishism, a process of cultural fragmentation, the de-centering of the subject, the implosion of meaning, the collapse of cultural hierarchies, and a broad set of societal and economic shifts where features of life take on a media, consumer or multinationalist dominated hue (1997).

Addressing the research setting of postmodern tourism, Chris Ryan has argued that the contextuality of the industry is the first principal to be studied when pursuing any further studies on understanding tourist experiences and the systems within which the latter occur (1997a). Hollinshead (2004) posted tourism studies as a domain of activity where 'human instrument' forms of assessment are notably in demand because of the broad range of different values which are influential on local and global scenarios (p.84). Wang (2000) has suggested that the tourism discipline as a distinctive academic unit consists of contributions of psychology, sociology, economics and political science. Wooside offered yet a broader range of academic disciplines, adding geography, transportation, marketing, accommodations management, leisure science and strategic management to the above (2000). At the same time it is worth noticing that other academics advise to ascertain the full relevance and validity of historically developed sociological theories, taking into account the transformation they might have undergone during the evolution from modern to postmodern thought (Hollinshead, 1997). Postmodernism thus offers to any study a perspective, a unique means of conceptualizing the research (Brown, 1995).

Wang (2000) has identified Dean MacCannell in *Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings* (1973) as the first example of academic research found connecting tourism with sociological explorations. Considering tourism to be an 'integral element' of postmodernism that projects the structure of this social condition, Wang described MacCannell as defining contemporary tourism as a process of searching for authenticity and meaning that people were unable to find in their own home society, and therefore seek in other places and other cultures. MacCannell also had given a comparison of tourism and revolution as two processes of transformation to avoid the status quo societal

order. Wang developed the idea further by suggesting that postmodern tourism is a kind of cultural rebellion against traditional and mass commoditized tourism (2000, pp. 10-19).

Another widely cited author in relation to tourism in a sociological context is John Urry (1990). The researcher pointed out the 'globalizing' of the contemporary tourism and declared that postmodern conditions increase the 'universalizing' of the 'tourist gaze'. He suggested that objects of the tourist gaze can effectively be classified in terms of three key dichotomies 'of which the romantic/collective is one; others are authentic/inauthentic and historical/modern' (Urry, 1990, p. 83). Together with another well-known author in this field of study author, Rojek, Urry (1997) stated that the development of a postmodern cultural paradigm involves breaking down of conventional distinctions such as high/low culture, cultural/street life, and being home/abroad, that had kept different social practices within different social/spatial locations. Swarbrooke and Horner (1999) wrote that traditional boundaries between *high-brow* and *low-brow* culture and upmarket/downmarket leisure activities are becoming blurred in the condition of postmodernism and tried to apply this concept for the study of consumer behavior in tourism. Furthermore, Sharpley (2003) considered that not only horizontal and vertical structural differentiations in postmodern tourism has been reversed and removed but also the emergence of multinational corporations and the interdependence of economies and organizations across international borders have diminished the distinct status of the nation which leads to the increasingly cosmopolitan character of many societies.

Lash (1990) also seems to be a very commonly cited author in relation to a postmodern cultural paradigm. In 1990, Lash proposed that postmodernism, by contrast to modernism, involves de-differentiation of the 'cultural economy' and makes the distinction between representations and reality problematic: "modernism conceives of representations as being problematic whereas postmodernism problematises reality" (1990, p.13). The researcher also recommended that postmodernism should be thought of as an ideal type of cultural paradigm. Urry (1990) agreed with Lash that the new paradigm can be understood in terms of processes of de-differentiation, but also pointed out that a number of tourist practices have historically prefigured this paradigm. "Tourism is prefiguratively postmodern because of its particular combination of the visual, the aesthetic, and the popular" (Urry, 1990, p.87). Additionally, Sharpley (2003) considered that "this postmodern tourism results primarily from the de-differentiation of tourism place and tourism time, and from the merging of past and present manifested in the nostalgic yearning to experience heritage and authenticity" (pp. 3-14). In relation to this field of study, Wang (2000) wrote that anti-poles of tradition and modernity,

global and local, economy and culture, all are united and integrated into one phenomenon under the sociological research of tourism. Referring to his literature review Wang has commented that tourism altogether presents “the embodiment of a nostalgia that has persisted in modernity” (2000, p. 220).

A significant variation in tourism segmentation is presented also by the divergence of analysis either from the supply- or demand-side point of view. While the demand side is academically researched using mostly motivational theories of tourist psychology (Iso-Ahola, 1982/1983; Pearce, 1982/1988) and social motivations of tourism’s sociological constructs (Cohen, 1974; Krippendorf, 1987; Urry, 1990; Rojek, 1993), the supply side focuses on economical geography of destinations (Borocz, 1996; Williams & Hall, 2002), and anthropology in analysis of developing sustainable yet appealing offers (Nash, 1981).

2.2.2 Features of Postmodernism in Tourism

To be a tourist is one of the characteristics of ‘modern’ experience. Not to ‘go away’ is like not possessing a car or a nice house, so it is a marker of status in modern societies. (Urry, 1990, p.4)

Ryan (1997a), building on Urry’s contribution to this field, has summarized three basic characteristics of postmodern tourists. First, there is a lack of need to leave home to experience the tourist gaze. Second, there is a high awareness of choice of various touristic ‘escape’ pursuits to enhance one’s ego. Last is *ludic* involvement: a shallow apprehension of burlesque and inauthentic yet supposedly kitsch elements of tourism consumption.

A high sense of individualism is another element of postmodern tourism, yet derived more from their apprehension of the intensity of experience rather than rational thought (Ryan, 1997a). Features of postmodern tourism are affected by general development in modern societies, which, as has been argued, do experience the era of postmodernism (Sharpley, 2003). Furthermore, Hollinshead (1999) stated that postmodern ‘nationalist’ tourism acts as a coding machine serving the interests of certain privileged groups.

Globalization

There is a certain viewpoint that globalization, or the creation of a so called *global village*, does not in fact eliminate characteristics such as diversity and variety (refer to Wang, pp. 132-134). Wang (2000) insisted that globalization is indeed simply as a means for easier access to satisfy cultural curiosity, not the ends of it. Ryan argued that although postmodern society finds itself in a hue of increasing fragmentation, on a historical scale it is still more

heterogeneous than it has ever been in the past, reflected by the paradox of integration (1997a). As Lodge has described it in his novel 'Paradise News':

Sitting on a lump of rock beside the Parthenon, watching the tourists milling about, clicking their cameras, talking to each other in different languages, it suddenly struck me: tourism is the new world religion. Catholics, Protestants, Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, atheists – the one thing they have in common is they all believe in the importance of seeing the Parthenon. Or the Sistine Chapel, or the Eiffel Tower. (1991, p. 52)

Also, Wang (2000) argued that postmodernism brought an increasing distinction between tourism production and the consumption site. Touristic space has globally extended, while at the same time touristic consumption at one's own home has become possible as well (Urry, 1990; Ryan, 1997a). Dann has given a precise and witty description of mobility's effects on the tourism phenomenon. By putting a focus on the word 'mobile' or '*mob-ile*', Dann suggested that there is a trend that tourists actually do form this "sense-less mob" (Dann, 1999).

Post-Fordism in contemporary tourism

Wang (2000) has prescribed the *fordism* phenomenon, characterized by routinization, to modernism; and the flexibility of the post-fordism era to postmodernism (refer to pp. 102-107). Urry (1990) set out two ideal types: fordist mass consumption and post-fordist differentiated consumption. Mass consumption can be characterized as purchase of commodities produced under conditions of mass production; a high and growing rate of expenditure; producer rather than consumer dominance; commodities little differentiated from each other by fashion, season, and specific market segments; and relatively limited choice. Differentiated consumption stresses consumption rather than production dominance, as consumer expenditure further increases as a proportion of national income; almost all aspects of social life become commodified; much greater differentiation of purchasing pattern by different market segments; "the growth of a consumer movement and the politicizing of consumption; reaction of consumers again being as a part of a 'mass' and the need for producers to be much more consumer driven" (Urry, 1990, p.14; cf. Gabriel & Lang, 1995). The researcher argued that there is considerable evidence that Western societies have been broadly moving from the former to the latter type and this shift has also been reflected in the changing character of the contemporary tourism. This shift can be defined as swing from 'old tourism', which involved packaging and standardization, to a 'new tourism' which is segmented, flexible and customized (Lash, 1990).

Massification and commodification

In New York City, an official called a three-story pornographic center the ‘McDonald’s of sex’ because of its ‘‘cookie-cutter cleanliness and compliance with the law.’’ The McDonaldization of sex suggests that no aspect of our lives is safe from it. (Ritzer, 1996, p. 9)

Furthermore, Ritzer’s (1996) concept of the *McDonaldization of Society* has been transformed to ‘*McDisneyzation*’ in *Post-Tourism* by Ritzer and Liska (1997) and contradicted Urry’s (1990) statement that the massificated package tours, or at least the most standardized of them, have passed their heyday and are in decline. Differing to Urry, the researchers considered that the package tour remains alive and well and highly McDonaldized. The tourist sites become places in which people seek tourist experiences which are predictable, efficient, calculable and controlled. But the more important argument to be made here is that today’s tours are less McDonaldized than their predecessors precisely because the society itself grows more and more McDonaldized. Hence, there is less need rigidly to standardize the package tour. The same refers particularly to ‘guaranteed satisfaction’ of accommodation choices: there is an ironic amalgam of familiar and unfamiliar, comfort and strange, or as Gabriel and Lang refer to it, ‘‘the simultaneous capitulation of comfort of habit and the pursuit of adventure’’. One example may portray it all: Holiday Inn’s world-wide logo ‘No Surprises’ (1995).

‘‘Culture /.../ has been commodified and commodities have become cultural’’, stated Brown (1995, p. 81). Likewise, tourism has become a commodity for mass consumption by transforming travel into tourism (see section 4.2.6). The four main characteristics of commodification (commodization) can be depicted as: universalization, rationalization, standardization and quantification (Wang, 2000). An essence of tourism commoditization has been caught by Graburn (1983), who said that ‘‘tourism is a form of the commoditization of experience’’ (p. 27), and Rojek (1997), stating that ‘‘in tourism, escape experience is packaged in an intensely commodified form’’ (p. 58). In its basic logic, tourism experiences *must* be commoditized to become a sellable commodity. Jumping ahead to the context of authenticity, discussed in the following section, Boorstin (1964) wrote the following about the tourism pursuits: ‘‘All over the world now we find these ‘attractions’ – of little significance for the inward life of people, but wonderfully saleable as a tourist commodity’’ (as cited in Wang, 2000, p. 181). An opposing viewpoint had been supported by Wang (2000), who said that being essentially non-discriminatory, commoditization diversifies the range of touristic experiences (for instance, see p. 193). Interesting is to look also at a concept of *touristification*, introduced by Lafant (1995, p.35). Touristification, as a

trend of postmodernism, describes the “transformation of society into spectacles, attractions and playgrounds”. Namely, touristification blurs the spatial limits and aids tourism’s transformation into a commodity product.

Since any tourist site became packaged and sold as part of overall tourist product the issue of commercialization and commodification grows to be essential in discussion. According to Getz (1991), residents of tourism destinations transform occasional, sometimes sacred events into regular performances in order to yield more monetary reward from visitors, which diminishes any cultural meaning of the event and converts it into a commodity. This commodity is enthusiastically purchased by tourists who obviously accept the inauthenticity of the product. ”Although tourists think that they want authenticity, most want some degree of negotiated experiences which provide a tourist ‘bubble’(a safe, controlled environment) out of which they can selectively step to ‘sample’ predictable forms of experiences” (Graik, 1997, p.115).

The experiential, hedonistic aspect of tourism consumption (for instance, sex-related tourism, or ‘quest’ for indigenous people), strongly supported by Wang as a dehumanizing trait of postmodernism, certainly presents a socio-cultural sensitive issue (2000; c.f. Hyde, 2000; for elaboration of the seduction aspects see also Bauman, 1988/1992; and Baudrillard, 1970). Yet, looking back at the previously mentioned *schizophrenia of choices*, and, as labeled by Gabriel and Lang, the ‘zombie-like delirium’ of consumers, these aspects can also be treated merely as fantasies or illusions. The opposite viewpoint of customers as effective communicators of meaning and the goods they consume as able to tell ‘stories’, brings re-humanization of consumption in picture (1995).

Authenticity and hyperreality

In postmodernity, therefore, the ‘real’ world has imploded into a state of hyperreality, a hallucinogenic simulation of the non-existent, a place where boundaries collapse, opposites coalesce, fact and fiction are fused, and theory and practice metamorphose. (Brown, 1995, p. 80)

The insight of the McDonalization / McDisneyzation of tourism consumption gave path to the other aspect of debate: the search for cultural authenticity in postmodern tourism versus the search for the inauthentic as simulation of traveling experiences. It has been proposed that a society increasingly dominated by simulations can lead tourists to seek simulations of their comfortable daily life but in a different setting. ”Most products of a postmodern world might be willing to eat at the campfire, as long as it is simulated one on the lawn of the hotel” (Ritzer & Liska, 1997, p.107). Similar to previous researchers, Graik

(1997) considered that tourists take pleasure in the different, unusual, contrasting every day experience which the traveling gives them. But, at the same time, the daily advantages, comforts and benefits of home are decidedly desirable while traveling:

This is a different argument from that which proposes that tourism is a quest for authenticity, or the search for deep and meaningful cross cultural communication, self-discovery, origins, cultural forms ‘untainted’ by ‘civilization’ and so on. Rather, it is an ego-centric pursuit, involving a fascination with self-indulgence and self-delusions through simulacra: approximations and analogues of ‘the real’. (Graik, 1997, p. 114)

Moreover, as Brown observed, postmodernism is “a simulacrum, in that it is a copy of a non-existent original” (1995, p.22). Kernan and Domzal discussed this focus of postmodernism, suggesting a label of ‘anything-goes tempo’, which encourages people to give less and less attention to finding authenticity in things, instead choosing a point of view more comfortable to oneself (1996, p. 97).

The issue of authenticity is much debated in the literature, both to its meaning to society and tourism. MacCannell (1976) portrayed matters of the inauthenticity and superficiality of modern life by introducing the term ‘staged authenticity’. He proposed that modern tourists seek authenticity in particular because it has become so scarce. Consequently, ‘backstage’ provides a visitor the possibility to observe the real and genuine, a spontaneous experience of sharing other life styles and culture. As spectators in the theater, people recognize that the visible action on the stage is a play and only backstage activities expose the real life and its authenticity (in Wang, 2000, pp. 50-51). Self-referentiality is a trait Brown (1995) has discussed in reference to postmodern popular culture. Analyzed from a tourism-related perspective, self-referentiality includes travel magazines analyses of travel, travelogs, Internet discussion boards and clubs, etc.

Urry (1990) continued the elaboration of this subject and noted that it is necessary to distinguish between the authenticity and inauthenticity of the tourist experience and visiting setting in order to avoid what Cohen (1988) called ‘a self-perpetuating system of illusions’. “Isolated from the host environment and the local people, the mass tourist travels in guided groups and finds pleasure in inauthentic contrived attractions, gullibly enjoying the ‘pseudo-events’ and disregarding the ‘real’ world outside” (Urry, 1990, p. 7). But he also noticed that it seems incorrect to suggest that a search for authenticity is the basis for the organization of tourism. The researcher stated that the key feature of tourism involves some aspects and elements which induce pleasurable experiences and differs from ordinary every day life and work settings. “Now it may be that seeking for what we take to be authentic elements is an important component here but that is only because there is some sense a

contrast with every day experiences” (Urry, 1990, p.11). Hence, everything that produces a distinctive *tourist gaze* can be considered as an important element in organization of the tourism since that “...intrinsic hedonistic or eudemonistic-that is, respectively, pleasure-giving or happiness-generating-benefits consumers ascribe to tourism products and services” (Gonzalez-Herrero & Cornelius, 1998, p.86).

As a condition of postmodernism, authenticity in tourism has been characterized by three distinctive parameters (Wang, 2000). Objective authenticity relates to authenticity of originals (both tangible and intangibles) in touristic experiences. Constructive or symbolic authenticity refers to authentic projection of toured objects. Both types are object related. Existential or activity related authenticity, which is of interest for this study, deals with authenticity of logics and emotions which are activated by involving oneself in tourism activities. There is a very interesting example of existential authenticity that can be found in the article *Tourism Dance Performances: Authenticity and Creativity*, by Yvonne P. Daniel (1996), describing ‘existentially authentic’ experiences of tourists participating in a traditional rumba dance ritual in Cuba. Albeit the process (object for this matter) could be arguably authentic, the ‘near-ecstatic’ sensations the tourists indulged themselves in was where the true acceptance of “one is true to oneself” lied. Authentic ‘selves’ were found through the aid of tourist activities, a fantasy, a utopian feeling which becomes “*real* and accessible to the tourist through tourism” (p. 780). From the point of view of Urry in 1990, in contemporary postmodern society there often is no need to leave home to engage oneself in touristic consumption. As he wrote:

The typical tourist experience is anyway to see named scenes through a frame, such as the hotel window, the car windscreen or the window of a coach. But this can now be experienced in one’s own living room, at the flick of a switch. (p. 100)

Wang’s (2000) literature review presents interesting findings on the fact that in reality postmodernism seems to be characterized exactly by the deconstruction of authenticity, or *inauthenticity* (Chapter 3, pp. 46-71). Lacking any original reference as a basis of explanation of elements of touristic consumption, for people under the present social condition it is of little if any relevance whether it is real or false. Real experiences are adopted into pseudo events (Boorstin, 1964, as cited in Wang, 2000). *Hyperreality* is born through fantasy and imagination comes up as a primary trigger to involve oneself in touristic experience (Wang, 2000, e.g. p.106-109¹). Cohen (1995) has proposed the following explanation for the lost interest in authenticity. He finds it in postmodern tourists ‘playful search’ for ‘aesthetic enjoyment of surfaces’ (p.21). Without a doubt, intensified and

concentrated traveling experiences do enable people to ‘escape’ and to ‘forget’, and to enter a separate, ‘another’, ‘make-believe’ social ambience (Wang, 2000, pp. 65, 169). Multiple truths and ludic manipulation of the symbols and meaning creates a burlesque show for bogus interpretation of tourist experience (Urry, 1990, Hollinshead, 1997, Ryan, 1997a).

Stylization of tourism

Hollinshead (1997) has colored postmodernism as “a condition under which many of the aspects or strong elements of the so-styled advanced societies have conceivably collapsed into a pot-pourri of packaged styles” (p. 183). Also, Thorne (1993) referred to the phenomenon as “a chaos of competing styles and cross-references transmitted by a free-market consumerist system that creates its own reality for its own ends” (p.199). Furthermore, Brown himself has indicated pastiche as one of the key characteristics of the postmodernism spirit. A playful and ironic medley of varied styles in all areas of life creates a self-referential collage of human thought and behavior. ‘The more meanings the merrier’ notion prevails throughout the entire work of the author (1995).

‘Western consumers will spend enormous amounts of time decorating their homes, choosing their clothes, food and other goods, planning their holidays, forever mixing ingredients, as if they were trying not merely to create works of art but to discover a uniquely individual style’, commented Gabriel and Lang (1995, p. 107).

The retro setting is another style postmodern tourism has adopted. Brown (1995, p. 129) wrote:

Walt Disney based Main Street USA on the main street of Marceline, Missouri, as it was when he was a boy growing up there.... But there were no sleazy bars, dingy luncheonettes, seedy pool halls or dirty jail cells... there were only pleasant, clean, colorful and nostalgic small town stores which seemed to shimmer with remembered magic.

In this context (or *because* of this contemporary context), tourism itself gets often described as a highly stylized phenomenon (e.g. Wang, 2000). Of importance is where the touristic consumption occurs, economical conditions, social classes participating, and the possible cultural capital gained. In 1983, Graburn has suggested that:

Changes in tourist styles are not random, but are connected to class competition, prestige hierarchies, and the succession of changing life styles. ... Each style is chosen (a) with reference to the previous experiences of the individual (and group of class), such as family and friend’s experiences, and (b) with reference to competing patterns of other classes or groups (or individuals) whom one wishes to emulate or to avoid. Thus...tourist style never stands still. (p.24)

Travel and Tourism relationship

A lot of reviewed literature has been found raising postmodernistic claims regarding a special relationship among tourism and travel². As discussed in Wang's literature review of Michael (1950), Boorstin (1964) and Rojek (1993) in *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis* (2000), while the word 'travel' possesses a high culture sense, 'tourism' suggests vulgar derogation of the activity and people practicing it. High and low tastes, 'real travel' with 'bogus travel' are opposed (see also Appendix A for detailed presentation of the comparison) (pp. 178-183). In fact, Michael had created his own description of 'ideal' travelers, which can be summarized as follows:

- 1) they have a vague idea on the choice of particular travel destination and subsequent goals there on place;
- 2) their travel is mostly not demarked by time limitations;
- 3) they are financially independent for the travel purposes;
- 4) they are open-minded, open for communications with locals and often possess knowledge of the local language;
- 5) spirit of adventure and encouragement of one's curiosity is definitely present; and finally
- 6) these 'ideal travelers' have 'the knack of how to see things'.

Interesting is Wang's conclusion on related typology of Michael's: although he sadly recognizes that such an 'ideal' type of traveler is an opposite of commonality due to various constraints such as time, finances, or one's socio-cultural obligations, "the ideal traveler functions as an ideal representation of the highest taste of travel and against which various forms of bogus travel can be criticized" (2000, p. 179-181).

In contrast, a concept of 'holidaying' (holiday-time, holiday-makers) is also found mostly in association with tourism rather than travel (as possessing a negative, mass consumption shade). Widely discussed by Ryan (1997), holidaying is expressed by planned and manipulated consumption of time.

Furthermore, Sharpley (2003) stated that for the post-tourist the traveler/tourist dichotomy is irrelevant. "The traveler has matured and evolved into an individual who experiences and enjoys all kinds of tourism, who takes each at face value and who is in control at all times" (pp. 4-22). In fact, this phenomenon renders tourist typologies meaningless.

2.2.3 Understanding tourism and tourist typologies

Two major approaches in defining tourism were developed by Theobald in 1994. The first approach is to define tourism from a practical point of view through collecting and analyzing trip numbers and purpose data, or *technical* definitions. From a technical perspective tourism is defined, for instance, by the World Travel and Tourism Organization as the temporary short-term movement of people to destinations outside the places where they normally live and work, and their activities during the stay at these destinations; it includes movement for all purposes as well as day visit or excursions. Second is a holistic approach focused on conceptual perspective, mostly based on analyzing tourism consumption and motivations as different from those of other similar activities (Theobald, 1994). As examples of this approach can be mentioned MacCannell's and Urry's definitions of tourism (e.g. search for authenticity or for the 'Other'), discussed in much detail throughout this study.

Borocz recognized exceptionality of the tourism industry through acknowledgement that tourism consumption acts presents "the very geographical, spatial, climatic, and cultural diversity of the global economy itself" (1996, p.13).

Subsequently, logic that tourists do not present a homogenous group in the context of the tourism model can be arguably challenged. Moreover, heterogeneity of tourist behavior is itself a multi-leveled phenomenon (Mazanec, 2001). Namely, "a postmodernistic society is one of flux", as Ryan has been found pinpointing it (1997c). Trying to segment the tourists into various socio-psychological groups according to behavioral and situational features, numerous researchers have come up with various typologies. The cornerstone for distributing tourists into different subgroups has been set by Cohen in 1974. Discovering the true nature of tourist, Cohen, initially, recognizes tourist and non-tourist segments, breaking down the tourist cluster to temporal, voluntary, forced, round trip, long journey or non-recurrent tourists. Business travelers and second-home owners' segments are consequently excluded from being assigned tourist status. In addition, Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) travelers are excluded from the mainstream tourist category due to a minimized utilization of normal tourist services, such as hotels and restaurants.

Introduction of the term *institutionalized* tourism was made by Cohen (1974) subsequent to the typologies of tourists themselves. Briefly, organized *mass tourism* would be considered as institutional forms of tourism while the alternative pursuits of *explorers* and *drifters* as non-institutionalized. In Cohen's terminology: 'explorer' is characterized by novelty, spontaneity, risk, independence, vs. 'drifter' – the same, but with a more limited budget and lack of a fixed itinerary, resembling the stereotypical hippie movement of the

1960s. Vogt continued to build on Cohen's typology, and in 1976 came up with the new term of *wanderer*, a person, who in addition to Cohen's characteristics of non-institutionalized traveler, was contextualized with existing socio-cultural order, or, more precisely, was in opposition to it. As an opposing end of mass tourism there is mentioned also FIT and DIY travel, which under the heavy influence of globalization is becoming more and more flexible and thus welcoming a larger number of people (Cooper, 2002). Yet, Williams and Hall (2002) have also commented on the difficulty in categorizing tourists in terms of contrasts (e.g. mass tourist vs. explorer) lies also in their different knowledge fields and search spaces.

Another well respected researcher, Plog (1990), put tourists in a nexus of psychocentricity and allocentricity (preferring familiar activities versus seeking for risks). A study by Stewart (1993) revealed four other types of tourists positioned in a nexus: bubble travelers, idealized-experience seekers, wide-horizon travelers and total immersers. The latter were of most interest in present context, as their consumption patterns are characterized with reproduction of cultural experience rather than its idealization. Another interesting contemporary typology, labeled 'a new typology of tourists', anti-universal in context of previous terminologies, was found in Decrop (1999). The *Gestalt*, *adaptable*, *homebody*, *unwilling*, *unplanned*, *surrogate* and finally *alternative* tourist types were mentioned (pp. 126-129). The alternative tourists, again the most interesting for this study as aversive to institutionalized tourism, are the ones willing to sink into the local socio-cultural arrangements and value system, thus actually live that life of a local. Creation of a temporary new self-identity to totally replace the one of familiar environment is of essence.

Changing socio-cultural orders brought their own amendments into typologies tourism consumption's demand. 'New Tourists' are found replacing 'Old Tourists' (see a detailed table on distinctive characteristics in Appendix B). The quest for alternative tourism gained popularity in the 1990s and appeared as a serious rival to mass tourism. Practical goals of 'ordered recreation' or rational leisure such as education and health were replaced by romanticized escape to paradise with focus on nostalgia for the past, entertainment and recreation (Ryan, 1997a; Wang, 2000). Initially 3S – *Sun, Sea, Sand* – tourism concept has been replaced by 4Ss, with Sex added as a fourth component (also, 'Sand' is sometimes found replaced by 'Surf' variable), or even 5Ss - Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings and Servility (Wang, 2000; Swarbrooke & Horner, 1999; Sharpley 2003; and Crick, 1989, accordingly).

Yet, in the research tourism phenomenon is more often found defined as a specific pursuit of 'tourists'. Smith (1989) entitled tourist "a temporarily leisured person who

voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change” (p. 1). By Cohen’s definition (1974), tourists in search for new experiences are characterized by “relatively long and non-recurrent round trip” (p. 533). Borocz (1996) denoted tourists as ‘leisure migrants’ who pursue non-profit generating activities while traveling (p. 7).

The idea of alternative tourism as one of the widely discussed characteristic of trendy travel has also been found granted a lot of researchers’ attention. Alternative tourism appeared as a popular critique to mass tours by presumably offering answers and solutions to the issues of sustainability and inauthenticity created by the first (Ryan, 1997; Wang, 2000). In this context, Ryan has been found entitling alternative tourism an ‘ego-tourism’ (1997a, p. 18). Throughout his writings Ryan has insisted to explain tourism as symbolic social construct rather than simply an event or happening through a popular expression that the holiday is ‘the time of our lives’ (for instance, see Ryan, 1997c). Indulging into freedom of everyday constraints and the ludic involvement into tourism pursuits create those unique experiences of consumption (Urry, 1990; Ryan, 1997c). Ryan also suggested that the only way to grasp the whole essence of tourism is to analyze it in connection with (or, more precisely, in opposition to) the non-holidaying (daily, routine) time. Contrasting ‘home and away’, novelty and routine, diversity and tradition, work and leisure one can see the vitality that tourism consumption offers (1997). *Escape*, an interesting concept initially introduced by Rojek in 1993, is probably the most often mentioned reason for travel. Escape from the ‘sameness’ of everyday life is reached through quest for diversity. According to Ryan, the ‘sameness’ instills order at an individual level from which to seek the differences (e.g. 1997a, p. 16).

In relation to the authenticity question it has been argued that some visitors can be fairly satisfied and even almost delighted in the inauthenticity of the normal tourist experience. According to Feifer (1985) ‘post-tourist’ finds pleasure in the multiplicity of the normal tourist experience. Above all, the post-tourist is aware of being outsider, “not a time traveler when he goes somewhere historic; not an instant noble savage when he stays on a tropical beach; not an invisible observer when he visits a native compound” (Feifer, 1985, p.271). Additionally, Swarbrooke and Horner (1999) defined post-tourist as a tourist who recognizes that there is no such thing as an authentic tourism product or experience and accepts tourism as a game where one feels free to move between different types of apparently totally contrasting holidays (from an eco-tourism trip to Belize one year to a sun, sand, sea and sex trip to Benidorm next year).

2.3 Tourism motivation

2.3.1 Tourist drive

It has been argued that postmodernism has brought large changes in structures of analysis of tourist motivation. In a context of contemporary socio-cultural order, rationality must be lowered down from its pedestal as a sole core assumption for consumption explanations and importance of ‘irrationality’ raised instead (Ryan, 1997a).

Research has recognized that tourist behavior is multi-motivational (Ryan, 1997b). Wang (2000) insisted that tourist motivations should not be limited in explanation through their biological and psychological constructs (which focus on experiential and psychological factors), but also as a socio-genesis of society and culture (considering cultural values prevalent in society as well as enabling structural conditions for tourism). In fact, Wang stated that only true understanding of “why and how people under the condition of modernity, are transformed into tourists” can help to appreciate ambivalence of tourist motivations (p. 12). “Tourism is nether simply a freedom, nor simply a result of manipulation by the tourism industry. It is, rather, a responsive action to the ambivalence of the existential conditions of modernity, but it ends up helping to reproduce these existential conditions” (2000, p. 20). Ryan (1997) stressed plurality of postmodern social contexts as one of the challenging aspects in trying to systematize tourist behaviors. The context, meanings and experiences of tourism can vary from holiday to holiday, from tourist to tourist. To talk of the ‘tourist experience’ seems to imply a homogeneity, which, in reality, is not always present, he claimed (p. 23). In fact, Ryan has also commented on this diversity as ‘while the *needs* are few, the *expressions* of the needs are many’ (1997b, p. 25).

2.3.2 Mixing psychological and sociological perspectives

Through the literature review there were recognized two schools of motivation research in tourism. Psychological aspects of motivation are analyzed by such author as Pearce, while Urry and Rojek are representatives of a sociological model (Ryan, 1997b). An early writer on the subject, Iso-Ahola (1982), believed in *seeking* and *escaping* motives. Seeking personal and interpersonal rewards and escaping personal/interpersonal environments are seen as two basics for tourism. Also Pearce’s perspective is important. The ‘travel career ladder’, developed by him in 1988, portrays tourist motivation as purposeful developing through the stages of relaxation, stimulation, relationship, self-esteem and development, and fulfillment. Moreover, each of these elements might be either self- or other-directed. As one

would grow in his tourist career, stimulus of intellectual kind become of more importance, risk aversion level raises and more mental stimulation is needed (Pearce, 1988). The challenge of developing one's travel career is based on the exploring instinct (labeled 'Ulysses factor' for the hero of Homer's Odyssey) (Moutinho, 2000, p. 42). Williams and Hall (2002) based on earlier contribution of Ryan (1998) discussed path dependency of individual tourism consumption experience. A common knowledge base gets created for each family/work group member to utilize during the next round of one's specific life course. For instance, in a family situation, similarities in behavioral patterns of tourism consumption have a spillover effect from parents to their children, and wide-ranging familiarity with tourism is reinforced within the base. Also the study of Stewart (1993) has proved that the travel experience is cumulative.

Wang (2000) has argued that tourist motivation should be looked upon as a social fact, explained by conventional sociological categories such as lifestyle, status and hegemony. Yet, the author agreed that the above classes mostly emphasize the variety of motivations rather than socio-genesis of them as one generic explanatory model. Aided and complimented by psychological categories of demographics and psychographics, a fuller examination is possible and a more comprehensive motivational profile created. Quoting Vukonic (1996), Wang wrote that "the motivation of tourist movements is a highly complex, stratified and multidimensional problem" (2000, p. 45). Novelty-seeking is a basis of touristic motivation in psychological sense, though difference-seeking is a core for sociological approach research (Rojek, 1993; Wang, 2000). Wang (2000) has analyzed the sociological concept of *difference* as a distinguishing term between the familiar and the unfamiliar. An outcome of social construction thus is applicable to tourists as 'difference-seeking' in a sociological sense (vs. 'novelty-seeking' in a psychological sense) (p. 118). Moutinho (2000) described the 'looking glass' concept: tourists matching their travel decisions with own-self image (p. 42). In addition to personality types influenced by culture (a complex of material elements created by a society), motivations, attitudes and intentions, perception of risk, information search and mental imagery are all important components of recognizing behavioral patterns. "When consumers are looking for difference, they are in effect looking for different ways of looking", noted Gabriel and Lang (1995). Also in regards to demographic and psychographic factors, research agrees that the latter, shaped by one's socio-cultural context, are of more importance when explaining tourism consumer behavior (McGuiggan, 2001). Or, as Barash has summed it up, there is a greater importance of "personality, temperament, character, values, ethos, mythos, and specific individual

circumstances than by any combination of accumulated demographic data'' (Barash, 1997, p.4).

Then, Rojek (1993) has found *curiosity* (the same which Wang (2000) labeled 'cultural curiosity' throughout his studies) and exploration to be one of the strongest motivators for travel. Although a biological and psychological phenomenon, curiosity can be treated utilizing sociological perspective by analyzing particular socio-cultural attitudes towards it, and the way people deal with the satisfaction of their curiosity urges (e.g. utilizing curiosity as a drive to satisfy their novelty-seeking needs or fighting fear people can obtain a sort of specific self-confidence) (Cohen, 1974; Wang, 2000). Finally, Wang (2000) has described social position, feelings, hedonism, escape, consumption and lifestyle all important and legitimate motivators for involving oneself into tourism activity. Also McGuiggan in discussion of the 'experiential view' of consumption had stressed on the hedonistic aspects such as fantasies, feelings and fun (2001).

There are three areas where Wang has found tourist demand to be based on: consumerism, hedonism and materialism (2000). In addition, Hollinshead mentioned unlimited self-realization and hyper-stimulation of senses (1997). Ryan (1997a) referred to tourist motivation as a rather irrational fact due to shallowness of tourists 'actual apprehension' of the process consumption. Moreover, he argued that there is definite incongruity in models (both psychological and sociological) of proposed and observed tourist behavior. This has led him to a conclusion that although the concepts are of aid in explaining tourist behavior patterns, there cannot be considered a valid proof for the reference. In fact, Ryan called for not-overemphasizing the importance of psychological factors at once individual level, as "motivations only have meaning with reference to the social environment within which they are formulated" (1997; 1997b, pp. 46-47).

2.3.3 Logos and Eros

Once again, a reference should be made to Wang's (2000) widely discussed ambivalence of tourism. Taking a brief look back to ancient Greek philosophy, especially Aristotle's contribution, Wang (2000) has tried to grasp the essence of bi-polar *Logos* and *Eros* elements to explain this ambivalence. Thus, Logos reasoning based on philosophical principles of social structure and order acts as a metaphor of reason and rationality in Western societies. Indeed, Logos modernity stresses to pursue the comprehensive goals with the most efficient means available, thus often seen as dehumanizing for society (reflect on yet so popular McDonalization and McDisneyzation processes!). Dimensions of Eros, in

contrary, are those encouraging play and romance, characterized by rather hedonistic form of primitive carnivalesque consumption. In short, Wang has tried to explain the very essence of postmodern tourism by polarizing these two reasoning elements and also presenting them as a core for arousal of contemporary motivations. While Logos motivators celebrate reasoning and rationality, Eros motivators arise from biological (mostly sexual) instincts, impulses and sensations. Both elements gratify existence of each other in a rather controversial yet socio-culturally approved postmodern milieu (Wang, 2000). Hyde (1979) stated that Eros brings erotic context in consumption:

It is erotic in the sense that Eros symbolizes the principle of attraction, union, or that which binds people together; it is a communal principle that is opposed to Logos. Logos is the force of reason and logic that is related to the 'market economy'; it is the rationality driving differentiation, on which market logics of efficiency, segmentation and divisions are based. (pp. 158-159)

In a simple explanation, the roles of Logos and Eros in tourism can be assigned to tourism participants (demand side) and suppliers accordingly. Essentially being a non-productive leisure pursuit, people taking part in tourism activities are following their Eros urges. The tourism industry, from the other hand (all the possible shareholders of the supply side) is dominated by Logos gratification of 'efficiency, calculability, prediction, and control' (Wang, 2000, p. 42 referring to widely-known contribution of Ritzer, 1996). The contradiction of tourism phenomena is once again seen in the '*push*' principle of Logos through profit-seeking standardized experiences versus Eros-led '*pull*' quest for authenticity (Wang, 2000).

2.4 Focus on touristic consumption

2.4.1 Initiators of tourism demand

Another important aspect of debate that overall the tourism is best understood as a form of imaginative hedonism, which can be considered also as a best way to understand modern consumption in general. Hence, Campbell (1987), a creator of consumer-explorer image, argued that covert day-dreaming and anticipation are processes central to modern consumerism; which by Gabriel and Lang was considered to be an almost 'unchallenged' ideology (1995). "The essential activity of consumption is thus not the actual selection, purchase or use of products, but rather the imaginative pleasure seeking to which the product image lends itself, real consumption being largely a resulting of this mentalistic hedonism"

(Campbell, 1995, p. 118). This concept includes a dialectic of novelty and insatiability of the contemporary consumerism, since 'reality' can never provide the perfected pleasures encountered in daydreams, each purchase leads to disillusionment and longing for ever-new products. Furthermore, Urry (1990) agreed that tourism necessarily involves daydreaming and anticipation of new or different experiences, but such daydreams are not autonomous; they involve working over advertising and other media-generated sets of sign, many of which relate very clearly too complex processes of social emulation.

In modern, self-illusory hedonism, the individual is ... an artist of the imagination, someone who takes images from memory or the existing environment, and rearranges them or otherwise improves them in his mind in such a way that they become distinctly pleasing. No longer are they 'taken as given' from past experience, but crafted into unique products, pleasure being the guiding principle. (Campbell, 1987, p. 79)

2.4.2 Evolution of tourism consumption

The importance of consumption in our lives is rarely overestimated. As Gabriel and Lang have suggested (1995), consumption creates a base for individual perceptions and behavior, and, moreover, social relations.

To understand better the terms *consumers* and *consumption*, a definition of consumers as human beings living in a material world, and consumption as an act they perform interacting with it can be given (Kozinets, 2002). Wang (2000) has stressed on three distinctive characteristics of postmodern tourism consumption. First, in postmodernist, tourism is exemplified by globalization and thus mass consumption. Second, tourism has experienced a dramatic change from its historical 'meaning' under present social conditions, such as commodification and standardizations discussed in more detail in the latter chapters. Third, tourism has evolved as a kind of mass *institution*, portrayed by its proposed basic goals of escape (Rojek, 1993), 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 1990), 'social therapy' (Krippendorf, 1987), of leisure migration (Borocz, 1996, Williams & Hall, 2002, Muller, 2002) (cf. Wang, 2000, p.14).

2.4.3 Philosophy of consumption

It is misleading to characterize the culture of consumption as a culture dominated by things. The consumer lives surrounded not so much by things as by fantasies. He lives in a world that has no objective or independent existence and seems to exist only to gratify or thwart his desires. (Lasch, 1984, as cited in Gabriel & Lang, 1995, p. 114)

Fragmented and unmanageable, “immersed in illusions, addicted to joyless pursuits of ever-increasing living standards, the consumer, far from being god, is a pawn, in games played in invisible boardrooms” (Gabriel & Lang, 1995, p. 1). Nine patterns of consumer behavior have been identified in *The Unmanageable Consumer: Contemporary Consumption and its Fragmentation*. by researchers Gabriel and Lang in 1995. *Consumer as Chooser* fully utilizes the value of choice he is presented with; *Consumer as Explorer* is a curious trendsetter for others through the discourse of difference. *Consumer as Communicator* ‘meaningfully’ expresses himself as different from others, utilizing consumed objects as carriers of meaning. *Consumer as Identity-seeker* advances as an explorer of identity, progressing from the chase of outer differences to the quest for inner meanings. *Consumer as Hedonist/Artist* lives life for pleasure and enjoyment rather than for survival; *Consumer as Victim* seeks empowerment to fight against imaginary manipulation of psychologists of mass production and advertising. *Consumer as Rebel* expresses protests and challenges the existing order; *Consumer as Activist* tries to minimize ethical disparities between producers and consumers to get the most advantages of the market; and, finally, *Consumer as Citizen* represents a force opposite to Western consumerism.

Another example of linking several forms of consumer identity expressions can be related to postmodern tourism practices. Described by Kozinets (2002) are the practices of social discourse deviating from the normal social and market ethos. Kozinets studied the *Burning Man* as an experimental event celebrating participative emancipation of genuine and creative consumption culture (‘Consumer as an Identity-seeker / Artist’), where expression and (re)creation of identity are being encouraged through ‘detaching’ oneself from material possessions (one’s ‘extended self’) by collectively burning it at the event. Self-reflection and self-transformation are then attained through this act as apposed to inauthenticity and dehumanization of conventional consumer market (‘Consumer as a Victim / Rebel’). Moreover, Kozinets labeled the result of the process *youtopia* – ‘a good place for me to be myself, and you to be yourself, together’ (‘Consumer as a Citizen’). Emphasizing a common consumer behavior research notion that economical markets influence consumers in a socially adverse way (their personal and social identities being suppressed by the joyless over-abundance of inauthentic offers / marketing persuasion / market indifference), Kozinets proposed that emancipation from contemporary consumption practices is a key to ‘human freedom’, activity and creativity (‘Consumer as an Activist / Communicator’). Yet, this emancipation becomes possible only when mainstream social and economic ethos is linked. Alternative exchange practices - such as barter - involving social construct at highly larger

extent would re-enchanted consumption as an expressive act and consumer culture would re-emerge as voluntary, self-expressive, and (re)ensouled. Kozinets has quoted one of his study interviewees (Burning Man in 1999) saying the following:

The idea of bartering brings people together... When people vend things they're not personally attached to the things that they're selling and they're not really attached to the money that they're getting for it, either. It's going to go towards purchasing things that might be precious to them, but it's distanced, it's the intellectual space that, you know, created distance between people. (p.27)

Considering inevitable presence of consumption in people's daily reality, it is interesting to analyze victimization / rebellion against consumption further. Rejecting yet so popular saying of Western-style consumption as 'shop 'til you drop, spend 'til the end, buy 'til you die', people search for alternative patterns: they consume less, consume local, consume environmentally friendly. Gabriel and Lang (1995) proposed that rejection of social roles has caused the growth of issues such as shoplifting, obesity or, indeed, the opposite - anorexia. In tourism, consumers are 'outwitting' the institutionalized travel mediators by practicing alternative travel and leisure pursuits, for instance, owning vacationing properties, planning home-exchanges. 'The unmanaged dimensions of consumption lie, not so much in the rejection of consumer products, ... but in unorthodox appropriation of uses of these products, especially in ways which express protest' (p. 151). Ironically enough, over the time becoming a fashionable trend, rebelliousness itself is getting institutionalized. Cultural fetishes such as going gambling in Las Vegas, rafting in Belize, exploring Amazon jungle, or hiking DaVinci trails have eventually become staples. Originally intimate societies of alternative socio-cultural framework people could identify with got replaced with eventually commoditized ones. Engaging oneself in 'appropriate', compromised type of behavior is not sufficient in endlessly mutating postmodern consumption.

Interestingly, Slater has identified consumption as a solution to the problems of identity in contemporary Western societies. (1997, p. 85). Furthermore, Gabriel and Lang (1995) questioned if exploration of 'exotics' has become merely *a duty* of a person. They refer to Baudrillard (1970) for support of the idea:

...the modern consumer, the modern citizen, cannot evade the constraint of happiness and pleasure, which in the new ethics is equivalent to the traditional constraint of labor and production.... He must constantly be ready to actualize all of his potential, all of his capacity for consumption. If he forgets, he will be gently reminded that he has no right not to be happy. He is therefore not passive: he is engaged, and must be engaged, in continuous activity. Otherwise he runs the risk of being satisfied with what he has and of becoming asocial'. (p. 71)

2.5 Tourist's place in the society

2.5.1 Identity concept

It has been said that "identity is a concept that assumes that individuals recognize identical or similar attributes or properties in each other" (Isin & Woods, 1999, p. 19). Who and what people understand they are in a psychological and social context (Kernan & Domzal, 2000) is a basis of formation of one's self identity. Therefore tourism, as a form of social and cultural consumption and construction, is pursued as a mean of defining and communicating that social identity (Wang, 2000).

In discussion of 'self' or one's personal identity concept, Wang (2000, pp. 209-210) referred to an earlier work of Mead (1934). Mead considered that the one's self is created in continuous interaction of its subjective and objective aspects. 'I' is the personal subjective aspect while 'me' comes up as self-consciousness, or the way how one considers himself being seen through the attitudes of others. Taking the role of the other through social interactions involving real and imagined attitudes of the group, such as tourism and tourist 'communities' lies in the basis of creation of one's self. Important also is the acknowledgement of the distinction between individual and group identities in terms of withdrawal of individual uniqueness when identification with the group is chosen superior (image-consciousness).

With reference to authenticity, Wang (2000) has stressed that both intra-personal relationship with one's personal identity and inter-personal connections are of essence of touristic consumption analysis. Authenticity of oneself (or 'themselves' if traveling in a group or family) is searched for through creation of intense and emotional bonds. A quest for intimacy, 'pure' confrontations of two or more equal on their socio-cultural level humans, a social experience of touristic consumption becomes a concern (Urry, 1990; Wang, 2000).

As acknowledged by research, personal identity is consistent of various attributes making one person different from others, a unique way of defining oneself. Individual psychological identity might be considered a 'property' of oneself, thus a free choice of either attaining, or loosing, or possessing one at all is present (Olson, 2002). Answering the questions of 'Who am I?' and 'How am I different from others?' require an individual to understand that his uniqueness is not given, but is achieved through more or less conscious formation of his identity. Albeit, it is not just any image that gets projected in one's identity, usually it is the image respected by oneself and others as well (Gabriel & Lang, 1995).

Travel also has been noted as a rite of passage to adulthood (Gabriel & Lang, 1995; Borocz, 1996; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2001). Gnoth et al. (2000) trusted that travel as a mean of recreation and stimulation delivers a person to a state of the ‘desired self’. Traveler’s identity is expressed through “an art, a lifestyle, a choice of cultural activities based on taste and preference” (Wang, 2000, p. 183). Moreover, in ‘competition’ for a more appealing identity, status or ‘symbolic capital’, quoting Turner and Ash (1975): “We are starting to be judged on our leisure persona, rather than our work role” (as cited in Wang, 2000, p. 183).

2.5.2 Lifestyle influences

Described itself as a commodity, lifestyle – routine practices of particular thinking and/or behavior - has been found influential when discussing the composition of identity (Gabriel & Lang, 1995). Albeit expressing the lifestyle concept as an ambiguous one, Wang tries to define it summarizing concepts used by other academics: M. Weber (1978) – ‘status honor’, Giddens (1994) – ‘material form to a particular narrative of self-identity’, and Veal (1993) – ‘the distinctive pattern of personal and social behavior characteristic’ (pp. 112-113). The latter, A.J. Veal, in *The Concept of Lifestyle: A Review*, has mentioned that lifestyle is a unique matter highly influenced by one’s values and attitudes; that it could be individual the same as the group’s; and that coherence and choice must be definitely present once the analysis of the concept is made (as distinguishing characteristics between lifestyle and the (style) *way of life*) (1993, p.247).

According to Decrop, *lifestyle* can be defined as a unique pattern of development of a mental thought and subsequent behavior, a mirror image of one’s personality expression. Lifestyle acts as a distinguishing characteristic when segmenting customers by their consumption patterns (1999, pp.106-107). Furthermore, discourse of lifestyle has been claimed to be strongly related with contemporary experience-oriented consumption culture. Tourists are motivated by “pursuing their own distinctive lifestyles and laying claim to their own particular identities” (Wang, 2000, p. 178). Examples can range from ‘intellectual’ to ‘luxurious’ and ‘cosmopolitan’ (Wang, 2000, pp. 182-183). Ryan talked about ‘imagined’ lifestyle as a part of motivation for pursuing tourism (the author pinpointed so called Shirley Valentine’s syndrome – intentionally changing one’s lifestyle as a motive for escape) (Ryan, 1997a, p. 2). In addition, Bourdieu (1984) had considered consumption symbolically significant because of its act as a parade of specific tastes and lifestyles of a given society, of, in Wang’s words, “what the consumer consumes” (as cited in Wang, 2000, p. 201). Also,

Wang (2000) describes tourism consumption as reorganization of one's experiences, timely pursue of an 'alternative lifestyle', a particular 'culture of time' (pp. 112-113).

Research has indicated that *quality of life* as influential in the creation of one's priorities scale. Gabriel and Lang equated quality of life to happiness, which is neither a good fortune nor a reward, but rather continuous pleasure management as one's duty to himself (1995). Building on previous contribution of Headey (1983), Kozak listed self-esteem, access to leisure, and participation in family and community activities as elements contributing to quality of life (2001). Experiences gathered through travel and tourism as global phenomenon, thus, can be considered as constituting the largest form of consumer items (Wang, 2000). Materialism, one of the core motivators for travel, also finds its expression in one's lifestyle. It has been argued that people's enjoyment of life is strongly related to the quantities of their consumption (less impacted by the qualities) (Gabriel & Lang, 1995).

2.5.3 Identity expression through symbolic consumption

In a world where no one particularly cares about your religion, your ethnicity, your occupation, your address, or your politics, how do you form an identity? What are you, if none of the foregoing things? Up steps postmodernism, which posits that you can be identified by your 'stuff'. (Kernan and Domzal, 2000, p. 97)

Considering tourism consumption, 'a multi-faceted symbolic act', it eventually has become a means for creating one's identity (Wang, 2000, p. 202). "Instead of being identified by what they produce, people are made to identify themselves with what they consume" (Williamson, 1982, as cited in Wang, 2000 p. 201). As Brown (1995) also observed, influenced by postmodernism spirit people are inevitably linked with the patterns of their consumption. Schizophrenia - construction of multiple realities in a lost sense of time analogue to clinical condition, a medley between past, present and future, or - 'perpetual present', once again gets underlined with the symbolic meaning the consumption has possessed (cf. Gabriel & Lang's schizophrenia of consumer choices, 1995).

Wang has linked the symbolic consumption of tourism (as a response to one's socio-cultural norms) to its experiential aspect (linked to one's self-indulgence, namely, hedonism) (2000). He then suggests that consumption of travel can be seen "as a matter of personal symbolic standing in society, and not merely functional physical rest and psycho-physiological refreshment" (p. 203). In addition, symbolic consumption of holiday-time as a social construct Ryan (1997) considered as contributing to strengthening of the core of one's self-awareness, and thus reinforcement of one's self. Identity gets expressed through a

certain life style of leisure: 4S tourism, alternative travel, etc, using insignia of local artifacts, souvenirs, fashion, and clothing (Gabriel & Lang, 1995).

Examining self-expression through tourism activities further, Dimanche and Samdahl (1994) had proposed two different aspects of symbolic consumption. First is self-expression: expression of one's personal identity. To ensure this 'communication to self', either an internalized or a private audience is needed. Second is sign value, or expression of one's social identity. This type of identity is expressed through communication to others, thus a presence of an external audience to enhance one's social self status should be ensured (Dimanche & Samdahl, 1994). As an example for communicating one's both personal and social identity through touristic consumption Gabriel and Lang have portrayed holiday as a gift to oneself (1995). Then, Wang mentioned travel souvenirs, or (1) souvenirs bought for oneself as a sign of self-identity, a 'proof' for one's hobby, travel career, (2) souvenirs brought for others, a *social ritual* helping one to re-enter the community and to demonstrate his or her specific kind of touristic identity (pp. 205-211, cf. Borocz, 1996, p.9). Thus, tourism consumption can act as a 'catalyst for social communication', or 'catalysts for change' (Ryan, 1997a, p. 4 and Wang, 2000, p. 213 accordingly). 'We want and buy things not because of what things can do for us, but because of what things mean to us and what they say about us' (Gabriel & Lang, 1995).

Worth adding is also Ryan's discussion on *recreation* concept. Recreation or *re-creation* is described as a process of developing positive aspects of the human psyche, time spent in search for one's psychological health. Thus, tourism - or escape through tourism consumption can be seen as an opportunity for people to enhance their aesthetic egos through exploration of their deeper selves. (1997a) Also Hollinshead has been noted to mention human 'reconstitution', antecedent to identification of one's self with certain symbols of touristic consumption. (1997)

Wang (2000), based on Mill's earlier work (1951), supported the idea that travel can be characterized as a 'status cycle' (status consumption). Quoting Mills, "one can buy the feeling, even if only for a short time, of higher status. ... Much vacation apparatus is geared to these status cycles: the staffs as well as clientele play-act the whole set-up as if mutually consenting to be part of the successful illusion" (as cited in Wang, 2000, pp. 203-204). In Wang's interpretation, through the discussed status cycle tourism consumption "is not only an accumulation of experiences, but also an accumulation of reputation, status and symbolic capital" (p. 204). Spending adjourning (inseparable!) to the consumption ritual is also a source of pleasure and a 'fantastic feeling' (Wang, 2000, p. 196). Tourism consumption can

be hardly described occurring only on the personal level of one's identity, and should rather be seen as a kind of 'preferred social arrangements' on social identity's level (Rojek, 1993; Ryan, 1997a, p. 5). Stress on presentation of touristic consumption is made through picturing it as a separate, mystical, 'another' world, and romantizing it against the mundane context of one's present socio-cultural milieu. Symbolic environment and symbolic seduction through sensory, visual and audio imagery are utilized to create certain attitudes, motivations and goals on a shared level of society, structuring thoughts and feelings and shaping identity (Wang, 2000).

2.6 Summary of the literature review

During the undertaking of this literature review we have recognized that a wide field of study of postmodern tourism is represented by an extensive body of literature, which examine this phenomenon from different theoretical perspectives and express contradicting points of view on some aspects. Thus, we attempted to center on distinguishing characteristics of contemporary marketplace, such as ambivalence, authenticity and increasing globalization, which were considered particularly interesting for the subject of our study. Postmodernism was described as an emotionally overwhelming socio-cultural order, influencing tourist consumerism, as well as rebellious anti-consumerism, patterns. Based on examined research, we identified three main elements as good descriptors in demarking new trends in postmodern tourism consumption: motivation, personal identity expression, and lifestyle.

3. Home-exchange as a Research Area

3.1 'Quadrangulation' of home-exchange with non-institutionalized tourism trends

A number of academics has challenged the research of contemporary tourism consumption trends. We found it widely stressed that the lack of reliable empirical data and often discovered that weakness of the supportive secondary data are the major problems for sufficient analysis. Labels for the research areas have been given such as 'outside the boundaries', 'fertile' and 'virgin territories', (Williams & Hall, 2002, p. 3 and 5, referring to second-home ownership), 'yet to receive serious academic study' (Hampton, 1998, p. 639, referring to long-term budget travel), or analyzing interest in people's ludic behaviors (Kernan & Domzal, 2000, on action leisure pursuits). Studying the literature we had also found some indications that there have been very little studies done on common, daily home and family based leisure activities (McGuiggan, 2001).

We have depicted and used literature on postmodernism in tourism as the most descriptive and understood framework for studying the home-exchange phenomenon. We argue that consumption of tourism is a symbolic act through which one's personal identity gets expressed. Non-institutionalized trends appear in the postmodern tourism industry presenting 'real travel' – a trip to hold one's 'true' identity - opportunities. Supported by our literature review of different trends acting as 'true hues' of postmodern tourism, we chose four for building a basis of the phenomenon in focus – home-exchange. They are: vacation ownership and rental, cultural tourism, action leisure pursuits, and long-term budget travel (simply backpacking). We have found that each of these phenomena is related to home-exchange in its own specific way.

Vacation ownership/rental can be linked to home-exchange by the profound effort and involvement of the tourist into the process antecedent to actual travel consumption, moreover resembling the same high level of individualism involved. Yet, both touristic pursuits are characterized by participants not willing to be considered as 'tourists'. Deep immersion into local socio-cultural environment contrasts decision never to become fully a part of it. Contemporary cultural tourism that has got features of institutionalized voyeurism gives an interesting link to home-exchange. Action leisure (in present context, basically, all kinds of tourism generally understood as 'alternative') adds a perspective of (superficial, the 'other', the 'second' identity construction). Long-term budget travel reflects on search place, search space and budget issues. By 'quadrangulation' of these four trends, the home-exchange phenomenon will be hypothetically demarked:

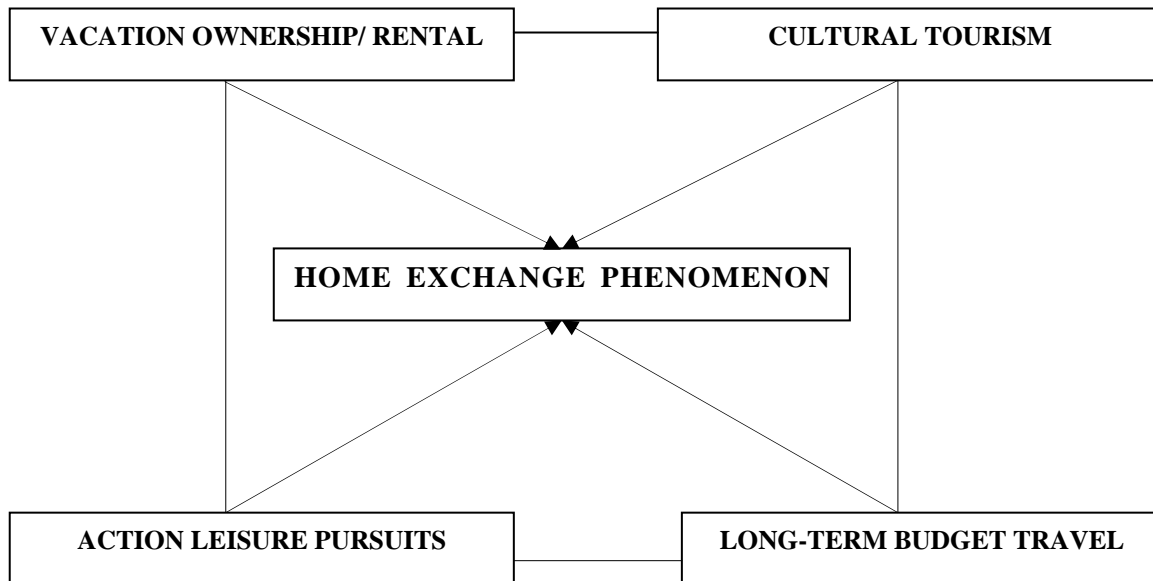


Figure 1. 'Quadrangulation' model; Arente and Kiiski, 2005

3.1.1 Vacation ownership / rental

As an alternative to institutionalized tourism pursuits, vacation ownership and rental represents a large share of alternative travel. The three following trends can be discussed to present the setting similar to home-exchange: second homes, timeshares and vacation rental.

Williams and Hall (2002) described second home owners as rejecting postmodernism in general and globalization and inauthenticity in particular, yet again contributing to both of those. They suggested that extended boundaries of potential search spaces are influenced by familiarity (e.g. shared cultural background), same-language speaking communities, and going back to the countries of origin are important considerations of so called 'new mobility' (cf. Borocz, 1996). Yet, idealized perception of the chosen location (which for second home ownership is usually in rurality) can be mentioned failure to integrate in the new community (Williams & Hall, 2002). Thus, Williams and Hall, and also Muller have stressed familiar socio-cultural environment (already-made social networks created through extension of friendship or kinship) to come at ease when reducing hassle of greater preparation for travel and subsequent adaptation to new conditions (2002).

Through the research of German ownership of second homes in Sweden Muller (2002) has found that various ambitions and motives of people motivated for second home ownership are mirrored in the locations of their permanent homes. Consumption-led change of lifestyle, characterizing this kind of mobility, strongly links the home-exchange

phenomenon with the second home ownership. Another interesting – and probably the main link between second home ownership and home-exchange - is in the fact that those people who do not want to be considered ‘tourists’ *do not* actually migrate to the destination place. Unremitting feedback process of tourists to their home communities reinforces the social network at home and fosters one’s own ‘home’ identity (Borocz, 1996). Moreover, Jaakson (1986) has characterized second home-owners as ‘permanent tourists’ in a constant condition of anticipation of travel.

Timeshares constitute a growing trend in vacation ownership, operated by hoteliers worldwide. Initialized by Marriott in the 1980s, timeshare business is now represented by nearly every major hotel chain, including Hyatt, Hilton, Starwood, Ramada and Disney hotels. Currently, thousands of massive timeshare condominiums are spread all over North America, Asia, and Europe to lesser extent (Watkins, 1996). Although these vacation residence clubs obtain their credence mostly through well established brand names of the hotel chains selling ‘memberships’, they are still often customized also to the local environment (Marsan, 2002). Recent developments of tailoring to the market involve building timeshare condominiums in truly urban locations, such as Manhattan or New York’s Time Square (Watkins, 1996).

The major attraction in owning a timeshare lies, again, in independence of continuous travel mediation. Purchased mostly through referrals, timeshares require emotional involvement and often family orientation of its consumers. Lifestyle and economic benefit also cannot be stressed enough; and owners often see timeshares as a good indicator for their standards of living. Industry representatives have described the success of timeshares saying that “‘people like to have control over their lives, including their vacations’” (Watkins, 1996).

Opposite to timeshares, *vacation rentals* have developed mostly throughout Europe with very little impact on North America. Since centuries ago Europeans have practiced close distance self-catering vacations, doing a ‘whirlwind’ tour of the main cities of the continent. One or two week’s rental of a farmhouse, cottage or countryside chateau takes a lot of hotel burden away as well as considerably eased long-term family travel in terms of comfort. Also, parallel to Bed & Breakfast hospitality, also very popular throughout Europe, vacation rentals offer the customers a much larger sense of independence and flexibility of actions on the premises (Holiday House, 2005; Vacanze in Italia, 2005; Vacation Homes Unlimited, 2005).

3.1.2 Contemporary cultural tourism

Contemporary cultural tourism possesses some distinctive features, which highlight this type of alternative travelling among the other non-institutionalized tourism trends and give an particularly interesting link to home-exchange phenomenon. As it has been argued in the world, historical shift from the 'individual traveler' to the 'mass society tourist' is reversing again, which actualize the growth of cultural tourism. "One does not simply see more of the world by engaging in the forms of tourist activities, one also accepts the invitation to become a better person" (Rojek & Urry, 1997, p. 8). Such well-known type of the cultural tourism, as museum visiting, experiences the boom of popularity in our days and acquires some new characteristics. One of them is that visitors are no longer expected to stand in awe of the exhibits. More emphasis is being placed on atmospherics and a degree of participation by the visitors in the exhibitions themselves. "'Living' museums replaced 'dead' museums, open air museums replace those under cover, sound replaces hushed silence, and visitors are not separated from the exhibits by glass" (Urry, 1990, p.130). Sharpley (2003, pp. 7-22) presented the term *infotainment* to explain that the contemporary museums combine the traditional educational role with the entertainment of visitors. He also pointed out the plenty of heritage centers and museums which use a variety of modern interpretative methods, from static displays, videos and 'talking heads' to recreation of 'authentic' sounds and smells and journeys back in the time in 'time capsules' (cf. Brown, 1995, p. 74).

The other increasing trend in the contemporary cultural tourism, so-called '*Dark Tourism*' is of particular interest for a deeper examination. The attractiveness of infamous sites can be explained simply by morbid curiosity or be referred to 'the ability of nostalgia to discard unpleasant experience' (Dann, 1994). But the most thrilling aspect of the '*Dark Tourism*' that visiting of such sites is more and more attains the character of *institutionalized voyeurism* - the tendency, which according to Urry (1990), rules in the modern society. The researcher claimed that the media have provided an enormously increased circulation of the representation of other people's life, including those of elite groups and royal family. Additionally, Sharpley (2003) wrote that "the reality of the infamous site's attractions may lie in the evidence they present of past threats to society, to ordered life, to continuity and to identity. In other words, people visit infamous sites to confirm their own survival" (pp.7-26). Rojek (1993) discussed an idea of 'fatal attraction': a parody of the historical events, myths and death-related sites, and tourists' almost fanatic search for these arguably authentic milieus (In Ryan, 1997, p. 14). Moreover, sightseeing has been recognized often as socially offensive, a sort of 'visual rape'; he even introduces a term *zoologizing* which implies that

the sights and/or local people are treated as animals by the curious visitors (Wang, 2000, p. 144-147).

3.1.3 Action leisure pursuits

Another relevant phenomenon with linkage to home-exchange setting is action leisure. There can be given several 'classical' examples of the trend, such as physical activities (white water rafting, skydiving, biking), unique flora and fauna explorations (safari, jungle quests), history-resembling activities (travel to wartime regions, also mock of similar activities, such as paintball), gambling, and so on (Kernan & Domzal, 2000, Weber & Roehl, 2000).

Studied by Kernan and Domzal in 2000, action leisure pursuits are characterized by their influence in development and/or amendments in one's sense of self-identity and life satisfaction in general. Researchers argue that expression of identity both to oneself and to others occurs through engagement in action leisure activities. Acknowledging identity expression as a social construct, leisure, ranging to sometimes ludic pursuits of play, represents the anti-pole of quotidian life, thus in itself can be regarded as a reflection to life. As a product of social reality, leisure consumption portrays the prevalent socio-cultural order by distorting traditional separation of high and low (pop) culture (Kernan & Domzal, 2000; McCabe, 2000). Celebration of diversity is omnipresent, and symbolism prevails in hyper-real consumption, where the ambience of place matters much more than the place itself (Kernan & Domzal, 2000). Also, by participating in leisure actions, tourists have been acknowledged to negotiate the constraints they might possess towards the overall tourism activity (Hudson & Gilbert, 2000).

McGuiggan, relating to contribution of Furnham (1990) has discussed that people needing constant stimulation are the ones most often found involved in action leisure (2001). Kernan and Domzal described action leisure as an unconventional quest for self-actualization (2000). They also have referred to Celsi et al. (1993), who suggested that the thrill of action leisure pursuits is in continuous growth stage, where participants are 'growing' with the pleasure of own achievements to an end where it becomes a source of personal identity expression for instance, through entering experience communitas and phatic communions.

3.1.4 Long-term budget travel

Rejection of postmodernism mood has certainly contributed to development of the non-institutionalized trend of long-term budget travel, or under its widespread contemporary label - backpacking. Of all the trends selected for discussion, long-term budget travel can be named the oldest, representing a *rite of passage* with its origins coming directly from the Grand tour (more specifically, budget flow of tramping associated with the Grand tour) (for more details, refer to Borocz, 1996, pp. 24-27; or Ateljevic & Doorne, 2001, p. 171).

The travel trend, labeled the 'Big OE' (Overseas Experience) refers to an overseas long-term budget travel experience, has found its roots in countries like Australia and especially New Zealand. The OE is characterized by strong quest for unusual, risky, thrilling experiences, yet carefree time, through experiencing a particular lifestyle, culture or environment on a long-term yet not permanent basis (Jamieson, 1996; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2001; Mason, 2002; William & Hall, 2002). Mason (2002) built on Cohen's (1974/1988) terms of tourist typology to show other interesting aspects fitting the trend specifically. Typologies distinguish tourists into 'drifters' and 'explorers', and those who 'experiment' and those who 'observe'. Due to the short-term stay in a society with an intention to immerse into it yet not to become a substantial part of it, these tourists may be rather characterized as 'explorers'. The same principle is regarded to the latter typology through the travelers observing the places of visit rather than becoming a part of it.

According to study done by Ateljevic and Doorne in 2001, referring to themselves as 'real travelers' rather than 'tourists', long-term budget travelers' primary interest objects are the richness of experience through immersion to local culture and society, and personal growth as broadening the mind subsequent to that immersion. Other motivators included search of individual transformation, solutions to life crises through 'buying time... to stop and think', searching for a 'new identity' different from traditional lifestyles through getting 'a perspective from a distance', namely, entering a 'global lifestyle', or, for older travelers, even beating the traditional image of passivity in their activities (pp. 176-177). Interesting in this context is the authors' referral to Adler's term of a '*learned beggar*' (1985): assuming the role of one, an average middle class person is taking pleasure in the play with identity, letting loose the typical roles one is associated with within home environment (1985, in Ateljevic and Doorne, 2001). Also Jamieson (1996) has suggested that experiencing tourism consumption with similarly-thinking, socio-culturally compatible people would reinforce the community through experience sharing, but then again would have the backward effect of overall experience reinforcement on each individual through enjoying this direct audience.

Yet, according to Ateljevic and Doorne, final conclusions after their study of long-term budget travel were that although the phenomenon should be seen as a process of transformation of one's life in general, travelers of this kind are undertaking it not with the goal to switch over to that other lifestyle, but rather to gain a perspective of 'how it can be different', or how it feels to live an 'unreal life', and then return to their familiar lifestyle upon homecoming (2001). Quoting one of the respondents (male, USA, age of 20s) of their empirical study, Ateljevic and Doorne said: 'Traveling is not reality. Not living the real life, and I don't think very much great things about real life. That is what I feel like and that is the reason'' (2001, p. 179).

3.2 Research objectives

The main linkage between several studied tourism trends lies in a specifically desired identity expression, and lifestyle or the quality of life as opposed to never breaking the ties with one's 'own life', home or family community. We suggest that immersing into any kind of these discussed touristic consumption experiences may provide one with an immediate solution to temporary identity expression.

We relate the above mentioned non-institutionalized tourism trends to home-exchange through a speculation that all of these phenomena represent a type of symbolic consumption which people choose to be identified with. As a negative response to institutionalized tourism second home ownership, contemporary cultural tourism, action leisure pursuits, long-term budget travel and home-exchange portray one's identity as rebels to the contemporary Western consumption patterns. Simulation of another temporary reality to live in, another lifestyle to be identified with, and another identity hoped to be identified with once again can be found sharply contrasting with the 'other' side of permanent life.

Based on our analysis of the problem area and the literature review we have formulated the following objectives for the empirical study of the home-exchange phenomenon:

- (1) to examine the home-exchange phenomenon as an example of contemporary bartering with a focus on the ambitions of tourism consumers for emancipation and self-identity expression;
- (2) to create a profile, both personal and behavioral, with a focus on the values of individuals, their travel aspirations, peripatetic lifestyle, motivational aspects; namely, to broaden the understanding of who home-exchangers are, and why do they behave in a particular way.

By triggering these targets, we would like to illustrate a picture of the trend; questioning the impact that home-exchange can have on the tourism industry. We take the liberty to suggest that the following empirical data, providing a sufficient basis for the analysis, will assist us with drawing the subsequent conclusions.

4. Methodology

4.1 Methodological issues related to research subject

4.1.1 Eclectic way in qualitative tourism research

As a guiding model for the study we have used a metaphor of *bricoleur* – a new view of researcher as an individual who pieces together sets of practices to make a solution to a puzzle (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Following this way of study, the research is presented as an innovative process, with the researcher being ingenious and creative in seeking out the different pieces of the puzzle until they reach a point when they are able to present as complete a picture as possible. Thus, there is no one set of methods that can bring total insight, the concept of objectivity is rejected, and consequently there is no perfect outcome – no ‘right’ answer to research question posed (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). According to Phillimore and Godson (2004) this statement can be explained by the nature of social research “...the aim of the researcher is to take account of subjectivity, of their ethics, values and politics, and use a range of appropriated interconnected interpretative methods to maximize understanding of research problem” (p.34).

In relation to the tourism as a research area, Riley and Love (2000) asserted that tourism as a subject is relatively new, and consideration of research issue in tourism is immature relative to that in other social science fields. Thus, the tourism possesses a number of tendencies in its research that probably relate to its multidisciplinary nature and the relatively infancy of the field. “These were the selective way in which researchers moved between moments and the eclectic approach to developing methodology” (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, p.19). Eclecticism here demonstrates a way in which many qualitative tourism researchers adopt methods and approaches from the different, not necessary neighboring moments, mixing and matching them.

It could be argued that one of the strengths of tourism research is that it is not bound to fixed disciplinary boundaries with their associated methods and is therefore free to combine a range of approaches and even research paradigms to give a more fluid approach to research. The experimental nature of this type of research could be argued to increase the potential to discovery but may pose difficulties for less experienced researchers, who might struggle to position themselves from an epistemological perspective within the field (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, p.20).

Wang (2000) explained that utilization of sociological approach in tourism research is based on analysis of human interactions in relation to tourism and other social phenomena in a wider socio-cultural network of social trends and structures. The researcher has discussed three ways for tourism analysis: (1) learning about leisure aspect of tourism, (2) studying tourism as a special kind of migration, or (3) exploring various dimensions of tourism in terms of escape, authenticity and identity-seeking, consumerism, etc. In addition, Wang has insisted that tourism is a socio-cultural phenomenon constructed, generated and developed over a longer phase in human history, and thus should be analyzed only within each particular historical period of social order there has been without making broader conclusions about generics of the model (2000). Yet, rolled into witty postmodernism mood, research in any subject area has nowadays turned into a kind of mockery play portrayed as “never having to say you’re sorry for not having an original idea in your head” (Beaumont, 1993, as cited in Brown, 1995, p. 23 and p. 63).

4.1.2 Interpreting phenomenon of qualitative research

Qualitative research is increasing in use in a wide range of academic and professional areas and especially in fields that handle people and their behavior as object for study. According to Phillimore and Goodson (2004) “...with qualitative approaches, the emphasis placed upon studying things in their natural setting, interpreting phenomena in terms of meanings people bring to them, humanizing problems and gaining an ‘emic’ or insider’s perspective (p.4). They also claimed that qualitative methods are most effectively employed with the aim of to collect data about activities, events, occurrences and behaviors and to seek an understanding of action, problems and processes in their social context. Furthermore, “as a strategy, qualitative inquiry can generate theory out of research, should place an emphasis on understanding the worlds from the perspective of its participants, and should view the social life as being the result of interaction and interpretations” (p.4). Silverman (2000) stated that “the facts we find in the field’ never speak for themselves but are impregnated by our assumptions” (p.3).

Additionally, Holliday (2002) stressed that qualitative research should be constructed in relation to the research settings, which enables evaluation of its cultural and ideological appropriateness. Geertz (1973) defined culture as the “webs of significance” that man himself has spun (p.5). In relations to this he stated that “the analysis of culture is therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in each of meaning” (p. 5). Geertz also claimed that what we think of as facts, our data, cannot be truly objective

because they are really “our own constructions of other people’s constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to” (p. 9). The researcher coined the term *thick description* (1973) which presented a set of the interconnected data supported by arguments and discussions. According to Geertz (1973) interpretive analysis cannot be systematically theorized and assessed, it must be self-validating: “...the legitimacy of the analysis should be measured by how well the *thick description* holds up within the case and is supported by the evidence put forth” (p.11).

4.2 Explanation of procedure

In this section we evidently strengthen Silverman’s (2000) idea of renaming the methodology chapter into ‘the natural history of my research’. Our investigation of the home-exchange phenomenon began in December 2004 as an informal observation of very active Internet community of home-exchange participants, which was presented by five major clubs and about 15 speciality clubs (such as for seniors / sexual minorities’ only). During the spring, we downloaded and analyzed a vast amount of home-exchange related articles, documents, photographs, reminiscences, computer-mediated communications, and other cultural data available through mass media channels and on the Internet. In May, one of this paper’s authors - Helena Arente, moved to Canada and continued the study there while the other one -Veronika Kiiski did the same in Sweden. After few months building a knowledge base we came to the immediate search of home-exchange participants in order to gain interview permission.

The initial attempt to find research study participants through inquiring friends and relatives led to the first interview in July which was conducted in downtown Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, Canada. Then, in late July, a search leaflet was created (see it in Appendix C) and distributed onto notice boards in the different public places as the regional libraries, the local sport clubs, the theatres and some local grocery markets. The locations were chosen due to their high visibility and customer turnover (considering a number of people who would be able to actually notice and read the advertisement). Unfortunately, the posted advertisements did not get any response therefore we decided to intensify our research by joining one of the home-exchange websites in the end of August.

The club ‘Homeexchange.com’ was chosen because of it’s popularity, the membership fee and it’s excellent representation in both Canada and Sweden. We must acknowledge that establishing of e-mail contacts with participants was not such a smooth and successful process that we had expected. Overall, thirty-one e-mails were sent to families in Sweden

(all advertisements from Stockholm and Gothenburg that we could find in the listing); and twelve e-mails to families in Nova Scotia, Canada (families with more home-exchange experience were chosen as a priority) (see e-mail text in Appendix D). In response to them we got eight e-mails from Sweden and five from Canada. Among the Swedish respondents three families were willing to give interviews and five explained their refusal by having no experience of home-exchange yet. Thus, two interviews were conducted in October in Stockholm (the centre of the city and the suburb Spånga); and the third one in Gothenburg (Mölndal). The fourth and last Swedish interviewee from Stenungsund was found thanks to assistance of the family from Mölndal. In the case of Canada, four interviews were arranged through the e-mail response in the end of September and October in the province of Nova Scotia (Halifax, Bedford, and Kentville). The fifth response was from a couple with permanent residence in Wisconsin, USA. They were more than willing to participate in the interview, which yet could not be arranged because of distance for travelling to meet them.

In social studies the value of interview is one of the continuously discussing subjects. The foremost researcher working on narratives in social science, Barbara Czarniawska, considered that "... an interview is not a window on social reality but it is a part, a sample of that reality" (Czarniawska, 2004 p.49). In-depth interviews are regarded as being particularly effective in capturing the deeper levels of various social meaning from a consumer perspective and gathering data on the experience part of tourism. We determined that the empirical research design from a qualitative perspective and an in-depth interview technique would be best for the purpose of our study, where the pivotal factor is identity expressions of the home-exchangers. During the interviews we encouraged the research participants to tell us about their experiences by asking a set of semi-structured and probing questions in face-to-face setting, which allowed us to collect both attitudinal and behavioral data from the subject. In so doing, we explored topics that we might not have thought about when designing the research project but which the interviewees themselves identified as being significant. Overall, eight interviews were carried out in the home of each participant and one was conducted at a workplace of the interlocutor. The duration of interviews was guided by the extent of the interviewees' enthusiasm for participation (e.g. they ranged from 45 minutes up to more than two hours). We must identify that the perception of some questions differed among the interviewees depending on their cultural background, social status, and their personal assessment of privacy margins. Therefore, personal thoughts and matters were the breaking points of the interview: one Swedish family acknowledged that discussing their feelings with people outside their circle was a very hard topic for sharing. Yet, another

Swedish interviewee said clearly that there were certain issues he estimated as private, or that there were topics simply difficult or impossible to answer. We consider this fact as one of the limitations that affected the undertaking of our study.

The other limitations, which must be recognized, are the time limit and the lack of a research grant. These aspects constrained the gathering of the empirical data to only nine interviews within easy reachable locations. Would the case have been different, a broader Scandinavian region as well as other provinces of Canada could have been of great interest. Furthermore, the data from the accomplished interviews is imprinted by the shortage of the researchers' experiences in conducting such research interviews and its technique as well. Consequently, these factors rendered our study, to some extent, atypical; and the limited generalization was warranted.

Table 1. List of the study participants [names are fictitious]

Name	Gender	Country of Interview
Teresa	female	Canada
Lydia	female	Canada
Camilla	female	Canada
Joseph	male	Canada
Peter	male	Canada
Hanna & Philip	couple	Sweden
Dan & Mia	couple	Sweden
Kristina	female	Sweden
Magnus	male	Sweden

As sometimes it would be only one partner of a household available for an interview, in total, there were six females and five males interviewed, all from Sweden or Canada (see Table 1). All respondents were middle aged, and most of the home-exchangers were parents of several (two to three) pre-school or teenage children (the exceptions were one older retired couple, Joseph and his wife; one common-law couple without children, Kristina; and a man with a gay sexual orientation, Peter). Interviewees' employment varied, but one common feature can be pointed out; all of the men were occupying professional positions (such as engineering, law, business or medicine), whilst almost all of the women were not bound to their employment, either taking care of the house (either as permanent housewives,

or having small children at present and staying home with those) or having an educational / social-work occupation which would allow them to have steady time off (e.g. teachers – two months holidays every summer, etc.). Regarding the number of previous exchanges, most of the home-exchangers that we interviewed were quite experienced in this sense. Only two respondents (Teresa and Magnus) had had a first-time experience, while the average number of exchanges ranged four with the maximum of eight exchanges by Peter. In addition to swapping homes, Peter and Joseph were involved also in hospitality exchanges and vacation rentals (latter, only Joseph).

All individuals providing information also granted permission for tape-recording of their responses and using them for research purpose. The full text of all recorded interviews were transcribed, read in detail several times and then analyzed. The gathered empirical data is presented in the story which emploted all nine interviews. The creation of that story was inspired and guided by the book *Narratives in Social Science Research* by Czarniawska, 2004.

Our research project was conceived within an interpretive paradigm, corresponding to the home-exchange phenomena, where the central endeavor is to understand the subjective meanings of participants' experience and create a personal and behavioral profile of a home-exchanger. As a heuristic device of progressive qualitative research, the 'quadrangulation' model was applied for analyzing of gathered data. That increased the research validity and trustworthiness by getting and contrasting multiple perceptions of the comparable to home-exchange phenomena. The analyzing procedure included exploring, reflecting and interpretation of data records; discovering patterns, which allowed creating theme categories; constructing and investigating of expression which enabled to find some similarity linking the tourism trends of 'quadrangulation' model.

The network of interconnected and analyzed data supported by the discussions and arguments were presented in the 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of our research. By using 'thick description', we endeavored to enlarge transferability of gathered data and construct our research process more transparent. The extract from the data, as they are, were utilized as evidence for the argument, which can be underpinned by the words of Phillimore and Goodson (2004) "...to present oral data using direct quotations to allow 'authentic' voices to speak for themselves" (p.13).

5. The home-exchangers' story told to us

In order to present the home-exchangers, we have constructed a story based on a traditional *grand plot*. According to Czarniawska (2004), an overall plot should consist of: an introduction that combines all interviews; a main part where the plot experiences some changes influenced by few forces; and finally, an end that again combines all interviews by some conclusion. The introduction, the main part and the end of our story are represented by the interviewees' responses on the three questions that are interesting for our study. Namely, what is the attraction and feasibility of the home-exchange for our study participants; and is there a willingness to repeat the experience?

How do they find the right home-exchange partners?

The home-exchangers gain the introductory information about the swaps either through their friends and work colleagues, or mass media sources (magazine or newspaper articles, television). Upon building the interest, all of them broaden the knowledge of the home-exchange further with some heavy Internet research.

Home-exchangers devote an extensive length of time to communication prior to the exchange. As Camilla said, 'you have to spend days, even months writing emails, communicating, seeing if those people really are whom you are imagining them to be' - issues of comfort in each other's house were prioritized to social matters. Families with children look up families with children of the same age in order to enjoy the convenience of kids' facilities, toys, computers and bicycles; exchangers with pets look for counterparts with pets, too. Many think it is important to investigate the particular location of the house over any other consideration, yet for two different reasons. First would be for the location itself (e.g. downtown (Kristina), culturally vibrant place, (Camilla), versus, second, the fact that location actually could mean a similarity in interests. As Joseph notes, exchangers he had encountered, were 'people who come here like nature, tranquillity, peace, closeness to the water, the same things we do.' Hanna and Philip stress the similarity in socio-cultural environment:

We started of all that with the home-exchange with a Danish family quite close to us. We thought that Danish culture is quite similar to ours and we felt secure about that. We expected them to take care of our house in the same way that we would and also that we could communicate more easily. Swedish and Danish are very close to each other, so we could communicate over the phone and mail without any doubts about any communication gaps. Main reason?... because in Sweden our house is one

of the most personal areas that you can think of actually. I think that the house is very personal for people.

And finally, Camilla shares also a negative occurrence she has experienced during the pre-exchange communication process, furthermore stressing the importance of giving oneself enough time to find the suitable exchange partners:

We almost went to Florida just now... Had to say 'no' at the last minute, that was unfortunate. But the people were not right. /.../ During the communication I just felt that those people were not right for us... I mean their house was excellent, right what we and the kids would enjoy a lot, but we had to say 'no'. /.../ The man had gotten very pushy. He became unbearable... I mean, we wanted to go, and would have gone, if not that. So I just wrote him saying that we had to change our plans because of a family emergency.

Home-exchangers recognize that communication continued also during the exchange, either by phone or e-mail. Several keep in touch after the exchange, like Camilla, who says that her family has created a close bond with the people they have exchanged with: 'Like that family from Vienna, Austria, who were here... we became very good friends. They have been in Canada twice since, they have a family here, and they always call us when they are over. And we send Christmas cards to each other, and birthday notes...' Moreover, Dan and Mia mention becoming friends with the neighbors of their exchange partners: 'Actually we became friends with the neighbors over there, so they even invited Eric - our oldest son - to visit them the summer after, so he stayed in Cambridge the summer after our visit for a week. It was very good. We still keep a relationship with them, send post cards, write e-mails.' Others, like Teresa, distinguish that the differences in interests and age might act as constraints towards further friendly linkages: 'Sometimes people keep in touch. We did not. We were at different stages in our lives. Over childbearing... you know, all that kind of stuff.' Finally, Kristina comes up with a totally different approach to creating bonds with the people she had exchanged homes with:

I don't mind...and, actually, it's easier for me to let the total strangers come in my home...for instance, that guy from New York, our third home-swap. I don't really know him, he doesn't know me, and that happened just like vacation, casual, you know. He went back to his home. And if we want we can keep the contact otherwise if we don't feel this way we can just forget about each other.

How important are actually house location and destination's specifics for successful home-exchange?

All interviewed home-exchangers own their exchange properties; all but one being private houses (one condominium). About a half of the estates are located in close suburbs to

downtown areas; two are actually located in the very central downtown; and three more are situated in the picturesque and very quiet areas within a few hours drive to the nearest town. Downtown locations are smaller in size (or just a condo) and possessed a typical Nordic ascetic design: simple furniture (IKEA's popularity in both Sweden and Atlantic Canada is undeniable!), abstract paintings, black-and-white old movie posters, woodcarvings and similar. In comparison, estates are far grander the further from the 'desirable' city destinations we went: huge villas with large patios, luxurious gardens and rich interiors. Although, as Hanna and Philip comment, there is a supply and demand for different kinds of houses in global home-exchange:

On the whole, there are a lot different social levels, which can be offered on the home-exchange website. But in our case living here in Scandinavia, we feel like we are not the most popular home-exchange house compared with those who live in Manhattan or in the womb of the city. So, if we want to exchange with some family in Denmark, in Germany or in Holland, so we want to have a house, as nice as the house we have. But if we want to exchange with a family from the south of France, that seem very popular, that would be have to accept, may be we would accept a two bedroom's apartment. We can't expect a big villa with the swimming pool. And it will be all right, because the south of France is more appealing to us.

Another issue that home-exchangers stress is the difficulty, or, instead, ease to arrange the exchange depending on the location of the house in relation to weather conditions. Home-exchangers from both the province of Nova Scotia in Canada and Sweden consider that their residences are situated not in 'very appealing' locations for home-exchange. As Hanna from Sweden mentions,

The people, who have villas in the south of France, they can choose anything. They can go to Manhattan or Los Angeles, even to Hawaii. But it's not Hawaii here, obviously. It's too cold here. So that can take quite a long time for us to find the interesting house exchange.

They also see rough weather conditions, cold and rain, and a 'passive leisure'-tourist season mainly in the two latter summer months of July and August only as negative characteristics of the destination that create constraints for the exchange:

A month ago we got an offer from San Diego, that couple, I don't know what is wrong with them, but they want to come to Sweden for two weeks in the middle of November. Sweden in the middle of November?! (Kristina).

The issue is strengthened by an almost natural willingness of both Canadians and Swedes to look for an exchange home in southern 4S regions, such as southern US for the former, or the South of Europe for the latter. As Lydia from Nova Scotia specifies, she is: 'looking to

go south only. I mean, I don't care going to B.C. [British Columbia] in February, you know what I mean! Same cold and snow.' And another comment from Haligonian Peter:

It's impossible to find anyone who would want to come to Halifax in the winter. Everybody wants to come here in July and August. That's just a fact (laughs). So if you plan to go somewhere in July or August, it's great. Whereas on the West Coast, we got offers pretty much year around, because the weather is so nice. And in winter people would go skiing. And it's nothing to do here during the winter.

Yet from the opposite side, considering quite appealing summers again both in Canada and Sweden, the home-exchangers express a common opinion of their willingness to 'occupy' their house for the attractive summertime themselves:

But here the season is like July and August only. This is a big thing with the home-exchange here. Unless you exchange the continents like North American with European in the same time in summer, that works. But I don't want to move away from here in the summertime! (Teresa)

A commonality for all the homes is the atmosphere we were welcomed in: laid-back, relaxed and confiding. Moreover, the surrounding are inviting, too. For instance, home-exchanger Lydia, an interviewee owning a large family house in a well-off neighborhood of Bedford, Nova Scotia, actually promotes their whole 'street community' when making exchange contacts (e.g. 'Campbell street neighborhood is the most hospitable in NS', etc). Lydia mentions that quite a few people from the 'community' have done home-exchange, too, under their common influence and interest.

A lot of personal time and effort is involved into promoting the house and also the destination. As Camilla comments:

It is very difficult to get people to come over to Nova Scotia. The season is very short, and people usually regard Nova Scotia as a very remote and quiet location anyways. I mean, of course, they recognize all those natural sites and the beauty of our ocean coastline, but... and moreover, what we have here is a regular mid-class family house, not a huge mansion or so. Thus, as I have noticed you are very limited with what you have. Of course, I mean, you can try to write letters to the owners of those nice palaces in the South of France or Italy, but where's their incentive to come over?

Also Lydia notes the difficulty of getting people interested in her exchange offer: 'I couldn't say we get so many offers on our ad. I mean, you have to present Nova Scotia good enough for people to be interested. So it's difficult to get people here, too. You have to give them all those additional benefits'.

After several interviews, especially a conversation with Magnus, our observation is that the location of the exchange property is a really important issue for home-exchangers. Magnus's house is located in a small countryside village a few hours drive to the nearest

activities, and he strongly insists that it is not enough to have that house ready for an exchange located close to a big interesting city or in the centre of some bigger metropolitan city.

It's a really interesting experience to exchange houses and it's a safe way of traveling. But again: it takes time, a lot of efforts and may be luck as well, considering the locations of the houses. Like the last two years our advertisement in that home-exchange website attracted just two more families: one from Germany and one from Holland. And they didn't live in those exciting places where we would like to go, so we didn't accept them. But if we get some interesting offer, no doubts, we will accept that (Magnus).

The country of the exchange home plays a big role in the supply and demand marketplace of the databases as well. During our study we encountered a person who, unfortunately, was not suitable to be an interviewee for the research because of the following reason. Despite that fact that his three-room condominium is located in downtown Moscow, for eight years of advertising on a popular home-exchange website this professor from Russia had not gotten any reasonable exchange offers (except one student's who wanted to reside in his apartment during the study course in some university in Moscow). The professor's comments were that he thinks that Russia is still not at all a safe place, which an ordinary foreign family would dare to choose as a home-exchange destination. We think that this case is necessary to be included in our story as an interesting aspect, as it indeed contrasts the picture of the home-exchange phenomenon presented by mass media. It seems, for successful home-exchange, that it is not enough to have the right mentality and lifestyle only, it is also necessary to live in a suitable for travelling - a perceived 'safe' - country.

Is the home-exchange included in the interviewees' future plans?

Teresa announces that would she have more free time she 'would do it in a heartbeat'. Kristina comments that she and her partner 'are really pleased with this idea of home-exchange. We love it! It's almost impossible for us now to think of travelling by the other way'. Also Lydia says that her family will definitely do more home-exchanges: 'We love it. And I think we'll keep doing it even when the kids grow up... we're so spoiled by all that comfort... (laughs)'. Camilla has a special reasoning: 'we are planning to do an around-the-world trip with the kids in two years, so we are trying to get to know as many families as possible, even through the hospitality exchange...' The only respondent identifying any doubts about future home-exchanges is Magnus, who on the question of whether he would swap his home again answers the following:

Maybe sometime. I'm not sure to say honestly. /.../ Because I'm very busy at work now and I can't afford spending a lot of time and efforts to arrange a home-exchange. It takes time actually. For me it's easier now to buy some trip from a travel agency. And in our case it's also difficult to get some interesting and suitable offer because our location is not so attractive. So it's not so easy like you can think of it.

But even Magnus describes his home-exchange experience as unforgettable:

I remember when we came back home and everything was already over, I got that feeling how to explain that I was so proud of myself that I did it. It was absolutely new and exciting experience and it was worth all those efforts that I put into organizing that trip. Because this is an adventure and I like adventure!

Another interviewee, Dan, explains his devotion to the home-exchange and its doubtless presence in his future plans like this:

I think it's so exciting with home-exchange that you never know where you will come the next time, what offer you can get from people. Perhaps, next year we will come to Alaska. Like we decided to go to Geneva and it happened that we changed all our plans and went to Iceland instead and we were very lucky. And to get an offer make you on better mood, because you discuss it and dream about the trip and all that make the life more interesting! This is an adventure for us. And I must say that the economic point is not so important in comparison with that WOW feeling when you see the exchange house the first time.

6. Analysis

6.1 Motivation

Socio-cultural influences

Research has suggested that the travel decision process is shaped by one's personal and social determinants. Other variables include assessed consumption value, mystique assessed through potential traveler's predilections, travel constraint factors such as cost/value and time, personal opportunity trade-offs, assumed quality and quantity of information, and degree of perceived risks (Moutinho, 2000; Bieger & Laesser, 2001).

In this study, the *push factors* - as person-specific motivators - were more likely to be indicated among the interviewees' responses. All interviewed people highlighted the economic benefit as a very important factor (as it is directly linked with long-term budget travel where expenditure pattern is essential). Regardless of socio-economical or family status, respondents unanimously stated that they could not afford the cost related to prolonged travel, would it not be for home-exchange.

Next, motives for travel through either home-exchange or cultural tourism were found sociologically linked. Cultural tourism is a form of experiential tourism based on the search for and participation in new and deep cultural experiences of an aesthetic, intellectual, emotional, or psychological nature (Reizinger, 1994, p. 24). Furthermore, 'cultural tourists are sufficiently individuated by their serious approach to tourism and their unusual tastes in touristic objects to stand out from the mass of tourists now rowing the globe' (Stebbins, 1996, p.949). An educational objective seems to be one of the most repetitive motives for traveling by home-exchange for families with children. Six of nine interviewed families have children in the age from 3 to 16, and all of them expressed the pursuit of authentic, real life to show their kids.

I have mentioned before that for our family, when we are so busy in the everyday life - like, we have full time jobs and the children go to school - with all that different kinds of activities, traveling became particularly important and we try to do it several times every year. Because, when we travel, we stay very close to each other. We get some memories and experiences, which we can share with each other for a long time, and then we have plans to make together. And also it's about education. We want our children to learn other languages and even if we travel to a country where we don't know the language, it's important to learn how we can communicate in some way. The children have to know that it's different in other places, not the same what we have at home here. Especially with home-exchange, they can see that from insight, the genuine life, not touristic. And during the travel we see museums and sights, do all things

together. So traveling for us is family building and education on the same way (Hanna).

...I mean, we are traveling by home-exchange for the reason our kids see the world and get to learn how things work. So it is very important for me that the location and family is culturally vibrant. We want our kids to learn the traditions, the manners... languages. You meet local people traveling by this way, and getting to know people is the largest gift you can give to yourself and your children. Communicating with others, seeing their manners, that is important. You can show it to your kids and tell them 'so did you see how that person did react and how did he behave?' It's all about providing options of choice, broadening their perspective (Lydia).

... and home-exchange, you know...showing our children how different it can be away from home. We are trying to teach them that even if they are living here in this safe and sound environment such as most of Canada's Atlantic Provinces are, there are very different places and lives in the world... We are trying to show them different environments... To show that more is not necessarily better, that less is more sometimes. I mean, they have everything they need here, triple the things I remember having – or wanting to have – in my childhood. But this is not what makes a human being a good person. You have to see different aspects of life to evaluate the real reasoning behind how the world works. A lot of children in the world are raised in good conditions, and getting a good education despite the surrounding economic conditions. We want our kids to see how the real world works... That money is not everything. I find that abundance of time spent in front of TV makes kids to become rather dull... They have this bland vision that the world they live in is perfect and unique as it is. I want my children to see that there is much more to it out there (Camilla).

Even families without children emphasized searching for authentic experiences while traveling:

And that's what real traveling is all about. You cannot see the world being a tourist, and seeing only what's put in front of you. You have to search and find the real backup for the world's processes, to be able to see the reasoning behind it (Kristina).

This motivation of traveling tends to be similar with long-term budget traveling. Referring to themselves as 'real travelers' rather than 'tourists', long-term budget travelers' primary interests are the richness of experiences through immersion to local culture and society, and personal growth as broadening the mind subsequent to that immersion (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2001). Many interviewed families described the encounter with the local community as an unforgettable experience, which stimulates the further participation in the home-exchange:

England was the place that we wanted to see, mainly because our children began to study English and it would be really fun to us to go to England

where children can get practice on some way, to buy their ice-cream for the first time in English. And local people we met there were just amazing! Like this man, a neighbor, he was an old military. He has been serving in India and had big moustache. He was really British. Everything was so good. He had splendid English, really upper class and he was very, very social. So he came over some evening and had a glass of beer or wine. We spent many hours with him. We lived in the house, 10 minutes from Paddington station by the local train, but even living in suburbs we could meet so many English people whom we wouldn't meet living in the hotel room. That milkman! I wanted to buy butter from the milkman. So I went out when the milkman came delivering the milk and asked him about the packet of butter (laughing). Well, he more or less patted my cheek and said: "Love, I don't have butter, I'm a milk man!" Ha-ha! And you know it was very charming, very British. That something what we couldn't experience otherwise. We were a part of the local society, community where we lived, and that you really can't buy. You can't buy that! (Hanna and Philip).

Possessing reasonable knowledge in foreign languages is another standard mark among the interviewees (e.g. fluent English characterized the Swedish research participants). The question of language barriers was asked several times (depending of the country of home-swap, if the local language there was other than English), and the responses were almost unanimous that it is not considered as any kind of obstacle or constraint for home-exchange. Canadian Teresa said she was 'getting by very well' in Switzerland by utilizing her high-school learned French; Peter relied on a sign language that is 'valid anywhere'; and Joseph (a Dutch native living in Canada since early childhood) was persuasive about the spread of English language, because:

...Most of the Spanish, and East, and Indian countries – they are all English [were, colonies]. You go to Europe, and everybody speaks English. It's vital. Even France and Italy. Everybody in the tourist business speaks English. And all the home-exchange sites are in English, too. It's not a problem anywhere. Maybe Japan?

None of the interviewed home-exchangers acknowledged language barrier as a truly demotivating consideration of traveling to a particular destination/country. This phenomenon of language unimportance or, indeed, indifference, is supported by a rapidly increasing worldwide globalization. An introduction of a 'global tribe' concept was done by Kotkin in 1993. Characterized by geographical spread yet strong sense of common origin with the rise of globalization and technological development and accessibility there is an increasing trend that these certain groups tend to reinforce their socio-cultural ties. In fact, Kotkin identified five major 'global tribes', which are: the English and English-speaking nations, the Jews, the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Asian Indians.

Search behavioral patterns of home-exchangers

To portray a behavioral pattern through distinctiveness and importance of a search time and space prior to the home-exchange pursuits, a part of the research concentrated on the specifics of the information mediums and deep individual involvement into the process by potential home-exchangers.

Four kinds of tourist information sources have been identified in prior research: primary (previous experiences), secondary (mass communication), tertiary (travel agencies or exhibitions) and personal (family, friends) (Moutinho, 2000). When the motivation and involvement are high, and the prospective consumption tends to resemble one's self-image, the prospective tourist tends to rely mostly on the primary sources of information. With increasing perceived risks, the quantity and quality of various sources is also emphasized. Assimilated communication in form of conversation then helps to internalize the information congruent to one's already existing values and attitudes, and create the *total thoughts*, namely, image formulation based on both feelings and knowledge (Moutinho, 2000). Secondary and personal sources for the acquisition of the needed information seemed to be more prevalent among the interviewed home-exchangers. Thus, a half of the interviewees described obtaining initial information about the home-exchange through a general interest newspaper or magazine article. Second-half acknowledged friends or co-workers as the first source of awareness. Subsequently, all the respondents continued their in-depth research of home-exchange options on the Internet.

Bieger and Laesser insisted that the medium choice for information source depends on three main reasons: (1) traveling distance, (2) familiarity with the destination, and (3) degree of individual organization of the trip (2001). Cliff and Ryan (1997) have listed the following reasons for tourist involvement with a tertiary parties (e.g. a commercial travel agencies or exhibitions) when in search for their prospective consumption information. First of all, important is hypothetical reliability of the information gathered. Second, an intermediary is a convenient mean to time management, or efficient search. Last, it comes handy as a source for potential problem solving. To the above characteristics, Moutinho has also added assortment of risk variable assessments (2000).

Every time when you travel, you are reading a lot and checking the places before you go. You don't just buy the ticket and go, even if I buy a package tour I anyway will read a lot and try to find out a lot about the place were I go. All this information you actually can find out while you are writing the e-mails for home-exchange. All this organizing process and all these effort that we put. We don't view that as a trouble. Opposite, we really enjoy this process! Yes, it takes time, to get to know the people. You

can't meet them personally but you have to get an idea what kind of people they are, if you can make business with them. And this is a big process. But the relations with people are very interesting, to get a new acquaintance, some new friends. That's also a part of it. I think it's just nice to find new people (Hanna).

And here we have a point that can be considered as a disadvantage for some people. I mean, it doesn't take a long time or a lot of efforts from you to arrange actually a home-exchange. Some months maybe, not really long. It's not so difficult as other can think of. But it seems like..., people seems to make plans you know, how to say that, in advance and they expect everything being like they planned and don't accept some changes. You know what I mean... like, some people don't accept that impulsive or unpredictable swing in their plans. For those people it can be difficult to arrange the home-exchange. Like it happened with us two years ago when we planned to go to New York and instead went to Paris (Kristina).

Some people can consider the planning process as a disadvantage, when you write and call to people in order to arrange the home exchanging. But for me it's very interesting. It's me who use the Internet most in the family and I like to e-mail people and give them some information about Sweden, and us. And they also tell me about their families. After few e-mails they are not strangers any more, I like it. Another thing is that sometimes you must react quickly on some unexpected offer and you already have no time for planning at all. Actually, last year we wanted to go to Switzerland and even were planning the exchange with some family from Switzerland. But suddenly they wrote that they couldn't take the holidays in time we planned so we had to cancel that trip. Then the family from Iceland sent to us their offer and it was in time because we wanted anyhow to go somewhere in our vacations so we decided very quickly to go there. And it was a very unforgettable trip. Also interesting that the Icelandic family didn't have a description of their home on our website, so we couldn't see their house. But we had to react quickly and we took the risk to go there and we had no regrets after that (Dan).

The enjoyment of the planning and organizing process, and the ability to react quickly and spontaneously on the unexpected offers characterize all the interviewed families:

I did the planning, it was my idea, and I found it so much fun for the whole year... In September we basically got our family, and knew where we were going. And for me, the emailing, the getting to know them, the planning, and the anticipation was a big part of the fun. We talked about it for a year. And even before that, when I was wooing people, and people were wooing me, we had pretty good conversations about, 'oh my God, do you think this person will email us back?!', 'I found this house in Italy', or 'I found this house in Buenos Aires'... 'What do you think about that idea?'. And then I'd do a little research... you know, it was feeding our imagination. Because as soon as you... you got to see the house on the Internet, you see the place, you know the details... All you might know there are two people in the house and that they... So, you know, you start this, and you do this

slow relationship thing...I remember jumping on my email, going 'oh, I wonder if they wrote me today!', 'I wonder if they wrote me back!', 'Who wrote me today?'. So for me it was a fascinating journey. The whole thing, right, from the beginning stages: finding out about it, getting excited about it, thinking of possibilities to the time when we left. And then, moving into somebody else's house, saving some money, experiencing their life. And doing it that way (Teresa).

Research recognizes three interrelated forms of imagery representation: verbal (an 'inner speech'), visual ('pictures in the mind's eye') and enactive (imagined action or play-role) (Aylwin, 1990). In tourism research, for obvious reasons, focus is put on the latter. By living through the 'do-it-yourself' or 'experience-it-yourself' thoughts, meaningful aspects of the image to relate with one's own life are created. Connecting and relating to self lead to a deeper mental processing of the information (Bone & Ellen, 1990).

I am really enjoying the long lead-ins. Getting to know people over the email, even without the determination to swap with them, just discussing stuff... about home-exchange, about their place, their travel plans... You get to know a lot about travel like that, you know what I mean, real life travel-tips. It helps planning for the next time. And the sense of anticipation is overwhelming. And the closer the time for the trip comes, the more you feel that it's just a natural next step in your life (Camilla).

Home-exchanger: a buyer and seller of travel

A remarkable observation was that participants of home-exchange say that they feel responsible for their partner good time during the home swap, and try to ensure a high quality of guests' staying by involving the relatives, neighbors and friends in the home-exchange process. Very interesting were home-exchanger Teresa's comments on her feelings during the exchange (Teresa's Canadian family went to Switzerland, and whilst on the trip, it happened to be a very rainy summer in their native locality):

My major problem was: we felt so responsible for their good time, right? We felt like we were responsible for their vacation... But I think they enjoyed it. Of course it's hard to really know... I did not get a sense that they absolutely *adored* it, you know...

Feeling of responsibility for the good time of the others can be explained by the fact that many of the interviewed home-exchange participants considered a warm-hearted reception by the local community as one of the most attractive factors which actually motivated them for traveling. That is why they try to provide to their partner as pleasant welcome as they expect for themselves.

Meeting the locals is supposed to be one of the major benefits for our partners. For example, my parents came to pick them up in the airport, right, so they were welcomed by people here. Then my parents had them

over for a lobster lunch. My neighbor next door knew they were coming, and brought them over sea-food chowder, and had them over for drinks. You know, that kind of thing (Teresa).

Our neighbors also participate in home-exchange and they had over a family from Chile, and we all – all our neighborhood – got involved into making them feel like home. Browns [the exchange family] had told them about our little community here... so when they came we all were so curious to go and meet them that I'm sure they felt amazing being welcomed to the locality like that. And now, too, we have a description of the 'Campbell Street Community' on our house ad on the Internet [homeexchange.com]... and a lot of people who are writing back ask about it. I mean, it's much easier to come over when you know there will be not only an empty house waiting for you, but a whole street of neighbors plus to that! (Lydia).

I think that it's also a little bit rewarding to see somebody come here. We had that nice couple from San Francisco coming here. They have never been to Scandinavia before, so we exchanged a lot of information. We arranged a trip for them. We pointed out the nice spots where we thought they would go. And that's also nice to be a travel agent to someone who comes here. It's rewarding too. (Philip).

To be met by the local neighborhood as a friend, as one of them and don't be treated as a causal tourist was pointed out by some of the interviewees as a main motivation for the home-exchange:

Interviewer: Tell me what's your main motivation for the home-exchange?

Joseph: You're on your own. And people you're exchanging with they make sure that you are treated like families by the neighborhood, their friends, sometimes even their own family members. They tell you where the nice spots are. You are a guest, but you are on your own, you've got your own house.

Authenticity: a buzzword?

Another interesting aspect was raised during the interviews. It seems that at the same time as people talk about the searching for cultural authenticity, they outline the other motive for traveling by this particular way - conveniences that home-exchange provides for their families. Many of interviewees mentioned that such factors as that their home-exchange partners have children in the same age (which ensures good activities for children such as games and toys) and some similar interests are quite important for them. They tend to search for simulations of their own home but in new geographical setting, or as observed by Ritzer and Liska "'guaranteed satisfaction' of accommodation choices: there is a paradox of amalgam of familiar and unfamiliar, comfort and strange" (1997, p.105). 'Feeling home

away from home!’ as it said on the one of the home-exchange sites, which actually decreases the authenticity of experience.

How do we choose the families? ... Warm spot, big house, big garden... Preferably with own little kids so the toys can be ‘swapped’ for that while, too. Non-smokers. And sometimes Emily, my youngest daughter helps me too (laughs) – she asks me to write emails comparing toys and games (laughs). I mean, that’s why we go for home-exchange. To stay in a home setting (Lydia).

In the family of Dan and Mia, their eldest son (12 years) was present at the interview. Dan was asked the question: How they choose a home-exchange partner?, and he responded:

I think it’s very convenient when the exchange family has good facilities for your children like toys, computer games, and bicycles. So they can enjoy their staying and feel comfortable. Actually, we try to search the family for exchange who has children, boys in the same age.

Then the son was asked if it was a new and interesting experience for him going with his parents in some other country and staying in others’ people home. He replied:

Yes, it’s interesting though I couldn’t see any big difference. In the house, for example, they also have the same computer games, watch the same films on DVD and some of them even had the same model of bicycle.

Dan is laughing: But this is a point that you feel comfortable like at home. Did you feel comfortable?

Son: Yes.

Dan: Like at home?

Son: Yes.

Dan: But you were not at home and even in another country!

Dan to the interviewer: You see, that’s why I love home-exchange. Our children can see the new things in the absolute new country without noticing that they already left their home in Sweden!

Lydia, an experienced home-exchanger, confirmed the tendency of searching for the simulation of her family’s life during the trip, and mentally pretending staying at her own home by sort of taking their life with them. It seems that the family feels comfortable to place their life and their home temporary to the other geographical settings, which helps them to avoid homesickness and emptiness:

Since we started swapping homes, we stopped being travelers in a conventional understanding of this term. You know what I mean, how could I explain that... I feel that these last couple of years we are just taking our life with us onto the plane and when we enter that swap-house we are all set there. And when leaving we take it back with us. You know what I mean, at no time there is a feeling of that emptiness, feeling of missing something, home, family. You know what I mean? We are taking it all with us. I don’t think we could do that without the home-exchange.

This indeed seems to be the case for the debates such: search of cultural authenticity in postmodern tourism versus search of inauthenticity as simulation of traveling experiences. It has been proposed that a society increasingly dominated by simulations can lead the tourists to search the simulations of their comfortable daily life but in the different setting. "Most products of a postmodern world might be willing to eat at the campfire, as long as it is simulated one on the lawn of the hotel" (Ritzer and Liska, 1997, p.107).

'Ownership' of the vacation

Based on earlier work of Cribier (1993), Williams and Hall (2002) have listed three main motivators for second home ownership that, again, can be closely linked to home-exchange motivators: (1) family reunification, (2) return to roots of one's origin, and (3) seeking out leisure spaces of own tourism experiences. Familiarity, according to the researchers, even intimacy with the socio-cultural context is of extreme importance, and it also tends to increase over one's life course. During the study, two respondents acknowledged home-exchange as a convenient method to link VFR and independent tourism. For instance, Teresa swapped her Canadian home with people from Switzerland to travel and stay close to her brother, who resides in the South of France. Home-exchange provided her with a possibility to be in a locality and reunite with the larger family whenever she would actually choose to, while keeping her own family's relative independence in terms of household routines and the travel pace at a need of the children. A similar experience was described by Hanna and Philip from Sweden, who, although able to stay with Philip's relatives in San Francisco, CA, rather chose to live in an exchanged house nearby (although risking severe disagreements with relatives, who could not understand such a 'new way' of travel-stay!).

6.2 Lifestyle

Different types of home-exchangers' lifestyle persona

Moutinho (2000) referring to the contribution of Bloch et al. (1986) on the 'ongoing search' concept claimed that intrinsic motivation prevails in travel; satisfaction of the search process becomes an inevitable part of future consumption; there is an 'enduring involvement' and a specific facet of one's 'leisure-lifestyle' gets created. Falk and Campbell (1997) had pointed out four different lifestyles which most affect patterns of modern consumption and outline consumer identity: individualist; hierarchical; egalitarian, enclavist; and isolate lifestyles. Through the study it was determined that three out of four lifestyle patterns offered by Falk

and Campbell can be used to describe the home-exchangers. First, home-exchangers clearly possess the traits of individualist lifestyle, namely, they are people who choose a competitive, wide-flung, open network, enjoy high tech instruments in their everyday life (e.g. independent Internet search), people who like sporty, arty, risky styles of entertainment and freedom to change commitments. Egalitarian, enclavist lifestyle of home-exchangers are expressed in their strong perceptions against formality, pomp and artifice, rejection of authoritarian institutions of tourism, preferring simplicity, frankness, intimate friendship and cultural and spiritual values. Lastly, some of the respondents portrayed the isolate lifestyle, where they tried to escape the chores of friendship and the costs imposed by the other types of culture; the isolates were not hassled by competition and not burdened by the obligatory gifts required in the other lifestyles.

In case of the home-exchange the interviewed families clearly expressed their opinion that this trend is definitely not for everyone and demands acquiring of the certain personality. A critical level of privacy was acknowledged as one of the primary determinations for people's 'suitability' for home-exchange. For instance, possession of precious and valuable items and also very cautious, watchful attitude to home equipment were more likely to hinder from participating in the home-exchange:

When I'm talking to my neighbors, friends or colleagues about home-exchange I can clearly divide all the people in two groups. One group would say "Oh, I would like to try that too. Such an exciting and interesting thing!" And the other: "How dare you, how can you let the strangers come and stay in your home!" They are really afraid that people can destroy and damage everything in their home. And also, some friend of us has a very, very large collection of concert posters with the autographs at home and it's very valuable. So, despite of very expensive insurance that he has he can't even have that idea of letting some other people living in his home. As I said, in our case we don't mind, because we neither have some precious and valuable things, nor gold or diamonds here (laughs). We had exchanges with the different families, with small children for instance, when many people think it can be a risk that they damage something, and we had no problems or some troubles (Kristina).

That's where the psychology comes in. If you are a kind of personality that has not... you know, been very kind, or into yourself, I think you would struggle with it. Some people are protective about their things. Our friends have said to me 'I couldn't do that!', you know, 'somebody would be using my bathroom', 'might have peeked in my drawers' (Teresa).

...I have friends of mine who are saying that I do not worry about my precious things, I worry about people looking on my underwear. But we don't think like them. I don't mind if people *are* looking on my underwear.

And, again you can't be a very picky and fussy person about all these things. It's mutual respect (Philip).

Yes, it can be so. We have friends who are saying that they would never let other people sleep in their bed, on their sheets. But I don't care. We can put more sheets on the bed if I'd be so worried about my bed. I think we are not so sensitive about all that things (Magnus).

...you need to have a kind of lifestyle to come across the home-exchange as such. Like, I know a lot of people who just could not do that. Most people cannot come with somebody else coming in your house. It doesn't bother me at all! But most people are like 'oh my god!'. So what actually could happen, so they break a glass or a plate, so what? – *you* can do that! And they are not going to steal things from your home, because you know who they are and where they live. And then another group of people are worrying about the place they are going to, what if it's not like it was described, what if it's not clean, what if it's not looking good?... so you take your chances. And, you know, the worst thing that could happen is, you get to the place and you don't like the apartment and the house, so you go to a hotel! (Peter).

Home-exchange: a serious leisure

The home-exchange phenomenon can also be considered a serious leisure pursuit. Stebbins defined *serious leisure* as the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity sufficiently interesting and substantial in nature for participants to find a career there acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge and experience (Stebbins, 1982, 1992, p.3). It can be also said that the specific composition of different skills, intelligence and know-how form a personality of the individuals, which is reflected in their lifestyle. Practicing one's hobbies and special interests that eventually form a lifestyle are understood as overall development of one's social world. Moreover, also Kernan and Domzal (2000) noted that 'ordinary' life is reflected through leisure inversion; and leisure pursuits subsequently help to establish and maintain one's self-identity. Relating to this, some of interviewees tried to explain the eligibility of their personality for home-exchange by connecting that to their upbringing, previous special life experiences or certain conditions of living:

... I think you have to be a kind of personality though... that is comfortable to... you know... a kind of personality that is comfortable sharing your own space, knowing that other people would be doing exactly the same thing at your home. Somebody... people who are... tend to be very comfortable... that are used to... I am fairly used to living with people. We've rented out rooms in the house, we rented an apartment up

here [showing 2nd floor]. Now we don't share that anymore, but I have, you know, ten years ago when we were studying, we could not afford the house. So we shared our own kitchen and bathroom. We were living with people. And, you know, even when I was 30, right. And that takes certain skills. And I'm thinking... it takes a real openness... and... I've also studied psychology, it also takes being able to handle the unexpected, right? Because you cannot predict what are you going to get. You know, you can predict what you're going to get in a Radisson Hotel. And if you don't like it, you can complain. Or you can change hotel. You can get there [at the exchange home] and it's not what you expect at all. It may not be. So you really have to be kind of a flexible personality. I really think that. And a sense of adventure, being prepared for whatever comes. I really think that is an important aspect of the home-exchange (Teresa).

Dan: I think it also depends on how you grew up. I grew up in a big family for example. We were three boys living in the same room. I got used to other treating my stuff, like reading my books and listening my records you know what I mean. And then my brothers and sisters married and got children I never mind them coming and stay in our house so long they wish. It doesn't bother me.

Mia: Yes, all in your family are open-minded and very hospitable, generous people. You were 6 children. And we were 4 children in my family. We also traveled a lot, camping. Then I, by my self, went to Africa where I was working as a nurse for a year. So I think I'm not afraid of other people and the most important thing is to be open-minded for all people. When I was in Sudan I got to know a lot of new people, they invited me very often to their home, and their hospitality for the guests was enormous. I must say I learned a lot of things other there.

I have a psychological idea why it was easier for us to start with the home-exchange. Well, 10 years ago we got our first house, a row house, not big one. And we knew that we wouldn't live there forever, it was just a temporary thing which turned out actually be 10 year's 'temporary' home (ha-ha!). So we started the home-exchange having that old house. And may be we wouldn't have done it if it would have been a VI (very important) house. Well, it's just an idea (Hanna).

Subsequently, we acknowledged prior travel experience as a contributor to home-exchange practices of the interviewees. All of the research participants discussed their extensive past travel, including both institutionalized and alternative travel habits, including backpacking (both at young age and also at latter, already with extended families with children). Thus an observation that several of the respondents were following the 'travel career ladder' took place (Pierce's concept of 1988). At the time of the interview Teresa was packing her son for a six-months long trip to Europe, 'commencing in Ireland, and then wherever the wind takes'; Camilla and her husband were planning to undertake a world-trip

involving their school-age kids, Dan and Mia granted doing a lot of traveling (mostly backpacking style) with their parents and siblings, which subsequently lead them to a habit of transferring this built-up 'travel knowledge' to their own children.

Celebrating diversity

Open-mindedness and risk-taking were the other important characteristics of personality, which the informants constantly named during the interviews:

Being open-minded and a risk-taker, that's a necessity. Then the partners... people must have quite the same standards, or outlook to life as you. Like-minded, yes, that's the right word! You must be flexible, yet organized... and don't make assumptions beforehand. Be realistic about the place you're going on exchange to, and be real about your expectations on how you'll see your own house left after those other people. I don't mean anything wrong... just so you don't pretend nobody has been there since you left. I mean, there were other people living in your home and sleeping in your bed! It's different when you return. And then you take time to 'settle' back again, and it's your home until the next home-exchange! (laughs) (Lydia).

Definitely, you have to be ready to travel, to be 'on a string'... Open-minded, risk-taking, altruistic, adventurous. You have to like other people. I mean, not everybody, of course! While backpacking, we have met some really nice backpackers, and some very annoying ones, too. You can't put everybody in the same pot! But to home-exchange, you have to make that one extra step. To extend your own hospitality in expectations that somebody else would do that for you. Be understanding and accepting rather than aggressive in your pursuits. And communicate, express you feelings (Peter).

Many of the interviewees highlighted good communication skills as one of the essential features of the eligible for home-exchange personality:

The reasons for travel are definitely cultural. We love people, we are 'peoples' people'! I know a lot of families who when they travel just like to be left alone in their hotel rooms... We, even when doing Bed & Breakfast, are still spending as much as possible time with the host family, talking to them about their life, showing our children how different it can be away from home. Communicate to people it's important for us! (Teresa).

I'm an open person, I dive right in there, that's what it's all about. I talk to people, and usually people like to talk back to you. They see that you took enough interest to come to their place, their living area in the first place. So you have to be more a person into locality. Because, home-exchange actually is about how to definitively find out what's there, what's good (Joseph).

I'm the type of guy who goes right onto the streets, for instance when we are in Cuba I can't talk any Spanish but there's enough people who know how to speak English, so you can learn a lot of wonderful things. I mean, home-exchange is not for people who, you know, if they are not outgoing, if they kind of tend to stay with themselves... you miss on a lot. You miss on the best part. You must communicate with people you meet (Peter).

Most of the people who are traveling by home-exchange are much more outgoing, much more want to know what is going on in the global area. They are there to see and communicate, there are not there just to... but they are really there to take the culture in (Camilla).

But as I said, going back to psychology, you have to be really open-minded, and with a sense of adventure, and love meeting people. You have to really want... you're not going just to... I don't know, just to see buildings, or art. I mean it's all a part of it, but it's also about meeting people, communicate with them (Kristina)

I mean, we travel not so much to simply *see* the world, as to meet and interact with those people. I mean, we are a very laid-back family, we don't run around museums and all those other tourist attraction spots with photo cameras in one hand and kids in the other. We are more of a type of people who settle real deep into that exchange home... sit in a front yard hammock half of the day and chat with the people who walk by or neighbors who come over (Lydia).

Possession of good communication skills give us an apparent link to the cultural tourism. In opposition to the mass tourism which socially, financially and geographically accessible to great numbers of people and seen much as a guided tourism (Plog, 1991, p. 63) cultural tourism is less accessible. It requires the development of certain tastes (e.g., in art, food, music, or architecture), acquisition of certain kinds of knowledge (e.g., a foreign language, the history of a region or country), or development of particular social skills (e.g., how to talk with the locals, how to act properly according to local norms) (Stebbins, 1992).

During the interviews some other interesting aspects indicated a connection with discussions regarding the feature of institutionalized voyeurism as one of the characteristics of contemporary cultural tourism, the tendency, which according to Urry (1990), rules in the modern society. The researcher claimed that the media have provided an enormously increased circulation of the representation of other people's life, including those of elite groups and royal family. "This kind of institutionalized voyeurism in turn enables people to adopt the styles of other groups to transgress boundaries between different social groupings as supposedly embodying particular values such as high culture, low culture, and artistic, tasteful, tasteless" (Urry, 1990, p.91). Dann (1994) also tried to explain the popularity of

infamous sites and redesigned to the open museums former private houses of some famous people by morbid curiosity of voyeurism. In case of interviewed families some of them expressed the curiosity to see and compare their own lifestyle with the lifestyle of home-exchange partners, 'to get a glimpse into some one else's life', experiencing their lifestyle to a certain extent. For example, the question if they are curious to see what the other families have in their wardrobe got the responses:

Ha-ha, yes I think I am, and not only in the wardrobe (laughing). But, seriously, it's so natural. All this is the idea of home-exchange! I mean, you come to some else's home, live there, use their stuff, may be not wear their suits from their wardrobe but any way sleep on their sheets in their bed. And it's not that bad like '...Oh, ..they have three fur coats and we have none!', like compare some standards of living. No. But you can see for example that they have not so much stuff in the kitchen and it means that may be they don't like to cook meal or may be prefer to eat out. It's more like to try figure out their habits, their lifestyle. If they have books, and what kind of books, maybe the same as what we like or opposite. For example, none of the families, our exchange partners from France, had the TV at home. It also reflects their certain lifestyle, like very unusual and intellectual; they had lots of books, French poetry and music CDs (Kristina).

Of course, you see, compare and you discuss everything. Like the American family [we exchanged with] have a big garden with many decorations. So we discussed how we would make it other on our way, like to cut some trees, paint the wall in the different color and change decorations. It was a funny and lively topic for our conversation. And also in Iceland, they have extremely large and luxurious house, a very beautiful house. We were very curious to examine everything other there. And just seeing the things that the family has in their home is actually very exciting. Because on that way you can see what people they are and how they live. You can dream up about their lifestyle (Dan).

Yes, on some way it gets ... you know, you kind of have an intimacy with them. You see their stuff, pictures of them on the wall. You know she had a fertility amulet right above the bed that we slept in. You get such a strange feeling. It's a little weird but exciting. Then you get that feeling that you actually know these people. What they are like, how they live (Teresa).

It seems to be quite natural for people to be curious about the other's private life. Investigating some else's privacy gives them a material for analyzing their one lifestyle and identity; for examining deeper the questions: who are they and who we are. That can be considered as a positive and developing process for self identifications and understanding

people's perception of themselves, but that also closely linked with the other moral question how long the people can go in their pursuit, because each of them set up its one boundary.

Lifestyle and consumption patterns

Second home/ vacation ownership is steadily connected to development of the home-exchange phenomenon. Almost all Internet home-exchange clubs provide information about vacation ownership/rental possibilities. Possession of a second home enables the owners to participate in home-exchange avoiding the often burdensome, due to season or vacation-timing, simultaneous exchange issue. Partners can choose a time for second home swap that fits each of them, in other words - anytime they wish. As for a profile of second home owner, Muller (2002), and Williams and Hall (2002) mentioned mature age (characterized in Western societies with less financial constraints) plus to retirement condition (less if any time constraints). It has been indicated that *quality of life* as influential in creation of one's priorities scale. Gabriel and Lang equated quality of life to happiness, which is neither a good fortune nor a reward, but rather continuous pleasure management as one's duty to him/herself (1995). One of the interviewed home-exchangers, Joseph, was a second home owner, a semi-retired businessman of mature age; a wealthy, status oriented person. In this case, it was particularly interesting to observe how his certain standard of living, a long-time honorable member in the local branch of Rotary Club International and appropriated to this distinction lifestyle affected his perception of the home-exchange phenomenon:

Interviewer: Would you say it's people of a particular lifestyle who mostly do home-exchanges?

Joseph: Yes, it's people who can afford to own second homes. That's a certain kind of people, you know what I'm saying? And this exchange we are making now is the first one with the people who are not Rotarians. And of course, if you look at the Rotary ones, you get a little bit better places, better homes, a higher class. Rotarians are only the members of a business class, or management of high ranks, and those are the people you can trust. So looking for the exchange I would always go first on the Rotary home-exchange site, and only if nothing's there, I'll move on to homeexchange.com. And then we have our own site, with the pictures. But then again, the Rotarians are different. Those are more wealthy people, people who have more traveled, seen the world, you know, and all that stuff.

Interviewer: So, is it a particular 'level' of people?

Joseph: Yes, definitely. And in my opinion, the level of people we are handling are business people, retired professionals, that's what I find I've been dealing with. And you kind of... you know, I don't want to... but, you know, when you go to the site, the homeexchange.com, you can tell what kind of people *those* are. And then, certain people don't want to make

the exchange unless they can exchange at the same time. But that's for the Rotary, of course. And, again, with the Rotary people you can feel like right at home. You have their lifestyle, the middle class, so you know what kind of people they are, those are the people who had been asked to join, so you don't worry about them. But with the home-exchange site, those are the totally different people, and I have not fully experienced them yet, we're just getting into it. We've only been on that site for few months. And I personally have no desire to get a lot into that.³

Ironically enough, immersion in a desired quality of life sharply contrasts the importance of maintenance of shared close ties with the family and home community. King (1994) has been quoted to stress that “a sense of belonging to or identifying with a way of life that has been left behind” might have a substantial influence on migration-related tourism, which can be related to home-exchange, second-home ownership or rental, or vacation rental (as cited in Huong & King, 2002. p.222).

This confirms the statement of the strongly connected relations between lifestyle and consumption pattern. According to Decrop, *lifestyle* can be defined as a unique pattern of development of a mental thought and subsequent behavior, a mirror image of one's personality expression. Lifestyle acts as a distinguishing characteristic when segmenting customers by their consumption patterns (1999, pp.106-107). Furthermore, discourse of lifestyle has been claimed to be strongly related with contemporary experience-oriented consumption culture. Tourists are motivated by “pursuing their own distinctive lifestyles and laying claim to their own particular identities” (Wang, 2000, p. 178). Examples can range from ‘intellectual’ to ‘luxurious’ and ‘cosmopolitan’ (Wang, 2000, pp. 182-183). Wang (2000), based on Mill's earlier work (1951), supported the idea that travel can be characterized as a ‘status cycle’ (status consumption). Quoting Mills, “one can buy the feeling, even if only for a short time, of higher status. /.../ Much vacation apparatus is geared to these status cycles: the staffs as well as clientele play-act the whole set-up as if mutually consenting to be part of the successful illusion” (as cited in Wang, 2000, pp. 203-204). In Wang's interpretation, through the discussed status cycle tourism consumption “is not only an accumulation of experiences, but also an accumulation of reputation, status and symbolic capital” (p. 204).

6.3 Identity

Home-exchange as a trait of emancipation of tourism

As home-exchange can be referred to as a minority product within a broad tourism marketplace, home-exchangers experience a strong sense of solidarity regarding their particular interest. Temporary (often very short-term) yet very intense emotional community, built on the same basis as, for instance, ethnic or sexual minority bonds, creates so called postmodern 'tribe' ('community of affect') where lifestyles are shared and feelings of understanding and companionship prevail (Brown, 1995, p. 79, with reference to an earlier input by Maffesoli, 1988). Moreover, collective fantasy in a controlled play space (which the home-exchangers databases, indeed, are) gets encouraged away from the daily realities of quotidian life (Brown, 1995). Becoming a member of the listing / search, a potential home-exchanger exposes him/herself to an imaginary world of perfect lifestyles, perfect families, and perfect personal relationships. The symbolic means of self-identification become highly emotional through in-group solidarity and out-group hostility (Gabriel & Lang, 1995).

According to Urry (1990), tourism in the postmodern age has become a main pattern of consumption, which provides consumers a broad range for their identity expression. Furthermore, the mass tourism as a form of causal leisure seems to be less appropriated for distinctive self-identification. Thus the tourists, who estimate the main rewards of the traveling as opportunity for self-actualization, self-enrichment, self-gratification, and enhancement of self-image, prefer the alternative types of traveling to the packaged mass tours (Hall & Weiler, 1992, p.9). This tendency was indicated in interviews with home-exchangers. Some of the interviewees explained their unwillingness to travel by the well-organized packaged tours by "...the feeling that I am losing my personal integrity" (Teresa). Although expressing a dislike towards purely institutionalized touristic pursuits, Teresa recognizes she still practices them:

...I don't like that one [the organized, mass]. It's a quick getaway where you go to absorb the sun. And I feel like a tourist, I feel like I am an observer, I feel like the crowd, right? The tourist crowd. It's not my... It's not really who I am. Real 'me' has simply disappeared.

Regarding the above comment, interesting is Brown's (1995) point of view on identity construction. Rapid progression of how one can create or adopt, employ and then abandon various roles depending on the occasion within one unified personality ('empty self') he has marked a postmodern 'luxury of 'finding oneself'' (p. 79-80). According to the author, a career person at work replaces a caring parent at home, a competitive sportsman in gym, a

lazy all-inclusive resort ‘abuser’ in January and an adventurous third-world country explorer in July.

Kristina also expressed the feeling of losing her identity, individuality and personality that she got from her packaged holiday’s experiences:

Well, I’m definitely not a fan of the well-organized packaged tours. I don’t like that at all. It’s too organized and I don’t like that feeling like “a sheep in the herd” you know. I don’t want to be one in the crowd, one of that mass. I want to be more special and I want to decide by myself. So for me, I prefer traveling by home-exchange and on my own, like to buy flight ticket and then to book some hotel, which I pick up. It’s interesting to see then what can happen. I remember that we bought the packaged trip to Tenerife three years ago. We have never been to any of those islands before. And we bought the hotel in the place what we thought was a least tourist area of island. And any way there were just the same hotels, restaurants, clubs and pubs everywhere, people in the shorts and all those menus in Swedish, English, German and Dutch. Oh... Boring! I just wanted to go home. It was awful!

Several of the respondents granted benefits of fully-packaged tours, while a few said that even when choosing an organized trip they prefer to stay in more home-like environment: lifestyle and boutique hotels, B&B, friends and relatives. Interesting was Kristina’s comment on the trade-off among the home-exchange provided comfort and the actual limitation of the trip’s ‘geographical’ size spread:

For example, we got an offer [for home-exchange] from Australia, Sydney, not a long time ago. But we are not so interested in going to Sydney, we have already been there. But we have not seen the other parts of the country, like really countryside or wildness of nature. Then traveling by the home-exchange to Sydney means that you will be tied to one place in that big city and what’s the point? Because when you go to Australia from Sweden, you want to travel around and see the country. So in that case I think the best way just to buy the flight there and then travel around with a backpack or something like that.

Tourists vs. Travelers

In relation to this study’s literature review, it seemed interesting to ask the home-exchangers if they consider themselves to be ‘tourists’ or ‘travelers’ (taking in consideration also their prior travel habits). As a result, the initial response from the top of respondents’ minds was that traveler’s label was given an almost unanimous preference. ‘My friends are tourists, and I’m a traveler’, strongly insisted Peter. Yet, considering for a little while, again, most of the interviewees changed their mind towards a mixed pattern of both tourism and travel. As Dan had put it,

First of all, we are traveling because we want to see different countries. And we like to visit all that tourists spots that are recommended in the tourist brochures, you know like museums and see sights. But also we like to take the bicycles and ride around in the nature. So we feel like tourists most of the time, but then we come home and can get some special meal what we liked in the cozy home atmosphere not at the hotel room. And this is another feeling not like a tourist.

Teresa had more to add:

I think I'm more of a traveler. Well... we are all tourists. You can't go anywhere without being a tourist. That's a sad part. But I think there are tourists, and then there are traveling tourists – travelers. But still - tourists. Do you know what I mean? There is that psychological difference. A lot of tourists just like to go, and I've seen it, to go and see the Eiffel tower, to stay in just the finest [hotels]... to be like as much as home. They look for Canadian food. Or they are intimidated by the language barriers. Or they stick with those really tourist areas. We like to see the underside of the cities.

Here is Lydia's final comment on the issue of considering oneself either a tourist or a traveler: 'What I know is we are neither! Since we started swapping homes, we stopped being travelers in a conventional understanding of this term'. And another by Camilla: 'Oh, you know... people are people'.

Playing with identity

According to Wang, 'people are seeking their authentic selves with the aid of tourist activities' (2000, p. 67). Hudson and Gilbert (2000) suggested that by participating in leisure actions, tourists have been acknowledged to negotiate the constraints they might possess towards the overall tourism activity. As alternatives to the mainstream, packaged tourism interviewees pointed out their preferences for such activities as climbing tours in the mountains, boat sailing and backpacking. This tends to support the Kleine et al. (1993) idea that a specific consumption pursuit helps to emphasize that part of 'self' a person chooses to in order to form a distinctive identity. One of the interviewed families, Camilla's family, told us about their preparation to the new project of the long- term budget travel- two year's trip around the world:

And we are planning to do around-the-world trip with the kids in two years, so we are trying to get to know as many families as possible, even through the hospitality exchange.. . Like that family from Vienna, Austria, who were here... And that will be a wonderful experience for them, to travel and see the world. That is more than school can ever give them, you know what I mean. Life, there is no teacher for that. The only way you can live it well is by appreciating the other people, the nature, and the culture. No one can take a spoon and give you that knowledge at once. It's all about seeing

it yourself, that the world is unequal, that it can be better and worse, and that money and possessions is not everything. Less is more, as we say to our children, less is more. We want them to learn the value of what they have.

Furthermore, Falk and Campbell proposed that playing with identity is stimulant for enjoyable and imagination-developing activities of modern consumption ‘...with a tendency for romantic dreaming; acting someone else, being present for oneself in an ‘as-if’ setting”. (1997, p. 14). The likelihood of identity swap during the home-exchange was expressed by interviewees when they responded on the question if they get a feeling that they live somebody else’s life for a while:

For that period of time, yes, I would suppose so. And I don’t mind. It’s difficult to get out of your regular routine here at home, so why not. ‘When in Rome, be a Roman’, that’s what they say (Lydia).

Yes, ‘for a while’! That’s the main thing, that gives you that freedom, freedom of choice, you know what I mean?.. And for the children, it is perfect to see the world through somebody else’s eyes. Well, but that again means that you have to choose the family you want to exchange with using even bigger caution. To know those are the right people (Camilla).

Absolutely. It would be so easy just to shake your own problems off your shoulders, and see the world from somebody else’s position (Dan).

Well, we will definitely see all their spots, explore the neighborhoods, follow the advice of the hosts on that one. It’s only locals who can tell you what is really worth seeing and doing there. I guess we would do whatever they daily routine is, except that work part. So, I’d say yes (Hanna).

Some people have a book they put together. Basically is it about exactly what they are doing, their life. It’s kind of ‘Here is my life in a binder!’ (laughs) So if you want to you can follow it. And if you follow it... (ha-ha!) I guess it will be already somebody else’s life (Peter).

The other interesting aspect which was expressed by some of the interviewees that the participating in the home-exchange is ‘broadening their personality’, ‘developing them as persons’, ‘opening their mind and making them for better human being’. It seems that home-exchange provides its participants the accumulation of the important and meaningful experiences, which form and further develop their identity:

Kristina: Yes, we love home-exchange. It’s not only fun it also open your mind. I must tell you a story, which I have heard from my colleague. So my colleague, she knows some Swedish family whose first home-exchange experience was with some family from Rome, Italy. That Swedish family has never done it before so they were very anxious and concerned about all

their stuff at home. So they put away everything that they thought was valuable for them on some way and their home looked already very empty and almost uninhabited may be like a room in some not very expensive hotel. Then they came down to Italy and there you know, they find a big beautiful home with all that private stuff there, the fridge is full with different food and wine. Welcome note on the table, like they can use everything and eat and drink what they like. You can imagine that! So they were totally overwhelmed, so embarrassed and ashamed of how their house would look for that Italian family. They knew that the Italian family had not arrived yet so they called back to their neighbor who had the key from their apartment, because it was really emergency for them. So they asked him to put all their stuff back to the apartment and also to buy some food and drink in the fridge to welcome that Italian family on the same way that they got. You see! And I think they will never make the same mistake again.

Interviewer: So, they learned to trust people. Can home-exchange change one for a better human being?

Kristina: Definitely!

It's an amazing experience. I don't know why more people don't do it, it's fabulous. It absolutely develops me as a person, culturally and socially. A wider look to the world, more acceptant of differences. I think, going to New York and staying in the neighborhoods after 9/11 made me see how people were changed because of that event, and what they felt about the rest of the world. Going to Mexico, traveling through the countryside – people basically live in cardboard boxes! You would never see that on a commercial tour (Peter).

7. Conclusions

Taken as a whole, work on consumers' identity expression provides a useful conceptual and research tool for understanding tourism consumption in several ways, in that it points towards explanations of its patterns. According to Wang (2000), tourism, as a form of social and cultural consumption and construction, is pursued as a mean of defining and communicating that social identity. Ryan's recreation concept (1997a) viewed tourism - or escape through tourism consumption - as an opportunity for people to enhance their aesthetic egos through exploration of their deeper selves. The findings of this study exhibit an apparent link between self-identity and the growth of the particular niche market presented by independent tourism. For many of the interviewees the decision to participate in the home-exchange was closely connected to questions they were articulating about identity and lifestyle. Wang (2000) had described tourism consumption as reorganization of one's experiences, timely pursue of an 'alternative lifestyle', a particular 'culture of time' (pp. 112-113). Home-exchange is perceived by its participants as a unique type of tourism, providing to them an environment in which people could 'test' themselves as persons, and also could search for a revitalized sense of selves. Some writers considered the connections between travel and evolving personal identities, arguing that the anticipation of, and narratives about journeys on return are tied into imagined 'performances' of the self. These 'performances' enable travelers to think of themselves as particular (or different kinds) of people (Desforges, 2000). Hollinshead (1997) mentioned in his work human 'reconstitution', antecedent to identification of one's self with certain symbols of touristic consumption.

Another aspect that propelled interviewees into undertaking their journey by home-exchange is their ambitions for emancipation. According to Kozinets (2002) consumer emancipation can be considered as a constantly evolving process of confrontation: '...to enthrone the disorderly, chaotic, anarchic, creative, risk-taking, and innovative forces of human nature against its orderly, planned, preprogrammed, boring and imitative aspects' (p.36). Observation of the victimization-rebellion relationship between consumption and consumers is essential for understanding the consumers' desire for emancipation. Gabriel and Lang (1995) proposed that 'the unmanaged dimensions of consumption lie, not so much in the rejection of consumer products, ... but in unorthodox appropriation of uses of these products, especially in ways which express protest' (p. 151). In postmodern tourism, consumers are often 'outwitting' the institutionalized travel mediators by practicing alternative travel and leisure pursuits, owning vacationing properties, and planning home-

exchanges. In case of our research, the findings indicate that the home-exchange phenomenon to some extent could be understood as an expression of emancipation from the traditional tourist image, and as such home-exchange plays a role in the identity construction of postmodern travelers. Moreover, in the discussion of whether the home-exchangers should be considered *tourists* or *travelers*, majority of the respondents leaned towards the latter 'label', thus rejecting the very institution of organized tourism as appealing to them personally. Instead, a 'serious leisure' in terms of an individually tailored trip is preferred.

In formation of personal-behavioral profile of a general home-exchanger there were applied descriptions, which the interviewees had used for explaining their perception of an eligible, 'suitable' for home-exchange human personality. Typical home-exchangers were described as open-minded, risk-taking, flexible, altruistic and adventurous people, who like communicating with folk and possess the good communicational skills - 'people's people'. The 'home-exchange fraternity' encloses 'like-minded' individuals who love to travel their own way and their motivations broaden from simply economical advantages of the traveling by temporarily exchanging homes, to acquire deep cultural experiences of an aesthetic and intellectual value. More to that, home-exchangers can be characterized by total language indifference, thus act as an example of Kotkin's (1993) 'global tribe'.

To determine home-exchanger's leisure lifestyle, several patterns were chosen as most suitable: individualist, egalitarian/enclavist, and to a lesser extent also an isolated type (based on Falk & Campbell's division of 1997). Also, one's current lifestyle was found in relations to past life experiences and family's undertaken *travel carrier ladder* (Pierce's concept of 1988). Then, perceived quality of life also was acknowledged as playing a great role as a variable in home-exchangers' consumption profile, or 'status cycle' (Mills' concept of 1951). Based on status consumption, another interesting observation from this study was also that home-exchange can often act as a variation of second home/vacation ownership and VFR tourism.

Furthermore, home-exchangers' behavior seems to be impressed by such features of the postmodern society as institutional voyeurism and confusion between search of cultural authenticity in traveling and search of inauthenticity as simulation of traveling experiences. Here we can refer to Graik (1997) who considered that tourists take pleasure in the different, unusual, contrasting every day experience, which the traveling gives them. But, at the same time, the daily advantages, comforts and benefits of home are decidedly desirable during the traveling: "This is a different argument from that which proposes that tourism is a quest for authenticity. Rather, it is an egocentric pursuit, involving a fascination with self-

indulgence and self-delusions through simulacra: approximations and analogues of ‘the real’” (p.114). Throughout this study, ‘as-if’ settings (Falk & Campbell, 1997) offered by home-exchange were highly indulged by the participants of the travel practice.

Then, another aspect which was expressed by many of the interviewees is that the participating in the home-exchange is ‘broadening their personality’, ‘developing them as persons’, ‘opening their mind and making them for better human being’; and as such, the home-exchange might form and further develop their identity. As Kernan and Domzal (2000) claimed, who and what people understand they are in a psychological and social context is a basis of formation of one’s self-identity.

The findings of the study portray how the specific communication practices of home-exchangers were underlined by the information search and planning. The research participants had unanimously recognized that the home-exchange phenomenon, which is neither a new nor small trend, is little known about throughout the general public. Information sources range from personal experiences of friends and work colleagues to popular mass media, where the absolute majority of information is presented through ‘success stories’ of the exchange participants, where various advices are given on how to deal with specific matters (e.g. how to hand over the keys of the house, or how to ensure the left-over pets are taken care of), as well as suggestions on planning and organizing. When it comes to selection and decision process, home-exchange – a rather risky pursuit, both time and involvement consuming - requires heavy reliance on primary information sources and often quick and spontaneous judgment. All the exchangers reported putting a lot of undivided personal and/or family time and effort into the planning, ranging up to several months or even years for one trip, yet all of them reported a great satisfaction of/during the process, no matter the result.

Fascinating is the specific marketplace of home-exchange: through the communication process potential exchangers – consciously or subconsciously - act both as buyers and sellers of the particular tourism practice. An appealing self-made marketing of the overall destination, (including overcoming seasonality issues), the location, the neighborhood and the house itself is often crucial to ‘wooing’ the partners. Proper and, indeed, heavy promotion proves to be an inevitable part of the ‘sales’ process in both research destinations - Northern locations with high seasonality impact. In turn, ‘buying’ includes in-depth search and evaluation of the offers, potential partners, and risks involved. Upon entering the emotionally bonded communities of the home-exchange ‘world’, imagery representation, especially enactive role-play, is of high importance to entice and support the interest.

Finally, very limited scientific research of the home-exchange suggested a multitude of possibilities for the choice of the focus of the study of the phenomenon. Yet only this particular sociological centre idea, related to postmodern consumption and identity construction, was selected for examination. Also, to support the initial vague information base, a platform of four ‘quadrangulated’ FIT trends (vacation ownership/rental, contemporary cultural tourism, action leisure pursuits, and long-term budget travel) were chosen to support the study of perceived ‘real’ travel through which one’s ‘true’ identity was expressed. Thus, overall, this research must be considered only as a pilot study into the home-exchange; a base investigation opening a way for much greater construction of information on the phenomenon. Subsequently, the suggestions for the following studies would range from probing the home-exchange from other, different viewpoints (such as the economic impact on the tourism industry), to mastering more in-depth psychological studies on home-exchanger’s personality and internal motivations, broadening the study’s geographical boundaries. A study on a southern home-exchangers’, as well as one on those exchanging homes from/with developing countries’ would be exceptionally valuable to create a whole picture.

A few more words need to be said about the developed ‘quadrangulation’ model. At the point of finishing the research, we can say that the platform of the several interlinked FIT trends helped us to build the foundation for the research, both in terms of theory, and by raising the level of our own understanding about sociology of alternative tourism patterns. Yet, during the interviews it became clear that although a lot of similarities and linkage can be found amongst home-exchange and vacation ownership/rental, contemporary cultural tourism, action leisure and backpacking, the phenomenon in question has a lot of its own distinctive characteristics which do not appear in any of the other trends. Therefore, further testing and elaboration on the proposed model in various study contexts would be rewarding.

We also believe that the findings of this research can be of great interest to different audiences: the academic colleagues, the practitioners and the general public as well. Tourism consumers can glean the new facts and ideas for the further inspirations and the broadening of their traveling traditions. At any rate, the data from the research might possess more reliability and trustworthiness for the general public in comparison with the mass media’s presented picture of the home-exchange phenomenon. For instance, such aspect as the importance of house location for finding the home-exchange partners is usually just vaguely mentioned in popular sources of information. Yet, while conducting this study we

encountered facts, which indeed transformed this aspect to one of the most essential factors influencing successful exchange.

Practitioners and tourism providers can find in our paper the information for a better understanding of independent travel practices. Also, they might get an awareness of the need for the development of new traveling activities through which they can mobilize tourism consumption exposing consumers' self-identity. The examination of tourists' self-identity can be considered as an attempt to understand their desires, and in particular the investments made in travel and the ways in which these practices are interconnected with the other aspects of their lives. Thus, this argument about self-identity has important implications for the politics of tourism consumption (Desforges, 2000). Understanding the desire of tourists is beneficial, because it encourages recognition of the ways in which tourism consumption is perceived by people as an important and meaningful part of their life.

Thus, future studies might examine the connection between people's identity prior to travel, their experiences, and the extent to which identities are created. It indeed seems that the alternative visions of future relationships between tourism consumers and tourism providers must take into account people's desire for their identity expression.

Furthermore, we must acknowledge that not all of our early theory-based speculations did wholly work. An assumption was made on the account of home-exchangers as a homogeneous group. Yet, during the research it had become completely clear that they do represent a highly fragmented market within the phenomenon, both demographically and psychographically diverse. The other preliminary assumption was our personal opinion that 'there must be something weird about the home-exchangers'. We have to confess that not knowing much about the phenomenon prior to the study, we initially found the idea of swapping homes rather quirky and overly liberal. We – the authors ourselves - were the ones standing in that crowd of traditionally orthodox people who point their fingers to home-exchangers saying 'How can they do that!', and 'That's so unusual [meaning: wrong] to try to live in somebody else's home, try to live somebody else's life'. Only after meeting and communicating with the exchangers we were truly able to see that they are, indeed, regular people you meet every day. Their homes were like other people's homes (maybe even more open and welcoming), their behavior – friendly, and their families – happy. Those were just the people who had discovered this special interest in traveling in an extraordinary way, which allowed them to spend a highly quality time with their families, and develop themselves as better people – traveling by home-exchange. Radically untraditional, the

home-exchange is an identity expression for thousands and thousands of people worldwide (see a list of popular Internet home-exchange directories in Appendix E for further interest).

Considering the extent of the home-exchange popularity in the English speaking countries of North America, Australia and New Zealand, the rapid proliferation in Europe and the rising establishment in Scandinavia, where this phenomenon up to now boasts the features of ‘underground tourism’, we speculate that in the proximate future the home-exchange might pose a threatening challenge to the entire tourism-hospitality industry.

Finally we must acknowledge the curious transformation that we experienced during the undertaking of this study. Our personal involvement in home-exchange at this time can be precisely characterized as truthful adherence, since we could not resist the enthusiasm, excitement, and passion that our interviewees expressed and credited to this phenomenon. From now on, Helena Arente and Veronika Kiiski are two potential home-exchangers.

Content Footnotes

¹ On the essence of hyperreality, Wang (cf. Brown) recommended writings of Eco for future interest: (1986 [1973]) *Travels in Hyper-reality*, trans. W. Weaver. London: Picador

² For a profound analysis of historical and geographical evolution and linguistic distinction of the terms 'tourism', 'tourist', 'touristic', and related words of the root 'travel' refer, for instance, to Borocz, 1996, pp. 30-31 and pp. 39-45, cf. Wang, 2000, pp. 3-13.

³ Thanks to the interview with Joseph, an interesting observation was made: A member of Rotary Club International, Joseph was able to access the directory of Rotary home-exchange options. Thus, in addition to existence of specialized interest-bonded home-exchange directories, such as sexual or ethnic minorities' sites uncontrolled for the membership, in the marketplace there was a RCI's, strictly selected member-password-protected offer, presenting a unique home-exchangers population within the broader community.

Bibliography

- Adler, J. (1985). Youth on the Road: Reflection on the History of Tramping. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 12, pp. 335-354.
- Ateljevic, I. & S. Doorne. (2001). 'Nowhere Left to Run': A Study of Value Boundaries and Segmentation Within the Backpacker Market of New Zealand. In: J.A. Mazanec, G.I. Crouch, J.R. Brent Ritchie, & A.G. Woodside (Eds.). *Consumer Psychology of Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure, Volume 2*. (Pp. 169-186). London: CABI Publishing.
- Aylwin, S. (1990). Imagery and affect: Big questions, little answers. In: P.J. Hampson, E.D. Marks, & J.T.E. Richardson (Eds.). *Imagery: Current Developments*. London: Routledge, International Library of Psychology.
- Barash, R. (1997). The dumbing-down of America. *Marketing News*, 31 (22), p. 4.
- Baudrillard, J. (1970). *Consumer society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bauman, Z. (1988). *Freedom*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Bauman, Z. (1992). *Intimations of postmodernity*. London: Routledge.
- Beaumont, P. (1993). Postmodernism. *The Observer*, Sunday, May 9, p. 43.
- Bieger, T. & Laesser, C. (2001). Segmenting Travel on the Sourcing of Information. In: J.A. Mazanec, G.I. Crouch, J.R. Brent Ritchie, & A.G. Woodside (Eds.). *Consumer Psychology of Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure, Volume 2*. (Pp. 153-167). London: CABI Publishing.
- Bloch, P.H., Scherrell, D. and Ridgway, N. (1986). Consumer search: An extended framework. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 13, pp. 119-126.
- Bone, P. & Ellen, P. (1990). The effect of imagery processing and imagery content on behavioral intentions. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 17, pp. 449-454.
- Boorstin, D. (1964). *The Image: a Guide to Pseudo-events in America*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Borocz, J. (1996). *Leisure Migration: A Sociological Study of Tourism*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Trans. by Richard Nice. London: Routledge.
- Brown, S. (1995). *Postmodern Marketing*. London: Routledge.
- Campbell, C. (1987). *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

- Campbell, C. (1995). The sociology of consumption. In D. Miller (Ed.), *Acknowledging consumption*. (editorial material; individual chapters, pp. 96-127). London & New York: Routledge.
- Carver, B. (2003). Trading Spaces. *Ottawa Citizen*, Saturday, Dec. 27, 2003, pp. 4-6.
- Celsi, R.L., Rose, R.L. & T.W. Leigh (1993) An exploration of high-risk leisure consumption through skydiving. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 20, pp. 1-23.
- Cliff, A. & Ryan, C. (1997). Vital Encounters: When Tourists Contact Travel Agents. In C. Ryan (Ed.). *The Tourist Experience: A New Introduction*. (Pp. 73-91). London: Cassell.
- Cohen, E. (1974). Who is a Tourist?: A Conceptual Clarification. *Sociological Review*, 22, pp. 527-555.
- Cohen, E. (1988). Traditions in the qualitative sociology of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research. Special issue*, 15, pp. 29-46.
- Cohen, E. (1995). Contemporary Tourism – Trends and Challenges: Sustainable Authenticity or Contrived Postmodernity? In R. Butler & D. Pearce (Eds.). *Change in Tourism: People, Places, Progresses*. (Pp. 12-29). London: Routledge.
- Cooper, M.J. (2002). Flexible Labor Markets, Ethnicity and Tourism-related Migration in Australia and New Zealand. In C.M. Hall & A.M. Williams (Eds.). *Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and Consumption*. (Pp. 73-86). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Connell, P. (2003). Home-exchanges let thrifty travelers swap till they drop [Electronic version]. *Los Angeles Times*, Feb.2, 2003, p.2.
- Consumer Reports Travel Letter (2001). *Home-exchange – the ‘free’ vacation*, pp. 12-16, Vol. 17, Issue 11. Retrived March 15, 2005, from Business Source Premier database.
- Craigie, J. (2003). Home away. *Money (Australia)*, pp. 42-45. Retrieved March 15, 2005, from Business Source Premier database.
- Cribier, F. (1993). *La fonction d’Accueil des Retaites Citadins en Milieu Rural et son Evolution Probable*. Universite de Paris VII CNRS, Equipe de Geographie Sociale et Gerontologie, Paris.
- Crick, M. (1989). Representations of international tourism in the social sciences: sun, sex, sights, savings and servility. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 18, pp. 307-344.
- Czarniawska, B. (2004). *Narratives in Social Science Research*. London: Sage.
- Daniel, Y.P. (1996). Tourism Dance Performance: Authenticity and Creativity. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23 (4), pp. 780-797.

- Dann, G. (1981). Tourist Motivation: An Appraisal. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 8 (2), pp. 187-219.
- Dann, G. (1994). Tourism: The Nostalgia Industry of the future. In W.Theobald (Ed.). *Global Tourism: The next Decade*. (Pp. 55-67). Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.
- Dann, G. (1999). Writing out the tourist in space and time. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26, pp. 159-187.
- Decrop, A. (1999). Tourists' Decision-Making and Behavior Processes. In: A.Pizam & Y.Mansfeld (Eds.). *Consumer Behavior in Travel and Tourism*. (Pp. 103-133). New York: The Haworth Hospitality Press.
- Desforges, L. (2000). Travelling the World: Identity and Travel Biography. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27 (926-945).
- Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (1998). *The Landscape of Qualitative research: Theories and Issues*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dimanche, F. & Samdahl, D. (1994). Leisure as Symbolic Consumption: a Conceptualization and Prospectus for Future Research. *Leisure Studies*, 16 (2), pp. 119-129.
- Falk, P., & Campbell, C. (Eds.). (1997). *The shopping experience*. London: Sage.
- Feifer, M. (1985). *Going places*. London: Macmillan.
- Furnham, A. (1990). Personality and demographic determinants of leisure and sports preference and performance. *Journal of Sport Psychology*, 21 (3), pp.45-51.
- Gabriel, Y. & Lang, T. (1995). *The Unmanageable Consumer: Contemporary Consumption and its Fragmentation*. London: Sage
- Geertz, C. (1973). Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture. In C.Geertz (Ed.). *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*.(Pp.3-30). New York: Basic Books.
- Getz, D. (1991). *Festivals, Special Events and Tourism*. New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Giddens, A. (1994). Modernity and De-traditionalization. In U. Beck, A. Giddens & S. Lash, (Eds.). *Reflexive Modernisation*. (Pp. 56-109). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gnoth, J., Zins, A., Lengmueller, R. & C. Boshoff (2000) The Relationship Between Emotions, Mood and Motivation to Travel: Towards a Cross-Cultural Measurement of Flow. In A.G. Woodside et al (Eds.). *Consumer Psychology of Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure*. (Pp. 153-175). Oxon: CABI Publishing.
- Gonzalez-Herrero, A., & Cornelius, B. (1998). Marketing crises in tourism: Communication strategies in the United States and Spain. *Public Relation Review*, 24, 1, pp. 83-97.

- Goodall, B. (1991). Understanding Holiday Choice. In C.Cooper (Ed.) *Progress in Tourism, Recreation and Hospitality Management*, Volume III, pp.58-77. London: Belhaven Press,
- Graburn, N.H.H. (1983). The Anthropology of Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 10 (1), pp. 9-33.
- Graik, J. (1997). *The Culture of Tourism*. In G. Rojek & J .Urry (Eds.), *Touring cultures. Transformation of Travel and Theory*. (Selection and editorial matter; individual chapter., pp.114-136). London: Routledge.
- Hall, C. & Weiler, B. (1992). Introduction: What's special about Special Interest Tourism. In C. Hall, C. & B.Weiler, (Eds.) *Special Interest Tourism*. (Pp.1-14). New York: Wiley.
- Hampton, M.P. (1998). Backpacker Tourism and Economic Development. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25, pp. 639-660.
- Headey, B. (1983). Quality of life studies: Their implications on social and market researchers. *European Research*, April, pp. 56-67.
- Holiday House. Retrieved Nov. 29, 2005, from www.holidayhouse.ca.
- Holliday, A. (2002). *Doing and Writing Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- Hollinshead, K. (1997). Heritage Tourism under Postmodernity: Truth and the Past. In C. Ryan, (Ed.), *The Tourist Experience: A New Introduction*. (Pp. 170-193). London: Cassell.
- Hollinshead, K. (1999). Tourism as public culture: Horne's ideological commentary on the legerdemain of tourism. *International Journal of Tourism research*, 1 (4, 267-292).
- Hollinshead, K. (2004). Ontological craft in tourism studies. The productive mapping of identity and image in tourism setting In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.). *Qualitative Research in Tourism. Ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies*. (Pp.83-101). London & New York: Routledge.
- Hudson, S. (1999). Consumer Behavior Related to Tourism. In: A.Pizam & Y.Mansfeld (Eds.). *Consumer Behavior in Travel and Tourism*. (Pp. 7-32). New York: The Haworth Hospitality Press.
- Hudson, S. & Gilbert, D. (2000). Tourism Constraints: the Neglected Dimension of Consumer Behavior Research. In A.G. Woodside et al (Eds.). *Consumer Psychology of Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure*. (Pp. 137-154). Oxon: CABI Publishing.

- Huong, N.T. & King, B. (2002). Migrant Communities and Tourism Consumption: The Case of the Vietnamese in Australia. In C.M. Hall & A.M. Williams (Eds.). *Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and Consumption*. (Pp. 221-240). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Hyde, L. (1979). *The Gift: Imagination and the Erotic Life of Property*. New York. Vintage.
- Hyde, K.F. (2000). A Hedonistic Perspective on Independent Vacation Planning, Decision-Making and Behavior. In A.G. Woodside et al (Eds.). *Consumer Psychology of Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure*. (Pp. 177-191). Oxon: CABI Publishing.
- Isin, E.F. & Wood, P.K. (1999). *Citizenship and Identity*. London: Sage.
- Iso-Ahola, S.E. (1982). Toward a social psychology of tourism motivation: a rejoinder. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 9, pp. 256-261.
- Iso-Ahola, S.E. (1983). Toward a Social Psychology of Recreational Travel. *Leisure Studies* (2), pp. 45-56.
- Jaakson, R. (1986). Second-home domestic tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 13, pp. 367-391.
- Jamieson, K. (1996). *Been There, Done That. Identity and the Overseas Experiences of Young Pakeha New Zealanders*. Unpublished dissertation, Masters of Arts (Social Anthropology) Massey University, Palmerston.
- Kernan, J.B. & Domzal, T.J. (2000). Playing on the Postmodern edge: action leisure as self-identity. In A.G. Woodside et al (Eds.). *Consumer Psychology of Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure*. (Pp. 91-102). Oxon: CABI Publishing.
- King, B. (1994). What is ethnic tourism? An Australian perspective. *Tourism Management*, 15 (3), pp. 173-176.
- Kleine, R.E, Kleine, S.S. & J.B. Kernan (1993). Mundane consumption and the self: a social-identity perspective. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 2, pp. 209-235.
- Kotkin, J. (1993). *Tribes: How Race, Religion, and Identity Determine Success in the New Global Economy*. New York: Random House.
- Kozak, M. (2001). A Critical Review of Approaches to Measure Satisfaction with Tourist Destinations. In: J.A. Mazanec, G.I. Crouch, J.R. Brent Ritchie, & A.G. Woodside (Eds.). *Consumer Psychology of Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure, Volume 2*. (Pp. 303-318). London: CABI Publishing.
- Kozinets, R. V. (2002) *Can Consumers Escape the Market? Emancipatory Illuminations from Burning Man*. *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 29, June, pp. 20-38.

- Krippendorff, J. (1987). *The Holiday Maker: Understanding the Impact of Leisure and Travel*. Trans. by Vera Andrassy. London: Heinemann.
- Lafant, M.F. (1995). International Tourism, Internationalization and the Challenge to Identity. In M.F. Lafant, J.B. Allock & E.M. Bruner (Eds.). *International Tourism: Identity and Change*. (Pp. 24-43). London: Sage.
- Lasch, C. (1984). *The Minimal Self: Psychic Survival in Troubled Times*. London: PAN Books.
- Lash, S. (1990). *Sociology of Postmodernism*. London: Routledge.
- Lodge, D. (1991). *Paradise News*. London: Penguin Books.
- MacCannell, D. (1973). Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings. *American Journal of Sociology* 79 (3), pp. 589-603.
- MacCannell, D. (1976). *The tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. London: Macmillan.
- Maffestoli, M. (1988). Jeux de Masques: Postmoderne Travelisme. *Design Issues*, 4, ½, pp. 141-151.
- Mansfeld, Y (1992). From Motivation to Actual Travel. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 19 (3), pp. 399-419.
- Marsan, J. (2002). The Timeshare Oasis. *Hotels*, Vol 36/2, p. 43.
- Mason, P. (2002). The Big OE: New Zealanders' Overseas Experience in Britain. In C.M. Hall & A.M. Williams (Eds.). *Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and Consumption*. (Pp. 87-101). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Mazanec, J.A (2001). Mastering Unobserved Heterogeneity in Tourist Behavior Research. In: J.A. Mazanec, G.I. Crouch, J.R. Brent Ritchie, & A.G. Woodside (Eds.). *Consumer Psychology of Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure, Volume 2*. (Pp. 253-271). London: CABI Publishing.
- McCabe, S. (2000). The Problem of Motivation in Understanding the Demand for Leisure Day Visits. In A.G. Woodside et al (Eds.). *Consumer Psychology of Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure*. (Pp. 211-225). Oxon: CABI Publishing.
- McGuiggan, R.L. (2001). Which Determines Our Leisure Preferences: Demographics or Personality? In: J.A. Mazanec, G.I. Crouch, J.R. Brent Ritchie, & A.G. Woodside (Eds.). *Consumer Psychology of Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure, Volume 2*. (Pp. 195-213). London: CABI Publishing.
- Mead, G.H. (1934). *Mind, Self, and Society*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- Michael, M.A. (1950). What is Travel? An Introduction. In M.A. Michael (Ed.). *Traveler's Quest: Original Contributions towards a Philosophy of Travel*. (Pp. 1-19). London: William Hodge.
- Mills, C.W. (1951). *White Collar: the American Middle Classes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moutinho, L. (2000). Consumer Behavior. In L. Moutinho (Ed.). *Strategic Management in Tourism*. (Pp. 41-78). Oxon: CABI Publishing.
- Muller, D. (2002). German second home development in Sweden. In C.M. Hall & A.M. Williams (Eds.). *Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and Consumption*. (Pp. 169-186). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Nash, D. (1981). Tourism as an Anthropological Subject. *Current Anthropology* 22 (5), pp. 461-481.
- Olson, E. T. (2002). Personal Identity. In: E. N. Zalta (Ed.). *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Fall 2002 Edition)*. Retrieved on May 17, 2005, from URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2002/entries/identity-personal/>.
- O'Neill, S. (2004). MI CASA es su casa. *Kiplinger's Personal Finance*, 58 (2), pp. 93-96.
- Pearce, P. (1982). *The Social Psychology of Tourist Behavior*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Pearce, P. (1988). *The Ulysses Factor: Evaluating Visitors in Tourist Settings*. New York: Springer Verlag.
- Phillimore, J., & Goodson, L. (Eds.). (2004). *Qualitative Research in Tourism. Ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Plog, S. (1990). A carpenter's tools: an answer to Stephen L.J. Smith's review of psychocentricism/allocentricism. *Journal of Travel Research*, 28 (4), pp. 43-44.
- Plog, S. (1991). *Leisure Travel. Making It a Growth Market... Again!* New York: Wiley.
- Poon, A. (1993). *Tourism, Technology and Competitive Strategies*. Wallingford: CABI
- Reizinger, Y. (1994). Tourist- Host Contact as a Part of Cultural Tourism. *World Leisure and Recreation*, 36 (Summer, 24-28).
- Riley, R. & Love, L.(2000). The state of qualitative tourism research. *Annals of tourism research*, 27(1, 164-187).
- Ritzer, G. (1996). *The McDonaldization of society* (revised ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Pine Forge Press.

- Ritzer, G. & Liska, A. (1997). "McDisneyzation" and "Post-Tourism": Complementary perspectives on contemporary tourism. In G. Rojek & J. Urry (Eds.), *Touring cultures. Transformation of Travel and Theory*. (Selection and editorial matter; individual chapter, pp. 96-109). London: Routledge.
- Rojek, C. (1993). *Ways of Escape: Modern Transformations in Leisure and Travel*. London: Macmillan.
- Rojek, C. (1997). Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights. In C. Rojek & J. Urry (Eds.). *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*. (Pp. 52-74). London: Routledge.
- Rojek, C., & Urry, J. (Eds.). (1997). *Touring cultures. Transformation of Travel and Theory*. London: Routledge.
- Ryan, C. (Ed.). (1997). *The Tourist Experience: A New Introduction*. London: Cassell.
- Ryan, C. (1997a). The Chase of a Dream, the End of a Play. In C. Ryan (Ed.). *The Tourist Experience: A New Introduction*. (Pp. 1-24). London: Cassell.
- Ryan, C. (1997b). Similar Motivations – Diverse Behaviors. In C. Ryan (Ed.). *The Tourist Experience: A New Introduction*. (Pp. 25-47). London: Cassell.
- Ryan, C. (1997c). "The Time of Our Lives" or The Time for Our Lives: An Examination of Time in Holidaying". In C. Ryan (Ed.). *The Tourist Experience: A New Introduction*. (Pp. 149-205). London: Cassell.
- Ryan, C. (1998). The travel career ladder: an appraisal. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25 (4), pp. 936-957.
- Sharpley, R. (2003). *Tourism, Tourists and Society*. Cambridgeshire: ELM Publications.
- Silverman, D. (2000). *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*. London: Sage
- Slater, D. (1997). *Consumer Culture and Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Smith, V.L. (Ed.). (1989). *Hosts and Guests: the Anthropology of Tourism* (2nd ed.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Stebbins, R. (1982). Serious leisure: A conceptual statement. *Pacific Sociological Review* 25 (2).
- Stebbins, R. (1992). *Amateurs, Professionals and Serious Leisure*. Montreal: McGill University Press.
- Stebbins, R. (1996). Cultural Tourism and Serious Leisure. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23(948-950).
- Stewart, F. (1993). UK Leisure Trends and the Prospects After Skiing. Paper presented at the 1993 National Ski Conference, Olympia, London.

- Swarbrooke, J., & Horner, S. (1999). *Consumer Behavior in Tourism*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Theobald, W. (1994). The context, meaning and scope of tourism. In W. Theobald (Ed.). *Global Tourism: The Next Decade*. (Pp. 3-19). Oxford: Butterworth-Hienemann.
- Thorne, T. (1993). *Fads, Fashions and Cults – The Definitive Guide to (Post) Modern Culture*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Turner, L. & Ash, J. (1975). *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery*. London: Constable.
- Urry, J. (1990). *The tourist Gaze* . London: Sage.
- Vacanze in Italia – Vacation Rentals in Italy and France. Retrieved on Aug. 8, 2005, from www.homeabroad.com.
- Vacation Homes Unlimited. Retrieved on Aug. 16, 2005, from www.exchangehomes.com.
- Veal, A.J. (1993). The Concept of Lifestyle: A Review. *Leisure Studies*, 12 (4), pp. 233-252.
- Vogt, J. (1976). Wandering: Youth and Travel Behavior. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 4, pp. 25-40.
- Vukonic, B. (1996). *Tourism and Religion*, trans. by Sanja Matesic. Oxford: Elsevier Science.
- Wang, N. (2000). *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Watkins, E. (Ed.). (1996). Timesharing Grows Up. *Lodging Hospitality*. November 1996, pp. 31-33.
- Weber, K. & Roehl, W.S. (2000). An Analysis of Consumers' Risk Approach and Risk Behavior in the Context of Gambling. In A.G. Woodside et al (Eds.). *Consumer Psychology of Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure*. (Pp. 121-135). Oxon: CABI Publishing.
- Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and Society*, vols. 1 & 2. G. Roth & C. Wittich (Eds.). London: University of California Press.
- Williams, A.M. & Hall, C.M. (2002). Tourism, migration, circulation and mobility: The contingencies of time and place. In C. M. Hall & A. M. Williams (Eds.). *Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and Consumption*. (Pp. 1-52). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Williamson, J. (1982). Preface to the Fourth Impression. In J. Williamson (Ed.). *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*. London: Marion Voyars.

Woodside, A.G. (2000). Introduction: Theory and Research on the Consumer Psychology of Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure. In: J.A. Mazanec, G.I. Crouch, J.R. Brent Ritchie, & A.G. Woodside (Eds.). *Consumer Psychology of Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure, Volume 2*. (Pp. 1-17). London: CABI Publishing.

World Travel and Tourism Organization. Definition of Tourism. (n.d.). Retrieved June 2, 2005, from (<http://www.world-tourism.org/facts/pub.html>).

APPENDIX A

The High Taste of Travel and Low Taste of Tourism

	High Taste of Travel	Low Taste of Tourism
Transport	Simpler means	Advanced transport
Experience	Hardship	Comfort and ease
	Risk and adventure	Lack of risk
	Active quest and discovery	Guided sightseeing and gullibility
	Self-reliance	Passivity
	Contact with local people and culture	Insulation from local people and culture
	Genuine experiences	Contrived experiences
	Exploration-related	Consumption-related
Attractions	Original and authentic	Contrived and inauthentic
Form	Independent travel	Package and organized tour

(Boorstin, 1964, summarized in a table-format by Wang, 2000, p. 181)

APPENDIX B

Old Tourists and New Tourists

Old Tourists	New Tourists
Search for the sun	Experience something new
Follow the masses	Want to be in charge
Here today, gone tomorrow	See and enjoy but do not destroy
Show that they have been	Go just for the fun of it
Having	Being
Superiority	Understanding
Like attractions	Like sport and nature
Cautious	Adventurous
Eat in the hotel dining room	Try out local fare
Homogeneous	Hybrid

(Poon, 1993 quoted in Wang, 2000, p.92)

APPENDIX C

Content of the leaflet posted in the public places in Canada and Sweden (for the latter the same text was in Swedish).

**People needed for
HOME-EXCHANGE
Research**

If you have ever swapped your home with someone else and would like to share your experiences with a social sciences student for the tourism research purposes, please contact Helena /Veronika at (phone number, e-mail address) to arrange for an informal chat over coffee at your convenience.

APPENDIX D

Full text of e-mail sent to the home-exchange participants in Canada and Sweden (for the latter the same e-mail text was in Swedish).

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Helena Arente / Veronika Kiiski, and I am writing this letter to you to express my interest in your home-exchange plans.

Currently I am a student in Gothenburg University in Sweden, together with my colleague doing a Master of Sciences research on what impact home-exchange has on the tourism industry. For the practical part of the study we are looking for people who have or are planning to exchange their home, to interview them in their comfortable setting. No specific questions are set – we would just like to find out what do you think about swapping homes, how did you feel during the exchange, how deeply did you immerse into locality, and so on. If you are interested to share your experiences, we could meet for a brief chat at a coffee at your convenient time and place. Please reply, or call me directly at (a phone number).

Sincerely,

Helena Arente / Veronika Kiiski

APPENDIX E

A Sample Selection of Popular Internet Home-Exchange Directories

HomeExchange.com: www.homeexchange.com
Intervac: www.intervacUS.com
International Home-exchange Network: www.homexchange.com
Home-exchange Network: www.home-exchange-network.com
HomeLink USA: www.homelink.org
Latitudes Home-exchange: www.homeswap.com
Home-exchange Network: www.home-exchange-network.com
Global Home-exchange: www.4homex.com
Green Theme International: www.gti-home-exchange.com
Holi-Swaps.com: www.holi-swaps.com
Home Base Holidays: www.homebasehols.com
Digsville.com: www.digsville.com
The Invented City: www.invented-city.com
Reseau International d'Echange de Foyers: www.exchange-of-homes.com
The Vacation Exchange Network: www.thevacationexchange.com
Vacation Homes Unlimited: www.exchangehomes.com
My Home for Yours: www.myhome4yours.com
www.gonomad.com
www.traveldonkey.com
www.agora-inc.com/iltravel/hswaps

(Built on a listing by Connell, 2003; and personal research.)