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*Pekka Mustonen*

***POSTMODERN TOURISM –  
ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES***

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Pekka Mustonen



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## LIST OF ORIGINAL RESEARCH PAPERS

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PAPER 2: Mustonen, P. (2005) Volunteer Tourism – Postmodern Pilgrimage? *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 3 (3): 160–177.

PAPER 3: Honkanen, A. – Mustonen, P. (2005) Sosiodemografiset tekijät ja elämäntapa matkailukulutusta selittävinä tekijöinä: kausaalinen analyysi. (Sosiodemographic variables and lifestyles as explanatory variables behind tourism consumption: a causal analysis.) *Matkailututkimus*, 1: 3–25. (Unpublished English translation is available.)

PAPER 4: Mustonen, P. (2006) Personal perceptions of ethical tourism – a comparison between Finnish and Indian tourism students. In: *Tourists and Tourism*, ed. by George, B. – D. Nigam, 87–108. Abhijeet Publications: New Delhi.





# 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 The background of the study

Something has surely happened in the world of tourism recently. There are opinions stating that the era of traditional package holidays or “mass tourism” has come to an end (e.g. Poon 1993). On the other hand there is empirical evidence about mass tourism still living strong – and volumes are even increasing (Honkanen 2004; World Tourism Organization 2005b).

On the one hand, newer forms of tourism can be seen as representing something totally new, but on the other hand, connections with the past can always be found. However, there are hardly any researchers who deny the changes completely. Discussion has been immense and there are two ways of considering these changes. They can be taken for granted and one can consider them as a part of naturally occurring development of tourism. In the light of the discussion on so called postmodernity (e.g. Bauman 2002; Beck 1995a/b; Lyotard 1985), it is possible to think about constantly developing modern. Thus, adopting this point of view, the modernization process would not have ended. On the other hand, these changes can be examined together with the other changes occurred in societies. Changes might show up in the different fields of societies at the same time and thus they may be signs of some larger scale development.

In this study, the emphasis is on the latter approach although also the first is recognized. It is not claimed that the Western world has stepped into a new unknown and unpredictable era. Contrary, changes in tourism, some of which can be seen to have become permanent, are scrutinized together with the changes occurred elsewhere. In this context the birth of so called consumer society is emphasized.

Tourism plays an important role in the lives of citizens of contemporary Western societies and also more and more in the lives of citizens of the developing countries. Tourism can be connected to any other social activity and there are countless themes that can be studied and examined. Tourism is a phenomenon to which other dimensions of the societies are closely related. Because of this, changes occurring in other fields of societies are immediately reflected to tourism. It is for example difficult to create a picture of postmodern tourism without taking postmodern features occurring outside tourism into account.

The scope of this study is to enlighten a few particular aspects of contemporary tourism. Empirical applications of postmodern features of

tourism are rare, which however does not mean that empirical studies cannot be conducted. On the contrary, postmodern discussions are often too far from the real world. Finding out whether the postmodern theorizations can be utilized or elaborated requires empirical evidence (see Mirchandani 2005). From this background, the research questions of each paper were created.

The study consists of an introductory part and four papers, which all represent different approaches to contemporary tourism. All the papers are methodically different and this was one criterion that had an influence on choosing the articles to the collection. In addition to showing suitability of different methods to the research topic, it is the idea of postmodernity that binds the articles together. The range of topics behind the papers varies from the effects of sociodemographic variables to tourism students' perceptions on ethical tourism. Following the structure of this study, the examined themes are broadly: environmentalism, volunteerism, lifestyles and ethics. These all can be examined by utilizing the framework of postmodern tourism and they all represent different although interrelated dimensions of postmodern discussion. The idea of postmodern is here understood in the light of the classic ideas around postmodern in the fields of sociology and tourism.

The first paper "Environment as a criterion for choosing a holiday destination - arguments and findings" (Mustonen 2003) utilizes Eurobarometer 48 –survey and discusses the structures behind destination choices. The second paper "Volunteer Tourism – Postmodern Pilgrimage?" (Mustonen 2005) seeks connections between volunteer tourism and pilgrimage and finally finds them via postmodern discussions on tourism. The third paper "Sosiodemografiset tekijät ja elämäntapa matkailukulutusta selittävinä tekijöinä: kausaalinen analyysi" (Sociodemographic variables and lifestyles as explanatory variables behind tourism consumption: a causal analysis, Honkanen – Mustonen 2005) utilizes an extensive survey, Finland 2004, and examines alternative ways of explaining tourism consumption. The last paper "Personal perceptions of ethical tourism – a comparison between Finnish and Indian tourism students" (Mustonen 2006) examines tourism students' perceptions of ethical tourism by utilizing qualitative methods.

This introductory part binds these papers together and begins with a general discussion on postmodern sociology – or rather, sociology of postmodern. The additional aim is to deepen the discussion and offer a more comprehensive outline of the definitions and insights presented in the attached articles. In the research articles, extensive discussions can rarely be presented due to limited space provided.

It can be argued whether there is something called postmodern sociology but surely, there are phenomena which can be called – if so wanted – postmodern. Kharkhordin (1991; also Bauman 1988) makes a difference

between sociology of postmodernism and postmodern sociology. According to him,

*“Sociology of postmodernism rests on the appropriation of postmodernism with the help of the usual sociological tools – and on explication of new phenomena with the help of an old conceptual apparatus. Conversely, postmodern sociology is an introduction of new tools themselves, new methods to analyse social phenomena. This contradiction stated in its most primitive form boils down to an ‘old methods applied to new phenomena / new methods applied to old phenomena’ opposition; or ‘change in subject matter / change in method’ as diverse ways for the development of sociology.”*

This study can be placed somewhere between these two. On the one hand, the somewhat established ideas of postmodern are presented and they are used as a background. On the other hand, when the discussion finally turns into tourism, these ideas are evaluated and new insights are sought. The aim is not to state whether tourism is nowadays postmodern or not. This would not even be possible. Rather the aim is to enlighten the multidimensionality of the discussions and present different, alternative, ways to approach the topic. References to original papers, which are presented in original forms in the end, are made whenever found necessary.

## 1.2 Main research questions and applied methods

Tourism research is characteristically multidisciplinary as it was born on the basis of numerous fields of science (Selänniemi 1996; Tribe 1997). This collection of papers is not an exception. Multidisciplinary was even purposefully looked for. Although the papers can all be placed under the umbrellas of sociology and tourism research, they all approach the field from different angles. Although sociology is without a doubt a separate scientific discipline, especially in sociological tourism research the spectrum is wide. In this study this is visible in the context of research themes and even more than that, in the methodic choices. Taking into account the nature of the subject of this study, postmodern tourism, different methods are inevitably needed, as the overview is meant to reflect this multidimensionality.

The methods applied in the papers were chosen by considering deeply the research questions and positioning of each paper. In some cases statistical methods appeared to be the most suitable whilst in some cases pure qualitative approaches were utilized.

The first paper “Environment as a criterion for choosing a holiday destination - arguments and findings” (Mustonen 2003) examined differences between people who had chosen environmental dimension as a criterion when they were asked for reasons for choosing a holiday destination. The approach was empirical although the presented hypotheses were based on somewhat theoretical ideas of postmodernity and postmaterialism. The study was conducted by examining data that was not collected by the researcher. This is the reason why the variable under scrutiny, “quality of the environment”, created an interesting risk factor. It was not possible to know exactly how respondents had understood the concept.

The fundamental idea was to examine importance of traditional background variables such as age, gender, income level and the country of residence. The latter was possible due to the data that had been collected in 15 European countries. In the paper, postmodern dimension is strongly visible through Inglehart’s (1977; 1997) idea of postmaterialism that is commonly connected with postmodern consumption culture. Having this as well as research results of Kontinen and Peltokoski (2000) as a background, also political identity was added to the variable pattern.

The tested hypothesis was that those who identify themselves with the left-wingers tend to choose environment as an important criterion more often than those who place themselves to the right. The methods that were utilized to test the hypothesis and the effects of background variables were simple crosstabulation, univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) and binary logistic regression analysis.

The second paper “Volunteer Tourism – Postmodern Pilgrimage” (Mustonen 2005) continued to examine postmodern tourism in the field of postmaterialism. The paper made a distinction to the positivistic ideal of the science and created the settings mainly on the theoretical basis.

The main research question was to search links between premodern, modern and postmodern ideas of tourism. In the study, volunteer tourism was used as an example of the latter. According to general discussions, volunteer tourism categorically belongs to the group of “new tourism” or “alternative tourism” and thus it can be considered postmodern in that sense. Linked with the research question above the aim was to find continuity from premodern time to postmodern time using traditional pilgrimage as a reference idea. To strengthen the theoretical ideas, field studies to two volunteer tourism projects in Indian Himalayas were conducted in 2002 and 2004. Methods used in the field consisted of unstructured interviews, discussions and participant observation. This approach emphasized the close relationship between sociology and anthropology. In addition to utilized anthropological field work

methods for creating and developing theoretical ideas, also theoretical background of the study brought these two disciplines together.

The third paper “Sosiodemografiset tekijät ja elämäntapa matkailukulutusta selittävinä tekijöinä: kausaalinen analyysi” (Sociodemographic variables and lifestyles as explanatory variables behind tourism consumption: a causal analysis, Honkanen – Mustonen 2005) utilized extensive survey data, which unlike in the case of the first paper, had been targeted only to Finnish citizens. The aim was to examine how consumption habits, representing lifestyle, and on the other hand sociodemographic variables were connected to the perceived tourism consumption and to the desire to consume more on tourism. The research question was to find out which one of the explanants actually explained best tourism consumption in the respect of the two dimensions, perceived consumption and desire. Considering the research question and the utilized theoretical background, of the four attached articles, this paper can be best linked with contemporary tradition of empirical consumer sociology.

By utilizing principal component analysis six different components were created. The variables constructed from these components finally represented the lifestyle patterns. The actual analysis method was path analysis. This method was chosen because also indirect effects were examined. The hypothesis was that social background might influence on tourism consumption also indirectly through consumption patterns. Thus lifestyles represented by consumption patterns in the paper, are not only “chosen” but they are connected to one’s background as well. The paper was written together with Antti Honkanen who was responsible for conducting the statistical analyses that however were planned together. In spite of this, the paper was written and finished together.

In the fourth paper “Personal perceptions of ethical tourism – a comparison between Finnish and Indian tourism students” (Mustonen 2006) the multidimensional subject of ethical tourism was approached with a qualitative method. The aim of the paper was to examine how Finnish and Indian students of tourism understand the concept of ethical tourism when it is connected to two different tourism scenarios. The method of empathy based stories was utilized and connections between the writings and the general ideas of ethical tourism presented for example by World Tourism Organization (2005a) were examined. The aim was to find issues to which students connect the idea of ethical tourism. Other theme under scrutiny was postmodernity. More accurately, the differences between Finnish and Indian writings were examined in the light of postmodern discussion on ethics. In addition to these, the additional aim was to evaluate the relevance of the method in the case of sociological tourism research. The method has not been used earlier in similar settings.

### 1.3 Introduction to the sociology of tourism

Sociology as a field of science examines values, attitudes and behaviour of collectives formed by individuals. Since there is a great variation of these in the different fields of tourism, it can be justifiably said that there is no single sociology of tourism. (Dann – Cohen 1991)

The sociology of tourism is a relatively new field of research probably because tourism as we understand it today was not brought to the masses until in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. There is of course a wide range of early travel literature including famous anthropological studies (e.g. Levi-Strauss 2003[1955]; Malinowski 1984[1922]; 1987[1929]) but in this study, where recent postmodern discussions are in the centre, utilizing these writings would not have been very fruitful.

When sociology of tourism is under scrutiny, the first contributions date back to 1960's. It makes an interesting contrast to the following discussions that the first widely cited study of Boortsin (1977[1961]) is an extensive critique of the phenomenon of package tourism, which had just recently began to expand. Another famous critique in the early tourism research genre was presented by Turner and Ash (1975). According to them (*ibid.*, 11) "It is perfectly legitimate to compare tourists with barbarian tribes. Both involve the mass migration of peoples who collide with cultures far removed from their own". (See also Lévi-Strauss 2003)

Package tourism, tourism for the "masses", has been widely criticized since then, and the legacy of Boortsin and Turner and Ash is still well visible even in the contemporary literature. Turner and Ash (1975, 282) claimed that major tourist attractions in the developed world are reaching the capacity limits. Now after more than 30 years the same kind of discussion is still valid (cf. Saarinen 2006). It concentrates on the future of forever growing tourism but even more on often doomed mass tourism. For example Poon (1993, 3) writes the following:

*"The crisis of the tourism industry is a crisis of mass tourism; for it is mass tourism that has brought social, cultural, economic and environmental havoc in its wake, and it is mass tourism practices that must be radically changed to bring in the new."*

In tourism research, the role of the "classics" is even today very important. Names such as MacCannell, Cohen or Turner and Ash, are continuously mentioned. The ideas presented by these thinkers have reached almost paradigmatic nature even though the ideas are based on the kind of world that no more exists. Or even though it existed, the ideas and theories should be taken into account in wider context (compare to Cohen 2004, 45). They could

be for example regarded as ideal-typical pictures of the multidimensional phenomenon of which a clear picture cannot be easily drawn. By utilizing these ideal types some aspects of the reality and relationships of different aspects can be approached.

Cohen (1972) presented a typology of tourist roles, and pointed that homogenized stereotypes, such as of mass tourists, are not enough when the heterogeneous phenomenon of tourism is under scrutiny (see also Cohen 1984). Cohen divided tourists into organized mass tourists, individual mass tourists, explorers and drifters. Plog (2001[1974]) instead divided tourists to psychocentrics, midcentrics and allocentrics according to the psychological factors behind destination choices. Psychocentrics are fond of familiar experiences. They want their holidays readily made and avoid too strange experiences. Allocentrics on the other hand represent the opposite; they want to go to places where no one has ever gone before. They want to walk the unbeaten paths.

Although these views of Cohen and Plog surely provide with a new insights and thus comparing to other early thinkers, more wide perspectives of tourism, in the today's context they also can be considered somewhat narrow – especially when considered *per se* and taken literally. For example Cohen (2004, 45–46) has stated that his original characterizations of tourists might still be valid but they should be considered together with tourists' behaviour rather than distinctive tourist types.

The narrow view is also problem in the case of MacCannell's (1976) ideas of authenticity (also Boortsin 1977; Cohen 1979a/b; 1988). However, of the classics presented above, the nature of tourism in the light of authenticity seems to be even today one of the most widely debated topics. Over and over again researchers are discussing whether tourists are seeking authenticity or not.

The authenticity paradigm of MacCannell (1976) can be regarded as a response to early critical writings of tourism. According to these, like Turner and Ash (1975) literally stated, tourists are the barbarian hordes of today who intrude to the untouched places still existing somewhere in peripheries. MacCannell (1976) claimed that tourists are searching for authenticity instead of inauthentic *pseudo-events* (see Boorstin (1977)). They are modern pilgrims who search for authenticity that can be found elsewhere in other historical periods and other cultures and lifestyles (MacCannell 1976, 2–3; also Kontogeorgopoulos 2003, 183). Whilst authenticity is lost at home it must be found somewhere else. The basic motivation to travel according to MacCannell (1976, 10) is to gain deeper involvement with the society and culture assumed to be found in the destination; assumed in the respect, that what tourists finally get is an experience in staged authenticity.

*"Tourists make brave sorties out from their hotels, hoping, perhaps, for an authentic experience, but their paths can be traced in advance over small increments of what is for them increasingly apparent authenticity proffered by tourist settings." (MacCannell 1976: 106)*

This can be one point of view, but in this study, the scope is wider. Wang (1999), for example, has suggested that the concept of authenticity should be expanded to include also psychical dimensions. Instead of authenticity of the objects also subjective experiences should be taken into account (ibid., 364). In addition to this, it can be argued that tourists are not necessarily searching for anything special. Cohen (2004, 50) has stated that the quest for authenticity has lost power to hedonistic enjoyment and fun.

Thus, people just travel because it is fun. And because they want to. Or because they have too much money. Or because they do not have anything else to do. In this study, all these aspects are discussed. It is noticed that tourism is an extremely complex phenomenon and by creating theories explaining some aspect, other aspects connected to the one just explained, remain without explanation.



## 2 TOWARDS SOCIOLOGY OF POSTMODERN

### 2.1 Modernity in a nutshell

Postmodern literally refers to something that comes after the modern. It is the loss of something that was not consciously possessed until the loss was learned (Bauman 1988, 218). It is also often connected to the logics of late capitalism (Jameson 1984) and thus to understand what postmodern discussion is all about, modernity must be taken under examination.

A theoretical framework of modern society was created by numerous theorists of whom such as Marx, Weber and Durkheim can be regarded the most pivotal. When the central thoughts of these theorists are considered, numerous similarities can be found. Classic ideas should be of course considered in the light of the characteristics of the societies in which they were born and to which they are based. In this respect for example the emphasized discussions on “work” can be justified. From this perspective however, the thoughts of the classics cannot be forgotten when consumption and all its dimensions are examined. Tourism is one of those dimensions.

Even though sociologists of postmodern claim that the meaning of structures has diminished, the class structures were discussed in connection with the presidential election in Finland in 2006 in almost purely Marxian sense. When the results were placed to the map of Helsinki, the capital of Finland, the outcome followed even the most glaring stereotypes of the areas where the left-wing and the right-wing are though to be prominent. The situation does not differ from this either in the case of Weberian working ethics and status groups. Also Durkheim’s notes on anomy can be easily connected with contemporary societies where the knowledge of the use of technological devices is almost essential to keep up with the circus of life (see Lash 1995a/b). Same kind of connections to the contemporary world can be drawn from the works of other seminal sociologists of the modern, such as Simmel and Veblen, as well.

Marx is especially known for his extensive studies on the characteristics and mechanisms of capitalistic societies (see Marx 1974[1867]). He emphasized the importance of structures instead of individuals. According to Marx the production structures have risen above the individuals and this has lead to alienation. Following Allardt and Littunen’s (1975, 120) discussion, Marx’s alienation can be understood more or less similarly than commoditization and consumerism in modern and late modern times. To Marx, the most important actor is the *class* that is formed according to one’s

role in *production structures*. In Marx's society, the class structures have reduced individual abilities to fulfil the natural human needs (ibid., 121). Thus, Marx concentrated on the relationships or rather contradictions between the two most important classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, those who own the means of production and those who do not. Using the evident tension between these classes as a starting point he theoretically envisioned an emancipation of the working class – the world in which the proletariat finally creates a new socialistic world where class structures no more existed (see Marx – Engels 1848).

When Marx concentrated on the class and on the production structures, Weber brought individuals into the stage. (See Weber 1978[1920]) According to Weber (1999, 228) sociology as a field of science studies social action that is based on individual subjective meanings. According to Weber, capitalism was not born as Marx presented, automatically accordingly with the production structures. Instead, he thought that certain economic ethos, *the spirit of capitalism* (Weber 1980[1904–1905]) and adopted religious ethics followed by individuals, was the main factor behind the development of societies. Thus to the comprehensive theory and critique of capitalistic world created by Marx, Weber added new insights. Weber's idea of *protestant ethics*, which emphasized values such as ascetics and hard work, has become a widely used concept in the course of time.

Weber considered the spirit of capitalism and protestant ethics as ideal types that can be rarely observed in the reality. Ideal types represent the “most consistent and logical forms” of the real world and by using and comparing ideal types, information of the real world can be obtained. (See Weber 1980, 70; 1978, 9; 1999, 228–276)

Whilst Marx concentrated on the classes, Weber (1999, 113–120) spoke about class situations and is especially known for his discussion of *status groups*. Status is connected to social dimensions of the relationships between the people rather than with economical welfare. This distinction between economics and social aspects brings the discussion close to the lifestyles, and in a sense, status of the individual can be seen as representing lifestyles in the respect of contemporary discussions on the topic (cf. Allardt – Littunen 1975, 92). As Honkanen (2004, 61) states, Weberian battlefield is constructed around consumption instead of Marxian production.

When sociology in general is concerned, one of the most influential theorists, if not the most influential one, must be Durkheim whose role in establishing sociology to the field of social sciences was remarkable. Durkheim (1977[1895]) wrote about *social facts* that can be understood referring to the collective norms, *conscience collective*. The social facts

determine the behaviour of individuals who operate as members of larger collectives. Durkheim's (1977, 42) own definition of social fact is as follows:

*“A social fact is any way of acting, whether fixed or not, capable of exerting over the individual an external constraint; which is general over the whole given society whilst having an existence of its own, independent of its individual manifestations.”*

In addition to determining social facts as main interests of sociological research, Durkheim was interested in the imperfectly developed system of work distribution which leads to mechanic solidarity. This kind of solidarity is inflexible because people considerably resemble each other. Behaviour that is different from conventional and does not follow collective norms is rare. Organic solidarity instead enables more individual choices but gaining it requires higher and more developed work distribution structures. (See Durkheim 1990[1893])

In contemporary societies, the division of labour is complicated; people possess different lifestyles and needs. Allardt and Littunen (1975, 65–68) develop Durkheim's classification further and envision unequal societies of low solidarity and numerous contradictions. Contradictions in the division of labour lead to *anomy*, the lack of regulations and norms. (Ibid., 121; Durkheim 1990) *Conscience collective* in Durkheim's sense is no more dominant and this leads to increasing individuality of the individuals but also of the collectives. Uncertainty and instability may however create a need for collectivity again. It can be said that people, in a sense, need each other and solidarity turns out to be organic (see Maffesoli 1997, 25 on new organic solidarity). It may be assumed that the result might also be a new set of heterogeneous collective norms that certain groups adopt.

The concept of anomy can be compared to Marx's alienation, although the logic is somewhat contrary. Marx sees that structures (i.e. class) cause alienation whilst Durkheim considers the lack of regulation more pivotal. In this respect, Durkheim seems to represent early postmodern theorization. On the other hand, as will be indirectly discussed later, postmodern dimension can also be found from Marxist thinking. Changed logics behind class structures do not mean that the importance of structures has disappeared. Contrary, new class divisions are constantly created. This re-creation and lack of regulation go hand in hand; alienation can be caused by both.

Discussions on the most important classics presented briefly above are mainly discussions on capitalism, which is closely linked with modern as it is usually understood. Modern project can be interpreted as a system based on the matrix formed by phenomena such as industrialization and new production

methods, urbanization, increased mobility, markets, entrepreneurship, class divisions, economic growth and progress. (See e.g. Jallinoja 1991)

Now, according to postmodern thinkers, this apparatus has failed – or at least endangered itself. Teleological belief in progress has not been enough in the respect of ensuring well-being to everyone. “Trickle-down” might not be universally valid idea of how societies work in contemporary world. Inglehart (1997, 22) states that economic rationalities have lost their share to less materialistic orientated rationalities. Production has lost its organizing role in the societies. Belief in metanarratives is fading (Lyotard 1985).

## 2.2 All that is solid melts into air – the breakdown of social structures

The ancestor of postmodern discussion, post-industrialism, was presented to the wider audience by Bell (1974; see also Machlup 1962; Touraine 1971). The conclusions were drawn from the observations about the gaining importance of theoretical knowledge that had led to the birth of new economies where service sector was growing fast and was more important than ever. Traditional social divisions were to change as contrary to modern industrialized world, specialists working in the service sector were suddenly the most important players in the market (Bell 1974, 123–129).

*“A post-industrial society is based on services. Hence, it is a game between persons. What counts is not raw muscle power, or energy, but information. The central person is the professional, for he is equipped, by his education and training, to provide the kinds of skill which are increasingly demanded in the post-industrial society.” (Ibid.: 127)*

These kind of structural changes have been widely noticed, but it can be stated that maybe these changes are just a natural part of the logic of modern world. Maybe the change reflects the way how modern inevitably works. New technology has changed the working patterns and as Fordist production has changed into post-Fordist, people are automatically drifted into the “factories” of the new world. In global economy, labour-incentive industries move to the countries where modernization has just begun. And otherwise, human capital moves to the post-industrial countries regardless of the origin. (See Castells 1997)

Changes in the societies are compared to the past. Accordingly the present is mirrored against the future. There are numerous theories of the contemporary world and selecting the best and most exhaustive explanations is a difficult task. The usage of the concept “postmodern”, which is under consideration in this study, does not make the task any easier. Like Firat et al.

(1994, 311) state, “the term postmodern is so polyvalent that it is non-distinct and non-decript”. Thus, postmodern can be seen from many perspectives (Bauman 1996, 21–22; Malpas 2001, 1–11). Anything that “was not there” in modern times can now be called postmodern. Changes can surely be considered as a natural inevitable continuation of modern society. On the other hand, it can be stated that modern societies have entered into a totally new era which follows totally new logics – the logics of the postmodern (see Maffesoli 1997).

Sociology, which was born to explain modernization and modern societies, must now handle the changes and take new divisions and new phenomena into account (see Bauman 1996, 191–215; 1997). Sociological research must find answers to the new questions. What is the structure of postmodern society? How does it differ from modern society? Should these modern-postmodern comparisons be forgotten and totally new approaches created? What are the causes behind the changes? And on top of everything, is there anything fundamentally new under the sun?

The first question is related to the legacy of modern and it searches for structures in postmodern. The only generally applicable answer would be that those structures that can be identified derive from the structures of modern. All other answers stay inevitably in the shade of insecurity, which to be honest, would suit well into postmodern discussion. However, it is possible to think about new class structures which have been widely under examination. These structures can and should be searched for, but the findings can hardly become universal. Even in the Western perspectives they can only be seen as a rather relative and multidimensional apparatus. Thus, the answer to the second question would be that modern society has become more fragmented and the result is a new world, using Bauman’s words, matured modern. Considering the above mentioned, if postmodern theories do not seem to take discussion further from the speculations, new approaches should be definitely searched for. However, this does not mean that these new approaches should be distinct from modern and postmodern approaches. Contrary, these two should be connected and also empirical evidence of the changes should be searched for (see Honkanen 2004, 21–23). If this is done, it might as well be possible to find out the causes and structures (based most likely on modern logics) behind the changes which postmodern discussions are based on. So, finally, is there anything fundamentally new under the sun? Probably not.

Practically always with discussions on postmodern society Jean-Francois Lyotard is mentioned. He is responsible for the idea of postmodern being merely incredulity towards metanarratives (Lyotard 1985; 2001). By these metanarratives Lyotard means religious, political and scientific explanations of the world. The trend is due to technical development which has changed the

focus from aims to means (Lyotard 1985, 61). This has led to legitimization crisis and increasing insecurity. Modernity breaks down its own basis. Former dividing elements like the class and the nation have lost their meaning (e.g. Denzin 1991, 60; Featherstone 1991; Lash 1995a, 153; Miles 1998; Toivonen 1992; 1997; Urry 1995; Warde 1997). Taking this to the extreme it can be said that postmodern is scepticism of any grand scheme, project or narrative (Firat et al. 1994, 312).

Sociology of postmodern concentrates on the new project that has been slightly born in the burden of modernity. In the burden in a sense that postmodern evidently has its roots in modernity (cf. Featherstone 1991, 77). For example consumption, which is often emphasized in the discussions on contemporary world, is not possible without underlying expenditure of the masses (Maffesoli 1997, 31). From this basis, Maffesoli presents another interpretation according to which only some of the people can be included in the framework of postmodernity. Thus discussions on postmodern should not be considered as a fundamental theoretical framework. Rather, they should be regarded as whole new perspectives that give sociologists the opportunities to look contemporary phenomena from different angles (see Bauman 1993, 3).

*“If the concept of ‘postmodernity’ has not other value, it has at least this one: it supplies a new, and external, vantage point, from which some aspects of that world which came into being in the aftermath of Enlightenment and the Capitalist Revolution...acquire saliency and can be turned into a pivotal issue of the discourse.” Bauman (1988, 226)*

Given the heterogeneous nature of the topic, the “postmodern project” (if it ever existed) is still searching for its position in the discussions. Thus it is not a surprise that there is no agreement on the timing of the phenomenon. If we now live in the postmodern era, when did it begin? And if postmodern is just a set of new phenomena occurring in matured modernity, when were they recognized? Of course the answers depend on definitions, as always. The concept of postmodern has not been interpreted in the same way by the theorists. In addition to the differences in definitions it must be taken into account that the changes in different societies did not occur in the same time (Lyotard 1985, 10; also Honkanen 2004, 41). Lyotard (1985, 10) who in the context of postmodern discussion creates his approach on the basis of the changing nature of scientific knowledge, places the birth of postmodern to the end of the 1950’s. However, the beginning of the wider discussion on the subject can be placed to 1980’s (e.g. Baudrillard 1988; Bauman 1988; Featherstone 1988; Jameson 1984; see also Malpas 2001, 1–3).

The confusion is complete when alternative concepts are brought to the stage. Many theorists often connected with postmodern do not use the concept

at all. Either they do not want use it or they have concepts of their own. However, the fear of getting the label of “postmodernist” is probably unnecessary because of the fact that the multidimensional concept is already overly used (cf. Malpas 2001). For example Bauman (1997) has said that postmodern is just one of the numerous concepts which can be used when fundamental differences between current and earlier societies are examined. According to him, the actual word used for describing these changes is not an important question. Nevertheless, regardless of the term used for describing the late modern world, they all are more or less connected to Lyotard’s “definition” and the death or at least irreversible change of the modern project. Best and Kellner (1997, 21–23) put it briefly when they describe postmodern as something that does not fit easily into the older paradigms of the society.

### 2.3 Risk society and reflexive modern

All the theorists who have contributed to the discussion on the change of modern agree on some central ideas and there are a few concepts which are characteristic to their thoughts (see Mirchandani 2005). As mentioned cursorically earlier, the whole discussion is more or less based on the observation that the system and structures created by modernity have now become questioned by itself. The result is a reflexive, and in a sense, a reversed modern. Security and predictability have been lost, reflexive modern is *contingent* (see e.g. Bauman 1996, 191–215, 267–282). “Postmodern” freedom forces actors to make choices and to reflect their own existence (Beck 1995a, 28). Life in reflexive modern is *ambivalent* (see e.g. Bauman 1996, 191–215) because freedom has two converse sides; freedom can considered both positive and negative.

Freedom, responsibility and insecurity form a triangle in which all corners are connected to each other. It is not possible to lean on the past and it is not possible to know about the future (see Bauman 1991). According to Beck (1995a, 17), modernization processes create *risks* and threats which put modernity in danger. When these risks, side-effects of modernity, are confronted, the result is evidently increasing insecurity. The risks are born because actors and modern society to which they belong are not able to recognize the threats and impacts caused by their own existence (ibid.). These risks must be taken into account and when this is done, the whole modern society turns into reflexive modern system. Interpreting Bauman’s (1997) thoughts, it is not particularly important to think of the dimensions to which system/ambivalence and modern/postmodern –divisions should be placed.

More important is that problems are recognized and through reflexive process, they are taken into account.

As the introduction above shows, Beck's (1992; 1995a/b) "postmodern" society is characteristically reflexive and risky. According to him, modernization process has not ended. Instead it continues and gets reflexive characteristics. Modern turns into itself and puts itself in danger – it slowly breaks itself down. Whilst insecurity increases, the importance of reflexive behaviour is emphasized. Life is finally in the hands of individuals. This individualization, also in the wider context, is one of the main features on postmodern discussions. According to Beck it means simply that securities of industrialized societies are disappearing and this inevitably forces actors to a new search for these same securities. Thus individuals constantly confront a need for reflexive behaviour. (Beck 1995a, 27–31)

When the modernization process continues, actors of the society gain ability to reflect and change the conditions of life. Thus the further the process goes, the more modern structures are in danger. (Beck 1995b, 239) Beck states that the term reflexive does not directly refer to *reflection*. Instead it refers to facing oneself (Beck 1995a, 17). The reflexive process happens even if actors do not recognize it. Baudrillard (2002) claims, that the expansion of globalization creates the conditions for its own destruction. Neither is this idea a new one. Although the deeper logic is different, the point in this can be connected with the Marxist view on how capitalism finally destroys itself.

For Beck, the side-effects are in the centre of the societal change from modern to reflexive modern. Side-effects are brought back to the "structures" (finally breaking them down) by conscious individuals. This according to Beck (1995a, 20-21; 1995b, 244) is an explanation to the increased knowledge of ecological issues. Beck considers that ecological risks are no more matters of faith but rather matters of course. They are indicators of several other problems that must be faced (Giddens 1995b, 255). Following the ideas of the classics around the discussion on sustainable development (e.g. Bruntland 1987; Meadows et al. 1974), Beck (1995b, 240–241) sees ecological crises as deriving from unrestricted economical growth.

Beck states that guessing whether the world is going to be "destroyed" or not is not interesting. Instead what is interesting is to examine the risk of this. Reflexive modern will evidently produce immense shocks. These may create or at least strengthen nationalist or fascist motions because in the absence of secure answers and structures people want to lean on something solid and stable. On the other hand, these shocks may also form a basis to the coming of new aims and new structures. (Beck 1995b, 246–247) Following Beck's discussion, even in postmodern – or reflexive modern – society, structures play certain roles. They deconstruct themselves. Whether this process of



constructing and deconstructing leads to self-reflection or not is largely an empirical question. Creating predictions by theorizing changes is not possible. (Ibid.)

According to Giddens (1995a/b), contemporary societies are confusing projects where common causal links do not apply (cf. Best – Kellner 1997). According to him, breakage of established rules is the most dominant characteristic of the postmodernization process. Instead of postmodern or reflexive modern, Giddens speaks of late modern. The discussion of reflexive modern should concentrate on reflexive institutions (Giddens 1995b, 250–266). As postmodern theories generally state, modern structures are said to have fallen down. As stated earlier, for many this is what postmodern is all about. Nevertheless, Giddens (1995a, 140–146) states that as traditions are breaking down, at the same time they are found again. Traditions, and in larger scale also structures, are parts of social mechanisms and systems which social actors renew (ibid.).

For Giddens, reflexive means self-control or self-reflection of individuals and institutions. Life is more in hands of the individuals due to the lack of those modern structures which earlier created security. Giddens (1991) writes about *life-policy* that is born in postmodern societies to compensate the lack of collective structures or metanarratives (see Lyotard 1985). This “individualization” leads to an increasing importance of reflection. Giddens emphasises the role of experts and scholars that is essential to reflexive modern (or post-traditional (sic); also Bauman 1996, 294) when social world is constructed. In this matter his thoughts differ slightly from Beck’s arguments which emphasize the role of individuals and even criticize the role of experts and scientific knowledge (Beck 1995a, 72–78). According to Giddens, an expert is anyone who can justify the possession of some kind of abilities that common people do not possess or have access to. However, experts easily transform into common people (non-experts) as they are forced to meet the ambivalent world where inevitably all the people must rely on experts. (Giddens 1995a, 117–129)

Almost parallel to Beck (1995a/b), also Giddens finds the reason for the increased amount of insecurities in contemporary societies from the growth of human capital and knowledge (Giddens 1995b, 250). He is well aware of the fact that restricting the existence and birth of the processes behind these extensive risks is difficult. For example, it cannot be demanded that societies which are now in the beginning of modernization process should be part of the processes where problems, not originally created by them, are tried to be solved. (Ibid., 255–256)

For Lash (1995a/b), reflexive modern is a theory of the change where structures have lost their power to social factors. According to Lash, reflexive

modern contains two important dimensions. First of all, structural side of the process is connected to diminished power of the structures and thus the behaviour of social actors reflects the rules and resources of these structures. On the other hand, in absence of external control, actors must control and reflect themselves. In this matter, Lash agrees with other mentioned theorists. (Ibid.)

Lash (1995a, 153–155; also Lash – Urry 1994) brings the aesthetic dimension to the centre of discussion (see also Maffesoli 1997, 22–23). His reflexive modern can be found mainly outside the institutions (Lash 1995b, 290). Featherstone (1991, 65–82) writes about aestheticization of everyday life which refers to the continuous flow of signs and images intruding into common lives of contemporary individuals. Of these signs postmodern actors must adopt those which best reflect their desires. This is the dimension where his ideas differ fundamentally from Beck and Giddens. Instead of reflexive institutions Lash wants to use the idea of reflexive communities (ibid., 271). Lash states that the ideas of modern projects based on reason and enlightenment are too narrow. According to him it is necessary to take signs and information structures into account. Without these the late modern actors cannot be reflexive.

Aesthetic according to Maffesoli (1997, 24) means an ability to feel emotions and sensations collectively – “vibrate together in harmony”. In these vibrations, Maffesoli finds the structure of the postmodern era; modern individualism has made way to collectivity. New organic solidarity puts back together the elements torn apart by modernity (ibid., 25).

According to Lash (1995a, 154), reflexive modern is a process of increased individualization. This individualization together with information structures create new barriers because there are differences between how well actors of societies can use and enter these networks (Lash 1995b, 289). In this respect actors can be divided to reflexive winners and reflexive losers. Latter represent contemporary lower classes which may be easily left outside of the society (Lash 1995a, 176; Bauman 2000). Reflexive winners instead are flexible and can handle the rapid changes. Thus implicitly these are the “new structures” that postmodern actors and societies have to struggle with. They are evident outcomes of modernity – the unwanted results of development and industrialization.

Referring to discussions of Beck, Giddens and Lash, also Bauman has responded to the discussion on reflexive modern and stated that it is not a new phase in the history. Instead, societal changes are continuously happening. Nevertheless, he admits that modern is creating elements which come together with the characteristics of reflexive modern. (Bauman 1993, 233) Despite the fact that in earlier writings of the topic Bauman has considered the concept of

postmodern redundant (1988, 219) he has not totally abandoned it. According to Bauman (2002, 7–23), strong influential modern has changed to *liquid modern* where everything that was solid, changes constantly (cf. Marx – Engels 1848).

According to Bauman (1996, 191), postmodern is a social phenomenon born in rich European (or European-based) countries in the late 1900's. Postmodern means different things to different people. It can be a promise of something new. On the other hand, it can be an image of the immense speed of social change that disables the birth of more solid structures. Postmodern can also mean insecurity and confusion around the values and criteria around the choices in life. But above all, according to Bauman, postmodern is a state of mind which tends to reflect itself. This postmodern state of mind maintains the circle of emancipation where old structures are broken down. In the same time general insecurity increases, because the process has not managed to create a new guiding order. (Bauman 1996, 21–23)

Bauman's postmodern is self-conscious, *matured modern*, where concepts like institutionalized pluralism, diverseness, contingency and ambivalence are important (Bauman 1996, 192). Postmodern does not present the end of modern era or total breakdown of modern structures. What actually is different is the nature of this new modern. Modern has started to reflect its own history and finally become aware of impossibilities of itself – of the modern project as a whole (cf. Beck 1995a/b). Thus postmodern is not a temporary disorder. It is a new phase in the history of modernity (Bauman 2002, 9) – a self-productive process which must be approached and examined by using new concepts. (Bauman 1996, 191–215; 1997)

When developing a basis of a new postmodern social theory, Bauman (1996, 195) presents a few ideas that should be taken into account. First of all, the social situation that this theory tries to explain is unbalanced and haphazard. Modern metaphors of progress and also the concept of society should be abandoned, because in postmodern these solid systems have disappeared. Instead of the discussion on society, the discussion on *sociality* should be absorbed. By using the concept of sociality, the meaning and importance of structures can be diminished and features of postmodern can be emphasized. In this context Cova's (1997, 303) notion of two sides of postmodern, the process of individualization, and a reverse movement of social recomposition, must be mentioned.

Bauman states that when postmodernity is discussed, the social environment where processes occur should be the most important starting point. He uses the concept of *habitat* describing this environment (cf. Maffesoli 1995 on neo-tribes). Postmodern habitat is endlessly ambivalent and living or "being" is rootless. When identity is no more linked with the

structures of the modern project, it must be built. Constructing one's life or identity is a process that Bauman calls *self-constitution*. Because this process is endless and can be never finished, it turns out to be the process of *self-assembly*. The only thing that is permanent in this process is a body. In the contemporary world, cultivating one's body and personal welfare have raised their head. In postmodern habitat, do-it-yourself practices have replaced modern controlled exercises. (Bauman 1996, 193–201)

In the process of self-assembly, the role of information and the signs are important (cf. Lash 1995a/b). How the information is reached, is up to the subjects' abilities and resources. Those, who have more capabilities, are evidently better-off in these battles. Modern sources of welfare such as education or inherited social background have given way to personal issues. Thus again, new barriers are constructed (Bauman 1996, 203). Here Bauman comes together with Lash, who wrote about reflexive winners and losers (Lash 1995, 176). In postmodern world, the possibility to gain knowledge and reach information increases freedom and actually is the most important symbol of social status (see van Eijck – Bargeman 2004). This is the reason why attractiveness of knowledge and information and on the other hand, the power of "experts" has increased. It is possible to gain more freedom by depending on these specialists. Thus as mentioned earlier, freedom and dependency are closely associated with each other in the ambivalent world. (Bauman 1996, 191–215, 294)

## 2.4 Ethics and postmodern – or the logic of being together

According to Aristotle (1989) the basis of the good life is happiness that lies in the background in everyday life's decision making. Aristotle makes a distinction between people who intentionally lead a life of virtue and those who behave similarly without particular intention. If good behaviour concentrating on cultivating virtues is intentional, the outcome is "good" and vice versa. Aristotle suggests that one should not aim at extremities but instead one should always find so called "golden mean".

For Durkheim, moral issues are socially shared facts that take the form of conscience collective. Ethical values go beyond individuals and in a sense maintain the social order (cf. Smith – Duffy 2003, 29–38). Weber, instead, interprets morality reasonably by adopting the "reasonable" role of outsider. Weber's idea of protestant ethics, which can be well understood as a collective social fact in Durkheimian sense, should be seen as an ideal, and ideals must be separated from reality (see Ahponen 1998). For Marx, morality is a structural phenomenon that reflects the conscience of class differences. The

persons' own ethical rules remain in the shadow of economic the structures (e.g. Marx 1974, 217).

The legacy of the early classics shows that morality can be seen from many perspectives. It should be also kept in mind that in the history of sociology, the discussions concerning ethics are not new. However, together with the emergence of postmodern debates, the discussion has become extensive. This is due to the idea that because of the lack of institutions of the modern, actors in postmodern world are continuously forced to make choices between different ethical rules. These rules are equally justified and thus moral questions are confronted all the time. Not least because the other ways of valuing things, economic and aesthetic values for example, do not go hand in hand with the ethical dimension (cf. Smith – Duffy 2003, 9– 10)

Bauman (1996, 211) states that in the modern societies the development process of moral rules was included in the legislation process. In postmodernity these institutions have lost their “monopolistic” status. Thus when discussing about postmodern ethics, Bauman wants to bring individuals to the centre of the discussion. Moral is privatized and ethical questions inevitably include risks, insecurity and battles with one's conscience. (Ibid., 44) Individual values are heterogeneous; there are no more ubiquitous collective norms (cf. Smith – Duffy 2003, 33).

Bauman emphasizes the lack or pluralism of authorities concerning the self-assembly process. Rules cannot be strengthened without establishing dialogue with the ethical authorities. Thus postmodern actors must and are willing to absorb moral responsibility. Own ethical principles have gained importance. Postmodern actors meet the impacts of their behaviour. In the case of searching for the advice, they meet several sources. Values and principles must now be argued and justified by someone.

Postmodern discussions agree on the idea that in contemporary world there is a great lack of universal guiding codes. The postmodern individual has become a sort of nomad (Cova 1997, 300). On the one hand, freedom is so much wanted, but on the other hand, leaning on external values reduces the freedom. Talking about crisis might be too exaggerated when contemporary citizens' positions in the world are described, but in a way, ethics has become a commodity. Whilst the great explanatory systems of modern project are powerless to grasp the logic of contemporary social existence (Maffesoli 1997, 21–22), the new logic has been born. This is the logic of *being together*. As Maffesoli (1997, 31) puts it, what now dominates is the warm desire of being together. According to Maffesoli this desire refers to the state of mind that can be articulated mainly through life-styles.

Thus, it is all about adopting a way of life that best represents one's desires. However, finding the right choices in insecure postmodern societies is

difficult. Once again the ambivalence is found in the contradictory situation where freedom and responsibility represent the opposite ends of the equation. Postmodern individuality and consumer culture emphasize the freedom of choice. Consumer society creates pressures from outside and at the same time, moral pressures are more and more visible (Ahokas et al. 2005, 117). The responsible Other of the modern has turned into invisible Other – or conscious Self.

The problem of responsibility becomes especially relevant in personal encounters. Bauman (1993; also Lévinas 1993, 124–125; 1996, 78–82) states that all confrontations between people should base on the idea of being *for* the Other instead of being *with* the Other. According to Skiotis (2005), the first is a relationship based on love and the latter is based on power.

In addition to Beck (1995a, 20–21; 1995b, 244), also Bauman (1996, 191–215; 1997) has stated that consumers inevitably acquaint themselves with ethical issues as they face the negative sides of modern society. Bauman (1993; 1996) demands postmodern ethics in the world where morality does not have an ethical code. He describes modern as a project which dissolves individuals' responsibility by creating controlling structures (1996, 42–43). Now, in the postmodern era, ethical codes are no more produced and assigned by the old authorities. Responsibility has become personal, and individuals are the source of ethics and discussion. (Ibid., 212–213) Moral has become privatized (ibid., 44) and because of this, the role of authors who claim themselves as experts in moral issues is inevitably strengthened (e.g. religious movements, see ibid., 213). The experts of ethics have compensated the lack of responsible Others of the modern. This might conduce to thoughts that postmodern world is in a sense escapism back to premodernity. Bauman however continues and remarks that it is essential to draw a clear line between premodern and postmodern, because in premodern, the role of modern structures was smaller. Instead in premodern, the communities practiced invisible control in the form of common manners and customs whilst in modern (and postmodern) the life is filled with encounters with the strangers (ibid., 288). In this context, Maffesoli's (1995) neo-tribes deserve to be mentioned again. In the case of the issues related straightforwardly to consumption (i.e. fashion), the emergence of new tribes is easily justified. They are signifiers in the reverse side of individualism.

In general, the increased interest in ethical discussion is typically a postmodern phenomenon. Bauman (1993, 211–213) suggests that the discussion on ethics should be part of theoretical models of the contemporary world. This is necessary because modern institutions are no more the only ones maintaining the ethical discussion. According to Bauman (ibid.), ethical problems of the postmodern are due to two different issues. First of all, the

process of self-assembly cannot be based on global norms, and this emphasises actors' own principles. The lack of coordination is the reason why the process turns out to be characteristically ethical. Individuals have to take responsibility. Secondly, only ethical discussion and principles are universal enough in the respect of creating a basis to decision making.

According to classical micro-economical theories of consumption, consumers in modern world are argued to be using all the information available when making economic decisions which aim at maximizing the benefits (e.g Honkapohja 1996). These expectations are said to be rational, which means that no systematic mistakes are made. Although the hypothesis of the rational consumer is theoretical, the idea can be connected to postmodern actors' reflexive behaviour. Although rationality in the sense of economics does not predominantly include knowledge or even interest in issues of sustainability, consumers may include these issues to their "utility basket". Inglehart (1997) call these people postmaterialists. Postmaterialism refers to the growth of immaterial consumption and to the interest in postmaterial issues that are often considered important features of postmodern (see e.g. Inglehart 1977; 1997; Scarbrough 1995). Whilst material values are traditionally more important in modern societies, in postmodern societies people are said to be more interested in personal quality of life. Making a reference to above discussion on postmodern ethics, this is an evident trend.

The main idea behind postmaterialism and also environmentalism, which is often connected to postmaterialism, is a belief that an act for the environment or for the others will finally have an effect to one's own life. (Brand 1999: 645–646; also Mustonen 2003, 37 [paper 1]) So postmaterialists and thus environmentalists think that rational behaviour would finally lead to sustainable behaviour. The same idea could also be transferred to enterprises. In the long run, sustainable use of resources can be seen as giving the biggest benefits. In this context, sustainable economic behaviour in postmodern times can be described in the same way than in modern times - through the hypothesis of utility maximization.

The difference between postmaterialism and postmodernism can be presented by using a simple matrix: Postmodern thinking concentrates on the present and postmaterialism on the future. Further, postmodern values are heterogeneous whilst postmaterial values are somewhat similar. So according to this distinction, when postmodern actors concentrate on their present welfare, they may conduct "eco-friendly" activities only because their social status requires so. They want to make distinctions to the other actors (Bourdieu 1984). The actors might pretend to be environmentally friendly or socially aware only because it might raise their status. From this point of view, environmentalism is surely a value that can be adopted even without real

intentions. Postmaterial behaviour instead must look further, because idea of giving up material welfare does not easily fit into the picture of rational modern consumer maximising her/his welfare. Although diverse postmodern values also include environmentalism, environmental issues are easier to connect with postmaterialism than postmodern (See Mustonen 2003, 36–37 [paper 1]).

The first paper, “Environment as a criterion for choosing a holiday destination - arguments and findings” (Mustonen 2003) examined this complex issue by asking what kind people tend to consider environment important when doing consumption choices. The data, Eurobarometer 48 from year 1997, consisted of the answers of 16 186 respondents spread to 15 EU member countries. One of the questions in the original questionnaire was about environment as a criterion when choosing a holiday destination. Structural differences between those who had answered positively to this enquiry were examined and only those respondents who had made a trip abroad during the previous year were included in the final analysis.

As mentioned before, the variable in hand can be considered somewhat problematic. Respondents might have understood “quality of the environment” differently. Thus, one must be careful when drawing non-critical conclusions of certain proportion of the respondents, 28 % in the data, being “environmentally friendly tourists”. It is not known how tourists actually behave in the destinations. Järviluoma (2006, 121–142) observed that environment seems to be an important factor when destination choices are made. However, the study concerned only destinations situated in somewhat remote rural areas of Finland whilst in the Eurobarometer, the question concerned travelling in general. Thus respondents might have chosen environment without a real interest in environmental issues.

The discussion around postmaterialism, which can be connected with ethical dimension of postmodern world (see Inglehart (1977; 1997), was strongly influential in the study. Even though postmaterialism and postmodern are not synonymous, the rise of interest in postmaterial issues is often connected to postmodern change.

Finally in addition to traditional sociodemographic background variables, also political identity was added into the analysis. This was done because it has been noticed that those people who identify themselves more with the Left tend to possess more environmentally sound values than those who identify with the Right (Inglehart 1977; 1997; Konttinen – Peltokoski 2000). The first hypothesis was derived from this; it was assumed that those who considered themselves to be in the Left in political scale would consider environment as an important criterion more than those in the Right. Other hypotheses were connected to sociodemographic variables. It was expected that wealthier



quartiles would have chosen environment more often as lower quartiles. Also variables indicating socio-economic group, education, age, gender and nationality were used as explanants. More educated and young respondents were assumed to differ from the others in the respect of choosing environment. Also post-war cohorts were expected to stand out. In the cases of socio-economic group, gender and nationality, clear hypotheses were not stated.

The methods used in the study were cross-tabulations, univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) and logistic regression analysis. The variance analysis showed that people who had made a trip (i.e. the tourists) were considerably wealthier than those who had not made a trip. There were also differences between nationalities. The highest levels of income amongst tourists were found in Portugal and Spain whilst lower ones in Denmark, Germany, Italy, Ireland, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Sweden and Belgium. The latter group, maybe except for Italy, represented clearly those Northern and Central European countries in which tourism can be considered as a lifestyle issue. Interestingly for example in Finland and UK, the average income levels of tourists were somewhat higher. Also in the political field some differences between nationalities were found. Amongst those who had made a trip abroad, most far in the Left were Spain, Greece, Austria and France. Nordic countries were clearly most far in the Right.

Totally 28 % of the tourists considered environment as an important criterion. Of those respondents who identified themselves with the Left (groups 1–4 in the 1–10 –scale) 30 % chose environment whilst of Right-wingers (groups 7–10) 22 % chose environment. This finding was in line with the hypothesis. Instead contrary to the hypothesis, younger respondents were least eager to vote for the environment. However, unsurprisingly the post-war cohorts were the most “environmentally friendly” tourists. The differences between other explanants were rather cursory and difficult to interpret and thus finally the multivariate analysis was conducted.

The conducted logistic regression model finally strengthened the results given by the cross-tabulations. The most educated had chosen environment most often. The differences between socio-demographic variables were weak, but instead, the age group 46–64 differed clearly from the other groups. Income variable was not significant. Although also differences between nationalities were found, the most remarkable finding was probably the highly (sig. <0.001) significant political dimension. Respondents who identified themselves with the Left were more likely to choose environment than right-wingers.

So is it possible to state that the left-wingers are more environmentally friendly than right-wingers? In the context of the study the correct answer could not be given. The question in the survey was about the criteria. As

mentioned above, it was not possible to say whether actual behaviour is anyhow connected with the expected value basis (cf. Honkanen – Mustonen 2005 [paper 3]). Thus giving more detailed interpretation would have required more detailed data. However, the results showed that there are differences and there are structures as well. What are the logics behind these, stays still in shade.

## 2.5 Consumer culture and lifestyles

One of the most significant earlier theorists when consumption *per se* is considered must be Veblen. He envisioned a sociological picture of “upper class” consumer, and emphasized the importance of consumption in the process of creating social prestige and status (Veblen 2002[1899]). By adopting a practice of *conspicuous consumption*, people express what they have gained. Conspicuous consumption is consumption of superfluities; it is consumption of something which is not really “needed” in traditional terms (cf. Urry 2002, 1). By consuming upper class citizens maintain the lifestyle that they have once adopted, probably inherited. Lower classes and so called *nouveaux riches* want to join, but they are irretrievably behind. They cannot afford the same *leisure class* lifestyle.

People who cannot afford to consume must however recognize those who have gained the privilege. Thus consumed goods must be, to put it simply, expensive and visible. When taken to the extreme, members of the leisure class may utilize vicarious others to take their status even higher. According to Veblen this other can be, for example, one’s spouse, in the context of 19<sup>th</sup> century, supposedly one’s wife, who by carrying expensive clothes and such gains prestige to the idle “consumer”.

Even though it was Veblen, who brought the notion of conspicuous consumption to the stage, the phenomenon has most probably existed forever. Even Smith in his classic book, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), wrote:

*“Fashion is different from custom, or rather is a particular species of it. That is not the fashion which every body wears, but which those wear who are of a high rank, or character. The graceful, the easy, and commanding manners of the great, joined to the usual richness and magnificence of their dress, give a grace to the very form which they happen to bestow upon it. As long as they continue to use this form, it is connected in our imaginations with the idea of something that is genteel and magnificent, and though in itself it should be indifferent, it seems, on account of this relation, to have something about it that is genteel and magnificent too. As soon as they drop it, it loses all the grace, which it had appeared to possess before, and being*

*now used only by the inferior ranks of people, seems to have something of their meanness and awkwardness.”*

Thus, conspicuous consumption is not a new phenomenon even though the term itself, not to mention the idea of consumer culture, has gained more interest in the discussions only relatively recently. Now the question is, when consumption is under scrutiny, what are the characteristics which do not fit into the modern model (cf. Best – Kellner 1997, 21–23)?

Traditionally consumption has been a means for getting hold on the bare necessities. To succeed, one has had to fight against scarcity (Bouchet 1994, 410–412). However, according to Bouchet (ibid.) in contemporary (postmodern) societies, people are concerned with superfluities more than ever. Even more than in the world of idle leisure class consumers presented by Veblen. Early homogeneous class distinctions were more or less due to socialization processes; status and prestige were often inherited. The conspicuous consumption was only possible to certain minorities. During the past decades the modern project has enabled the growth of consumption-based lifestyles. Thus, the simplified traditional model has somewhat turned upside down and done so fundamentally. Consuming has turned from the activity of satisfying material needs to goal-oriented activity where the goal is the consuming itself. Consumption has become a way of life (Miles 1998, 16–18) and it is through consumption how people aim at defining their existence.

In contemporary consumer societies lifestyles are manifested by consuming (Miles 1998; also Räsänen 2000). Instead of occupation or inherited status the lifestyle has become the most important source of distinction (see Warde 1997, 7). The class has been surpassed by another. According to Miles (2000), *lifestyle* is a material expression of person's identity. Thus, by consuming postmodern actors create distinctions (e.g. Bourdieu 1984; Munt 1994) between themselves and others (cf. Bauman 1996, 203, 294; Lash 1995a, 176; Scott 2002, 23). According to Bocoock (1993, 27–28, also Cova 1997, 305; Mackay 1997) these new divisions are based on identity formed mainly of consumption habits rather than of traditional social factors. According to Maffesoli (1997, 21–22), this serious cultural change, the whole new epoch, has intruded into all the corners of life. Baudrillard (1998, 77–78) simplifies this by stating that “need is never so much the need for a particular object as the ‘need’ for difference”. According to him, actors have become dominated by things and in one sense, become thing-like objects themselves. Featherstone (1991, 85) claims that consumption should be understood as the consumption of signs rather than of use-values or material utility (see also Baudrillard 1998, 61; Sulkunen 1997, 9). Also Lyon (1999: 72; also Featherstone 1991) states that the functional aspects of commodities have been replaced by aesthetic concerns. Like discussed earlier, this refers to the

multitude of aesthetic stimulus, the signs and images, which have intruded to everyday lives of postmodern actors. According to Baudrillard (1988) these signs do not have relationship to reality anymore. There are no more real but rather extasies of hyperreality.

The commodities or rather possibilities to consume commodities are thus the signs of one's social position. Baudrillard (1998, 60–61) writes about status power – the power most wanted in postmodern consumer culture. Considering the discussion above, for example the world described by Veblen, it can be seen that modern world has not escaped anywhere. As well as in Simmelian (1903) Metropolis the pursuit of status and certain social prestige is still based on signs (Baudrillard 1998, 90–91). Simmel (1903; 2005[1895]) emphasized the role of consumption, especially consumption of fashion. Fashion was, on the one hand, a means for creating distinctions but, on the other hand, it maintained cohesion inside certain groups (Simmel 2005, 100–111). This is also the case in contemporary world where the emphasis has turned to the construction of lifestyles. Thus the idea behind modern consumer culture is belonging to some particular group or community; one has to know what to buy. In postmodern instead, in addition to this aspect, one has to know *who* (and what kind of person) to be. As increasing amount of consumers can, in principle, buy almost anything, the question now concerns “knowing” instead of “getting” (cf. Featherstone 1991, 19).

*“The nineteenth century may have sought to promote, in addition to man's freedom, his individuality [...] and his achievements which make him unique and indispensable but which at the same time make him so much more dependent on the complementary activity of others. (Simmel 1903)*

Bourdieu (1984) uses the concept of *habitus*, which can be defined as a set of meanings which construct one's visible self. Meisenhelder (2006) regards habitus as a structure in which some aspects are shared by all the members of the same society whilst other aspects extend only to certain sub-groups. The members of these sub-groups share common experiences and common interests (cf. Maffesoli 1997). When one's habitus is constructed, the *taste* plays an important role. The good taste is something which is constantly changing and there are constant battles of who can define it. Those who can recognize social *distinctions* are also winners in these battles. Using Lash's words, they are reflexive winners who are able to raise their status in an increasingly complex world. They know what should be done and what is the cultural and social value of the different alternatives?

Accordingly with the world described by Veblen, for example, these reflexive winners, who are able to choose “freely”, are regarded as representing the upper classes of today. The members of these classes want to

make distinctions between them and the other, lower classes. Lower strata “naturally” want to imitate the more affluent “well-to-do” people. This idea is close to the trickle-down effect (see e.g. Honkanen 2004, 62), known from economics, according to which welfare tends to spread automatically (cf. *laizzes faire*) to the whole economy. In the case of conspicuous consumption (cf. Simmel’s discussion on fashion) the logic is in a sense reverse to the effect used in economics. Of course it can be thought that some phenomena born amongst members of the higher classes will naturally fall down, but in the case of for example Veblen and Simmel, the effect is slightly different – lower classes *want* to resemble higher classes. Due to postmodern de-differentiation, however, the direction may also be contrary. High-class fashion, for example, may adopt some features from the low-class cultures.

The above discussion emphasizes the social prestige as some kind of goal embedded in consumption practices. In the context of complex postmodern world, this however can be regarded as overly modernist and simplified way of thinking. Warde (1997, 11), for example, criticizes the view that considers consumption being always strongly linked with one’s own identity (cf. Bauman 1996). According to him, consumption behaviour is still socially disciplined. Consuming is never done alone (Baudrillard 1998, 78). And Baudrillard (*ibid.*, 70) adds: “The fundamental, unconscious, automatic choice of the consumer is to accept the style of life of a particular society”, and this leads to the fact that choices are not choices anymore.

Thus the world has not changed remarkably, probably only diversity has increased. As discussed earlier, people in “postmodern” societies live in insecurity. If assumed that there are no classes and social structures anymore, it can be also assumed that people long for them. In this sense, the status is not in the centre anymore. Thus, above anything, it is the “pressure” of social environment that forces people to consume or behave according to certain conduct (cf. Durkheimian social facts). The “spirit of consumerism” is in this sense irrational. When people become alienated they do not know what to do – thus they consume. Whilst according to postmodern theorists lifestyles are constantly and consciously chosen, there is also an unconscious dimension (Wilska 2002, 198): in lifestyle clusters underlying psychological factors affect how people behave. These lifestyle structures are the new classes of today.

*“The social status, that is to say, the static position of an individual is one of the social classes of modernity, is progressively replaced by the societal configuration, that is to say the dynamic and flexible positioning of the individual within and between their postmodern tribes.” (Cova 1997, 301)*

As discussed earlier together with postmodern ethics, now in so called postmodern world individuals also have to choose where they stand. In the process of self-assembly (Bauman 1996) there are numerous alternatives of which to choose. Simmel's (1903) discussion on the metropolis can be well connected to this. According to him so called blasé attitude represents typical life in the metropolitan atmospheres. In the metropolis people meet changing and contrasting simulations. The life turns out to be a pursuit of pleasure which creates blasé attitudes – individuals are unable to respond to the simulations of the nerves (cf. Campbell 1987).

Postmodern discussions emphasize the processes where these simulations have intruded everywhere (see Baudrillard 1988). If they are recognized, people cannot do anything to prevent these simulations from affecting their lives. Thus, it could be stated that postmodern actors do not care. If they cannot do what they want, they do what they can; just as in modern times those who were not able to choose freely, we forced to choose the necessary (cf. Bourdieu 1984). Simmel's blasé types were in a continuous search of something and finally lose their interest. Thus, probably these blasé types were the early metaphors of postmodern actors before postmodern as such was a topic of the discussions.

*“The more that is consumed, the stronger this unequal society grows. All those who don't fit the mold – women, gays, ethnic minorities, the poor, and nonmodern societies, in brief, the Other – are everywhere in chains.”*  
(Aramberri 2001, 744)

As citizens of Western societies must cope with the uncertain postmodernity, modernity has spread further and reached even the smallest backwoods of the world. As Maffesoli (1997, 21) states, in addition to advanced western societies, so called *consumer society* is frenziedly expanding within cultures which are imitating and at the same time dependent on the occidental culture. Sulkunen (1997, 4) claims that the emergence of consumer society can be connected to the idea of *globalization*, “a restructuration of space”. Western culture seems to be appealing, but it must be remembered that the process of cultural globalization does not necessarily spread fairly (see e.g. Derné 2005). In the less developed countries the effect of social background, in terms of traditional demographics and issues described by Beck in the case of reflexive winners, is considerably bigger since the majority of residents may still live in poverty.

It must be also noticed that the shrinkage of the world, which can be called globalization if so liked, is not merely one-sided. Changes do happen and it can be clearly noticed that many Western trends for example in the field of fashion have been influenced by the Orient. Using Baudrillard's (2006, 7)

words, “the superiority of Western culture is sustained only by the desire of the rest of the world to join it.”

Often when globalization is concerned, the example of the fast food chain McDonald’s has been raised to describe one of the most visible sides of the phenomenon – the homogenization of service structures all over the world. Multinational fast food brands can be seen as good examples of an extremely modern way to supply goods to consumers. Fordist methods and assembly lines are traditionally considered as signs of efficiency, which can be considered essential feature of modern. Methods that large multinational companies and chains like McDonald’s are using can be transferred to the other parts of economy, such as tourism, as well (see Ritzer 1998). However, linking this still expanding modern to the discussion on postmodern, requires including the structures behind the success of these homogenized means of production, to the discussion. McDonald’s, tourism or any other sign of modernity cannot exist without consumers’ demand. In addition to demand there must be supply to fulfil the demand. Consuming requires something to be consumed. Normally actors in the demand side must pay something to the other side to purchase what they want. Instead, actors in the supply side use their resources to create the supply. To do that, they also must consume and thus another demand is created. The result is an endless spiral of resource use, buying and selling.

But in the times of individuality and neo-tribes, what constructs this demand? Warde (1997, 14–20) wants to remind that at the same time with all this increased diversity and importance of issues around lifestyles, signs of growing uniformity of consumption behaviour and even more intense social structures are visible. Warde justifiably claims that different fields in the consumer market follow different logics. In certain fields of consumption, class differences might be declining whilst in other fields they are increasing (*ibid.*, 19).

According to Mirchandani (2005, 104) individual identities are dependent on consumption choices, but on the other hand, these choices are dependent on the modes of distribution. Products delivered by companies such as McDonald’s are easy to reach. Thus, the popularity of standardized products even in “postmodernized” societies may be due to this; in addition to possibility of lacking abilities and resources, people do not want to make individual choices. Or probably consumers do “real choices” in other fields? As Honkanen (2004, 49) claims, individuals are able to take advantage of these new structures. Thus, in addition to seeing consumerism as a form of liberation, which provides opportunities to create a new “self”, it also increases risks of being dropping behind (Miles et al. 2002, 2; also Bauman 2003). In the case of the people, who do not have “neo-tribes” behind them for

maintaining security, the homogenized services might have taken the role. Thus, although neo-tribalism (see Maffesoli 1995), for example, might be highly visible in some parts of society, still a great number of people are living and even aiming at a greater uniformity (see Warde 1997, 19).

And at the same time contrary to all the postmodern ideas presented above, consumption is still structured by social differences between consumers; just like in the traditional model (cf. Bocoek 1993, 21–22). For example, economic resources are important determinants, and this is often forgotten by postmodernists (see Wilska 2002, 197). Numerous empirical studies show that traditional sociodemographic factors have still an effect on people's behaviour (Räsänen 2003), also when consumption of tourism is concerned (Honkanen 2004; Mustonen 2003 [paper 1]; Mustonen et al. 2004; Räsänen 2000; Toivonen 2001; Wilska 2002). For example monetary restraints still create limits to consumption, and thus consumers' choice of alternatives is inevitably imperfect (see Räsänen 2000). Structures have not lost all their explaining power. Van Eijck and Bargeman (2004), for example, noticed that in the context of cultural consumption the meaning of income and gender has decreased whilst the meaning of age and education has increased. Even the issues connected to political left-right divisions seem to have influence on people's choices (van Eijck – Bargeman 2004; Inglehart 1977; 1997; Mustonen 2003 [paper 1]).

In the third paper, “Sosiodemografiset tekijät ja elämäntapa matkailukulutusta selittävinä tekijöinä: kausaalinen analyysi” (Sociodemographic variables and lifestyles as explanatory variables behind tourism consumption: a causal analysis, Honkanen – Mustonen 2005), the lifestyle issues were examined in the context of tourism consumption. The study utilized the survey “Finland 2004”. Tourism consumption was divided into two groups. The first was so called “perceived tourism consumption”. It was derived from the question concerning respondents' estimate of their consumption of tourism comparing to the average consumer. The second, “desire to travel more”, concerned respondents' willingness to consume more on tourism in case of no monetary restrictions. Thus, the questions were based on subjective opinions.

Dividing tourists and their behaviour into groups was not the objective of the study in any sense. It was not examined how individual respondents answered to the questions and how they could possibly be classified in consumption/desire –matrix. The idea of two-dimensional tourism consumption can be considered as an ideal-typical approach, in purely Weberian sense. The division was conducted because the underlying causal processes and deeper structures could not have examined otherwise.



Following the formation process of lifestyles discussed above, in the study, the concept of lifestyle was based on consumption habits or rather on the attitudes of consumers. Also these questions were based on subjective estimations. The aim was to examine how consumption attitudes are connected to tourism consumption. The hypothesis was that sociodemographic variables, which represent the modern structures, would have more effect on perceived tourism consumption whilst lifestyle patterns would have more effect on desire to travel more. The analysis strengthened the hypothesis. The effect of sociodemographic variables was emphasized when perceived consumption was under scrutiny, although also lifestyle patterns were to some extent significant. In the case of desire to travel more, sociodemographic variables were less important. However, sociodemographic variables had influence on both cases through lifestyle patterns. Thus it was possible to state that causally thinking, persons' background had an indirect effect on tourism consumption. Nevertheless, lifestyle patterns could be explained by sociodemographics only partly, which was expected due to the complex structures behind lifestyles. Thus, lifestyles are not only constructed according to one's background. And as the study showed, nor are they only constructed due to individual choices. It must also be kept in mind, that individual may possess different roles even at the same time. According to Cova (1997, 301):

*“Each postmodern individual belongs to several tribes in each of which he or she might play a different role and wear a specific mask; this means that the modern tools of sociological analysis cannot classify him or her. And the fact of belonging to these tribes has become, for him or her, more important than belonging to a modern social class; this makes every attempt at classification impossible”*

Environmental issues are often emphasized in postmodern discussions. The study also contributed to this discussion and examined the importance of the factor (or principal component) based on environmental values. However, environmentally sound consumption habits did not have influence either on perceived consumption or on desire. The finding was rather interesting as all the other factors were significant explanants except for the factor “savings” that was not significant in the case of desire. Thus it can be assumed that “green” attitudes do not reduce travelling but rather those people who are interested in environmental issues live up to their principles in some other way; the attitudes might be visible in the case of some other forms of consumption. As it is well known, in the case of tourism, the situation is complicated as almost all kind of travelling can be considered harmful.

According to the results it was not possible to state which one is a better predictor, perceived consumption or desire, when tourism consumption is

under scrutiny. The choice of course depends on the objectives and research questions. However, if causal relationships are examined, only by referring to postmodernists, sociodemographic determinants cannot be forgotten. In the case of perceived tourism consumption, especially variables connected to resources should be taken into account. If the aim is to predict the desire to travel more, the use of sociodemographic determinants improves the model only a little.

To conclude, the best results can be gained when sociodemographic variables and lifestyle patterns are used together. However, also in this case the causal relationships should be taken into account. Lifestyle issues have not replaced the importance of one's background. Background is connected to one's process of Baumanian self-assembly. The lifestyle is not only due to individual choices.

Thus to some extent postmodern theories exaggerate the occurred change (see e.g. Agger 1991; Lash 1990, 2; Ritzer 1999, 72). They tend to simplify the reality by rejecting the obvious determinants that are still clearly valid. Probably, as Miles et al. (2002, 3) presume, consumption is just a vehicle for expressing more significant aspects of identity than those that would be justified by only looking at one's background. Thus, the complex nature of consumption is even more complex when postmodern discussion is added to the matrix. It can well be asked that what really have changed. What is conspicuous consumption in postmodern world if everyone can define the good taste and not caring about individuality is equally individual?

One answer could be that in postmodern times, conspicuous consumption occurs in the field of knowledge (cf. Lyotard 1985). As discussed earlier, although seeking prestige by consuming is widely discussed also in the context of postmodernity, it is not a new phenomenon. In this sense the growth of the interest in postmaterial issues can be considered as postmodern phenomenon easier than pseudo-individualized consumption habits.

Another answer could be the purposeful anti-consumer behaviour. Even though the logic of consumption requires (often monetary) exchange, the paradox of underconsumption or inconspicuous consumption should be also taken into account (see Baudrillard 1998, 90–91). In the field of consumption those who could consume but do not want to, those who reject the object, represent the new ultimate (ibid.). These people gain pleasure when standing against the mainstream. Whilst consumption (aiming at fulfilling material or immaterial needs) is in a sense very modernist phenomenon, those who do not consume can surely be placed in the centre of postmodern discussions.

The idea of anti-consumers can be connected to de-differentiation, which is a phenomenon widely discussed together with recent societal changes. (See e.g. Lash – Urry 1994; Uriely 1997; et al. 2003; Urry 1995; 2002) De-

differentiation has occurred in all the fields of societies, not least in the field of consumption. The phenomenon could be understood simply by seeing it as a process where modern differentiations are blurred and, at the same time, new differentiations based on the new logic are born. Uriely et al. (2003, 58–59) present two dimensions of de-differentiation. By horizontal de-differentiation they mean processes where conventional distinctions between different fields of social activity are gradually decreasing in contemporary culture. By vertical de-differentiation they refer to decreasing traditional distinctions between for example high and low culture. Cova (1997, 300) describes the logics behind these changes by stating that “individuals who have finally managed to liberate them from archaic or modern social links is embarking on a reverse movement to recompose their social universe on the basis of an emotional free choice.” Thus in this sense, de-differentiation is a sign of emancipation of postmodern actors from the chains of modernity.



### 3 POSTMODERN TOURISM

#### 3.1 Tourism as a part of postmodern consumer society

Travelling requires resources. People pay to get to some place other than “home”; or they pay to get away from “home” (cf. Rojek 1993). When they come back, all they have left, ironically speaking, are the memories and photos. In this sense tourism as an economic activity is somewhat irrational (MacCannell 2002, 151). MacCannell (ibid.) claims that from psychoanalytic perspective tourism has turned into an ego project. Tourism is something which affects inside.

Thus, the changes and characteristics described earlier together with consumer society can be easily connected with tourism. The relationships to the places are based on pleasurable sensations gained by consuming (Bauman 2003, 208–209). Tourism is a form of consumption, and thus tourism follows the same logics as any other form of consumption. However, it is only recently when the importance of tourism as a specific part of consumption has been fully acknowledged (Sharpley 2002, 310). In modern societies, tourism was regarded as a separate part of social activities. Tourism consumption created divisions and reflected the social differences between consumers; and certain tourism practices were utilized as status symbols (ibid., 311–313; cf. Veblen 2002). Thus, in the context of consumer society, it is not a surprise that tourist has been widely regarded as a metaphor of the postmodern actor (Bauman 1993, 240–244; 2003, 206; Featherstone 1995, 126; Jokinen – Veijola 1997). As MacCannell (1976, 5) states, “by following the tourists, we may be able to arrive at a better understanding to ourselves” (also Urry 2002, 2).

To continue with the idea that the changes in other dimensions of societies can be reflected through tourism, it can be stated that living in the complex contemporary world has in a way turned into a big tour. Bauman (2003, 210) writes about people, who are constantly on the move, and he does not only mean actual travelling. Lash and Urry (1994) even state that people are actually tourists most of the time even when not taking vacation. According to Munt (1994), “tourism is everything and everything is tourism”. Closely connected to this, Bauman (2003) speaks about the *tourist syndrome*; people in contemporary world are tied temporarily to certain places or positions – just like tourists on tour. For example, temporary workers do not know about the future; and regardless of the background, everyone can turn into temporary worker at any time. Consumers have loose ties to the environment in which they live; they are “in” but not “of” the place (ibid.). Tourists wander from one

place to another and might finally turn into which Bauman (ibid.) calls *vagabonds*. Whilst people in the first world live in time where space does not matter, people in the second world live in space which ties down time. These people, who outside of tourism can be linked with Beck's reflexive losers, are the vagabonds; they do not have any other choice (Bauman 2000). In a Marxian sense, in the liquid modern world people turn easily from tourists into alienated vagabonds, because everything is changing so fast; the familiar is not familiar anymore (Bauman 2003, 209).

Just like in the case of consumption in general, also in tourism people construct themselves either by consuming or not consuming by certain ways. It can be stated that in general, living without consuming would finally turn out impossible, but in the case of leisure tourism, everything is categorically voluntary. Thus in the contemporary world, tourism plays an interesting role. The whole phenomenon is based on consumption although the product itself is immaterial. Leisure tourism, if anything, is something that can be chosen. And people have chosen. Ever since the measuring of tourism began, despite some exceptions, tourism has continuously increased (World Tourism Organization 2005b). People are attracted by the Other – they want to know something they have not known before and want to go somewhere they have not gone earlier (Turner – Ash 1975, 13). They want to get away from routines and relax (cf. Krippendorf 1987, 22–24). Bauman (2003, 214) describes tourism by stating that it is a substitute to genuine needs, the real, which cannot be reached. Thus unlike Krippendorf and for example Rojek (1993) claim, tourism can be seen to represent a larger scale of motivation than just escapism. Tourism is a practice which is significantly more complex than the one concentrated on simple need satisfaction (Sharpley 2002, 312).

Despite the above discussion, tourism is a fairly new phenomenon and thus a prodigy of modern society. (Cohen 1995; Uriely 1997; also Bell 1974). Without industrialization global tourism would not be possible. By the aid of industrialism and new technological devices such as aircrafts people suddenly were able to travel. Even today, this is the very basis of the phenomenon of travelling people – tourism – and it cannot be forgotten. (See also Smith – Duffy 2003, 1)

Tourism has always transferred people from one place to another and from one continent to another. Thus the idea of globalization is strongly embedded in tourism. Globalization has shrunk the world and tourists are the ones that in a sense have strengthened this process. Since the very beginning of tourism phenomenon people have been told about what can be found from the other side of the world. For example early privileged from England, who attended to the Grand Tours, travelled to Italy and France, from where they expected to find a different, probably more sophisticated, style of life (Turner – Ash 1975,

38). Now the word spreads easier than in the times of the Grand Tours. People travel to places for several reasons. In addition to earlier travelling experience, these motivations are constructed in the sense of aesthetic stimulus, which was discussed earlier together with postmodern consumer culture. The signs concerning different places and possibilities are everywhere, for example new television series concerning tourism are born regularly. As in the case of consumption in general, people are told what they need. They are told what would be the destination which best suits one's preferences. And this is done because, as it is said, tourists are always searching for something. Whilst MacCannell (1975) stated that they search for authenticity, in the case of liquid modern world, tourists can be seen to be searching for meanings (Jamal – Hill 2002, 78).

However, even in the postmodern world, all the people do not want to find these meanings through touristic practices. Everyone does not want to travel, and of course, there are people who cannot travel. Some people may consider other forms of consumption more appealing. Some people are more willing than the others to spend time and money on tourism. For these “real tourists” tourism has become a part of their *lifestyle* (see Honkanen – Mustonen 2005 [paper 3]).

In tourism research, the concept of lifestyle has been mainly taken into account when choices of destinations or activities during the trip have been concerned (see Chandler – Costello 2002; Cleaver – Muller 2002; Rajasenani – Kumar 2004; Reisinger et al. 2004). However, when tourism as a whole is under examination, lifestyle issues must be connected to a wider context. As discussed earlier, lifestyles are not merely constructed by choosing. All people do not have the same resources or the same preferences. Also sociodemographic background is connected to the construction of one's lifestyles (cf. Honkanen – Mustonen 2005 [paper 3])

People tend to travel to different places and destinations “rise and fall in popularity” (see Plog 2001) and fashions and trends come and go. These fluctuations cannot be reduced to the psychocentric/allocentric –divisions according to which tourists can be divided to novelty seeker pioneers, explorers, and to those looking for familiar and unsurprising experiences. Rojek's (1993, 133) statement about the modernist quest for authenticity and self-realization coming to an end can be connected with the issues such as sociodemographics that are still valid (cf. Mustonen 2003 [paper 1]; also Honkanen – Mustonen 2005 [paper 3]). There are people who want to go somewhere because they have always travelled there. And maybe the first time was with parents. Of course there are also people who always want to go to new places and new countries, although considering them as allocentrics in Plog's (2001) sense would be exaggerated. Tourists can thus be divided into

groups by many different ways. There are so many ways that the dividing finally turns out to be impossible. Equally impossible are the attempts trying to verify the stereotypical assumptions of certain kind of people travelling to certain kind of destinations. There are always exceptions and exceptions to exceptions.

It is now evident that there are two dimensions that must be taken into account also when tourism consumption is concerned. On the one hand, consumption requires financial resources. On the other hand, there must be a desire to consume. Modernist thinking emphasizes the first dimension. According to this view, structural factors such as monetary restrictions and demographics are important predictors when tourism consumption is under scrutiny. Postmodernist point of view instead plays with fantasies and finally claims that consumption choices and desires can be results of conscious choices. Being an “adventure traveller” is possible even if the adventure is experienced at home (cf. Urry 2002).

Some of the ideas presented together with so called postmodern consumer culture can be criticized by offering very few new insights. This is also the case when postmodern features of tourism are under scrutiny. However, there are certain ideas that are commonly connected with postmodern tourism, and to some extent they differ from the ones presented above when consumption in general was under scrutiny.

Mowforth and Munt (1998, 53) describe occurred changes in the field of tourism in several different levels. First, the Fordist production model has been turned into post-Fordist model. Secondly, modern has changed to postmodern (sic). Thirdly, the change has occurred from readily packed tourism towards individual and flexible tourism. And in addition to those, as social, cultural and ecological responsibility has been more and more in the centre of the discussions, also sustainable tourism is now an increasingly important topic (cf. Beck 1995a, 20-21; 1995b, 244). Many of these changes presented by numerous authors are linked to Poon’s (1993) idea of the New Tourist, who is said to be more flexible, more individualistic and more ecologically aware than ‘ordinary’ mass tourist. Often all these changes mentioned above have been put under the same umbrella and the concept of postmodern has been taken as an omnipotent link which binds these together.

It was Feifer (1985), who first brought the concept of post-tourists into discussions. Her idea of post-tourist is the most commonly used and practically all discussions on post-tourists have this original notion in the background. The concept of post-tourists has been taken further and developed by Urry (2002), and later by for example Rojek (1993), Munt (1994) and Ritzer (1998). Uriely et al. (2003; also Uriely 1997) speak about simulational postmodernity, which refers to hyperreal experiences provided for example by



theme parks (see Baudrillard 1996; Featherstone 1991; Lash – Urry 1994). This dimension also includes Feifer's (1985; also Urry 2002) idea of *post-tourists* who do not have to move physically to gaze the touristic sites. Codes rooted in televisual culture make a sight accessible in everyday life and the quest for authenticity cannot serve as a force of motivation for tourists, because sights have no single or original meaning. (Galani-Moutafi 2000, 213).

In a sense, contrary to MacCannell's seminal discussions on authenticity, Urry (2002) states that tourists simply search for something that can be *gazed*. Instead of seeking authenticity tourists enjoy inauthenticity. Postmodern tourists, or *post-tourists* (Feifer 1985; Urry 2002), may travel to the some traditional mass tourism destination, and realize that the destination is authentic in a touristic way. The destination does not claim to be anything more than just a mass tourism destination. For someone, this could be a good reason to go to destination. Someone might even want to travel for example to Playa Del Ingles (see Selänniemi 1996; 2001, for discussion on package tours) because it is a classic example of a mass tourism destination totally created for tourists and truly authentic in that sense. Actually, as Smith and Duffy (2003, 133) suggest, the issue of authenticity is more important for hosts than for guests. And when considering postmodern tourism, this seems to be even more the case.

Kontogeorgopoulos (2003, 184) claims a more constructivist approach to authenticity (also Wang 1999, 354). The relationship between authenticity and typical motivations such as escapism or self-fulfilment, which are often connected to tourism, is thus a complex one (Kontogeorgopoulos 2003, 172). Thus, authenticity turns out being largely socially constructed (Cohen 1988). It can represent different things to different people (Jamal – Hill 2002, 82). In addition this, authenticity does not only refer to object or destinations. People can be seen as looking for existential authenticity that refers to activities that allow tourists to escape from the pressures of daily lives and like this find their true selves (see Wang 1999; also Rojek 1993). Thus the experience can be authentic; the search for the authentic objects may turn into the search for authentic, "real" experiences (see Wang 1999, 364).

The debate around "authenticity" is essential when postmodern aspects of tourism are discussed although Reisinger and Steiner (2006), for example, state that the whole concept of authenticity should be abandoned because it is so multidimensional. To conclude, just before going deeper to the discussion on postmodern dimensions of tourism, it can be said that in a sense all tourists can be considered postmodern as well as everything is authentic to someone. And for Baudrillard, nothing is authentic. There are just simulations, no real or

unreal. So authenticity must depend on the point of view. It depends on the person who is *gazing* the target.

All this discussion around authenticity and simulations brings in questions about virtuality and its relationships to postmodern tourism. As mentioned briefly above, post-tourists may stay home and still gaze the sights. Nevertheless, there are fundamental differences between “real” tourism, which must include physical movement (see Selänniemi 1996, 171; see also discussion on the topic in Cohen 1995), and virtual tourism and because of these, probably the role of virtual tourism as a fairly abstract idea will always remain (cf. Poster 1996). Matala (2003) considers virtual tourism as “pre-tourism”, which makes travelling easier and creates opportunities, also for the supply side. On the other hand, she states that technological innovations, which bring virtual tourism closer to reality, could help tourists to recover from finished tour. The same could also happen before the trip and like this technological innovations, such as the Internet and other forms of media have increased tourists’ knowledge of the nature of tourism and of different alternatives, and thus enabled more diversified, “postmodern” tourism. Even though this is evidently true, it could be stated that this kind of postmodernity is only due to technical development. So from this point of view, it is quite absurd to try to find some fundamental endogenous differences between past and present, and it might sound irrelevant to think of a totally new species of tourists, e.g. post-tourists, because also bygone tourists might have been acting similarly if they just had possibilities. (See Ahtola 2002 and Kostianen 2003 for discussion on globalization and tourism)

Post-tourists are said to be aware of their role of being tourists in the world of *simulations* (see Baudrillard 1988; 1996) where authenticity has become a scarcity. When modern tourists were seriously searching for authenticity, post-modern tourists are in a playful search for enjoyment (Cohen 1995, 21). Like mentioned above, they can also *gaze* (Urry 2002) the typical tourist attractions at home. In addition to these, post-tourists have a lot of alternatives and different types of travelling can be combined together. Rojek (1993) presents a couple of attributes more. First of all, post-tourists accept the commoditization of tourism and realize how all the products connected to tourism are just manifestations of consumerism. This first attribute can be derived also from Feifer’s idea of “conscious” post-tourists. Secondly, Rojek considers tourism as a separate form of behaviour, which is performed without any specific goal, for its own sake. Third attribute that Rojek adds to be typical to post-tourist is a consumption of signs (see also Miles 1998, 23; Ritzer 1998).

According to some views, postmodern tourists, or post-tourists, represent the opposite to mass tourists. Post-tourists attempt to gain authentic experiences by venturing away from mass tourist routes (Black 2000, 254;

Munt 1994). In this context Munt (1994, 108) writes about ego-tourists who search for a certain style of travel that reflects their pursuit of “alternative” and thus enhances the cultural capital (see also Wheeler 1991; 2003). The caricature of these ego-tourists is a “traveller” – someone who does not want to be a tourist “like the others”. This oppositional postmodern tourism is not merely against mass tourism but also battles to seek the most virtuous travelling practices (Munt 1994, 117). Post-tourists for Munt are mainly middle-class people to whom *oppositional* travel is a cultural asset (see also Black 2000, 255) and who want to make a clear distinction between themselves and traditional, modern, mass tourists. Status-seeking tourists want to establish social differentiations and make a clear distinction between them and the ones representing the class fractions below (Munt 1994, 119). This might be one reason why people tend to travel to more and more “exotic” destination. The exotic Other is where the authenticity is assumed to be found. Thus in this respect the constant debate on authenticity is easy to understand and in this sense post-modern tourists are still searching for authenticity. In addition to pure simulations, there are artificial tourist destinations where experiences can be stated as inauthentic, but still there are also tourists who seek for new, “real” experiences. Following MacCannell’s legacy, Kontogeropoulos (2003, 187) claims that achieving authenticity is the ultimate goal and meeting the locals, who signify the authentic, is the core of it. By adopting a certain travelling style one can encounter the Other spontaneously. In the right place it is easier as authenticity only exists in places where tourists don’t exist (ibid., 183). However, according to Bauman (2003, 216) the chance of meeting the Other may be better when not travelling at all and staying at home.

Ritzer (1998, 146) reveals the other side of the coin and states that people who are living in the postmodern world dominated by simulations want simulated experiences also when they are travelling. Ritzer’s thinks that tourists look for these similarities because they are used to it, and they feel more confident when surrounded by something familiar (compare to Plog’s psychocentrics; also McCabe 2002). Even though they would not be looking for the simulations intentionally (of course they can), according to presumptions of post-tourists’ characteristics, post-tourists should be aware of these simulations and they would enjoy their holiday despite these simulations. They understand that existence of simulated experiences is necessary and unavoidable part of tourism today (cf. Urry 2002). Ritzer (1998, 146) even states that tourist could not even recognize authentic sight even if they met one. And because “real” has disappeared in the world of simulations, and as simulating continues, consumers finally meet simulations of simulations (ibid., 147; see also Baudrillard 1996).

In addition to restaurants, shopping malls, credit cards and even universities, Ritzer (1998) connects his theory of McDonaldization also with tourism. According to him, McDonaldization is a paradigm of rationality and it could be thought as a completely modern approach to tourism, because more and more touristic experiences tend to be efficient, calculable, predictable and non-surprising. Wood (1997, 2) even states that even more than McDonald's, it is international tourism that symbolizes globalization through its linkages to economic, political and sociocultural elements (see also Kosonen 1999).

Ritzer's most common example of this is Disney, especially Disney's theme parks, which (although somewhat presents a modern ultimatum) can be seen as the most perfect models of post-tourism (Bryman 1995, 178–179). Ritzer states that tourism in general has been McDisneyized to some extent, and that tourists want their experiences to be as McDonaldized as their day-to-day life. He claims that even the most specialized types of tourism will apply principles of McDonaldization, and the whole process is made without it seeming to be McDonaldized. Taken to the extreme, in MacCannell's sense McDonaldization undermines the fundamental reason to tour, because fully standardized destinations do not offer new or different experiences, or experiences of change, which are thought to be essential for tourists (see Smith 1989). And it is not only McDonaldization that breaks the basis of tourism if tourism is seen as a pursuit for authenticity. Cohen (2004, 50) states, that the lack of "untouched cultures or environments" in postmodern world turns the quest for authenticity a futile enterprise.

Diversification of tourism is a trend that is commonly recognized and agreed. In spite of that, Ritzer (1998, 137) is not willing to give up his thesis of McDonaldization. He states that because contemporary lifestyles in western countries and destinations are so similar, it is not necessary to standardize the product itself. According to Ritzer, similar chains also in other sectors of economy make tourist sites familiar and comfortable for the majority of tourists. So despite the fact that the freedom of choice has increased and made it possible to *choose* also lifestyle according to one's taste (Miles 1998), people still look for standardized ways to consume.

Going back to Bauman (1996), postmodern world also in the case of tourism seems to be endlessly ambivalent. If the most commonly used characteristics of postmodern tourism (e.g. Feifer 1985; Urry 2002) are kept in mind, for example "modern" tourism to the *South* (Selänniemi 1996) contains surely postmodern features from tourists' point of view. If tourists realize their roles as tourists in inauthentic destinations, (see Feifer 1985; also MacCannell 1976), even the most "McDonaldized" forms of tourism, like Disney-Parks (Bryman 1995, 177), can be considered postmodern in that sense. As Rojek (1997, 62) states, post-tourists may voluntarily and ironically play the role of

mass tourists, because it is not possible to avoid the influence of signs on which tourism is often based. And why avoid, if the ironic play is fun (cf. Campbell 1987)?

Thus, determining who is a postmodern tourist and who is not is impossible. Those who attend to package tours, for example, do not form a homogeneous mass but rather a heterogeneous group of individuals (Selänniemi 1996, 230). Thus, it could be stated that in a way, all mass tourists are post-tourists, and for them it is possible to play the role of mass tourist, because they, in a way, *are* mass tourists.

### 3.2 Good, bad, alternative?

People from the first world can, in principle, travel anywhere (see Bauman 2000; 2003). Due to changes in consumer culture the kind of travelling behaviour that was earlier possible only to real forerunners, the allocentrics as Plog calls them, has become more common in today's world. In fact, when contemporary tourism is discussed, it is difficult to think of a truly alternative form of tourism. If being alternative is being different and individual, how is it possible in contemporary world of tourism? What is alternative tourism alternative to?

Usually alternative forms of tourism are discussed together with so called mass tourism (Dowling – Fennell 2003, 2). According to Wearing and Neil (1999, 3), alternative forms of tourism “set out to be consistent with natural, social and community values and...allow both hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interactions and shared experiences”. This description could be criticized because it categorically ignores numerous forms of tourism which on the one hand, do not necessarily represent these values, and on the other hand, do not fit into the pattern of mass tourism as it is usually understood. Tourism products developed on the basis of demand, for example tours based on extreme activities, can be presented as examples of these.

In general, the search for something that differs from the familiar is surely in the centre in tourism. This is the case especially when so called alternative tourism is under scrutiny. Now as almost everything and every place have been explored, the search of extraordinary is doomed to fail. For example, backpackers or so called ecotourists, who are often considered alternative tourists, are actually representing just another dimension of mass tourism (Cohen 1995; Duffy 2002; Mustonen 2005 [paper 2]; Ryan et al. 2003; Scheyvens 2002; Wahab – Pigram 1997; Wearing et al. 2002). Taking this further, those people who do not travel at all even if they could are the most alternative “tourists” (cf. Baudrillard 1998, 90–91) – the true drifters.

In the light of postmodern discussions, it can be said that tourists do not necessarily even want to be different. Or if they want to, they can adopt the opposite approach. Although Urry (2002, 4) suggests that in modern times not “going away” is like not possessing a car or a house, Wilska (2002, 197) reminds that consumption choices play a very important role when the ideological identity movements are constructed, and in this respect the conscious choice of *not consuming* can be understood as an issue that must be taken into account.

Maybe this idea of a serious “anti-tourism” should be more deeply considered when postmodern tourism is examined. It can be even argued that the kind of tourist behaviour that has motives such as gaining a certain status in the background belongs strongly to the modern era. Travelling in the world where everyone “should travel”, tourism turns easily into a status symbol which each and every one should possess. In this sense, although being one of the earliest discussions on postmodern tourism, Urry’s conceptualization can be regarded highly modern. Postmodern tourists know where they stand and enjoy.

But what do they actually know? And where do they stand? As mentioned in the chapter 2.3, it is assumed that consumers are acquainted with ethical issues involuntarily when they face the negative sides of modern society. Considering this in the case of tourism, postmodern tourists should notice the impacts of tourism and therefore this should create an ethical dimension into their behaviour.

However, according to Sharpley (2002, 301–302) the idea of tourists becoming increasingly aware of consequences of tourism development and the implications of their own behaviour as tourists is overly naïve and tourists actually do not understand why they participate in tourism. This kind of approach would again question the whole process of tourism. Whatever the basis of the discussion is, the ideas of irrational nature of tourism presented earlier are relatively narrow; some would say useless views of tourism. They could be considered useless because people keep on travelling and there must be a reason for this.

Nevertheless, these ideas make sense and remind that consumers’ economic decisions are not only based on rational calculations. Otherwise people would not travel. Smith and Duffy (2003, 162) present another side of the coin. They want to remind that the value basis of tourism cannot be measured by monetary means. If this was done, the result would be the end of ethics as hosts and the environments would be finally reduced to mere commodities. Also discussions of sustainable tourism have been criticized using similar arguments. Holden (2003, 105–106) states that adopting non-anthropocentric ethics based not on rationalized and externalized views of nature would not be

in sight in the near future without a clear shift in the belief systems (see also Macbeth 2005). According to Smith and Duffy (2003, 163), "only ethics chooses to remind us of the importance of values beyond exchange, use or aesthetics – the value of things (people, cultures, environments) as ends-in-themselves".

Tourists can be honestly interested in sustainability of tourism and may participate in so-called ecotours because of genuine motives. However, later same tourists may play conscious role of traditional mass tourists in *Playa del Anywhere* (see Selänniemi 2001). Duffy (2002, 22–46), having interviewed ecotourists in Belize, observed that motivation basis of these tourists seems to be connected to hedonistic pursuits, and in purely MacCannellian sense, to the search for authenticity. Thus, choosing ecotourism products does not necessarily require any particular value basis.

Due to emergence of new forms of tourism (e.g. the above mentioned ecotourism) and tourists' possibility to choose their own roles and types of travelling, these "postmodern" changes can lead to increasing tourist flows. Thus in spite of that some of these new alternatives may be locally sustainable and thus answers to many problems occurring in host communities, an increase in alternatives in general is a clear threat to sustainability when the entire field of global tourism is concerned. As Sharpley (2002, 306) states, the increasing awareness of environmental issues does not necessarily lead to the growth of "good" touristic practices. If asked, many people would say that they are worried about global warming, for example. However in the moment of booking the tickets, they do not necessarily think about these worries (see Honkanen – Mustonen 2005 [paper 3]).

Thus, the possibility to do something or certain value basis, do not necessarily lead to similar behaviour. The increased amount of possibilities may even have a contrary effect. Traditions and practices from the past may become important again. People are used to doing something and do not necessarily want any change (cf. Ritzer 1998, 146). On the other side of this process, people can be considered wanting to experience themselves through the other; in a sense this has caused *nostalgia* for history and objectification of other cultures and societies (see Galani-Moutafi 2000, 220). As Baudrillard (1988) says, "when the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning". Also Denzin (1991, 60) sees nostalgia for the past as a characteristically postmodern feature.

Stating that for example the "forever increasing" success of traditional package tourism (Honkanen 2002) is due to this nostalgia, might simplify the reality too much. However, also package tourists create their holidays and trips according to their own taste, however it is constructed. They may stay the whole week or two by the pool, but they may also join in guided tours,

because they think that it might be a good and harmless way to see sights, not because they could not do the same tours by themselves (see Rojek 1997, 62). During the rest of the holiday they might make their own individual tours around the destination. Thus individualism in tourism must be understood as wider phenomenon than for example backpacking or initiative booking of tickets, although the most important feature of individual travel according to Hyde and Lawson (2003) is a lack of planning and pre-booking of vacation elements (see also Cohen 2004, 45).

Recently, some might say through postmodern change, traditional mass tourism has become more flexible and freedom of choice has increased. Although it must not be forgotten that in the same time when also traditional tourism has reached more individual forms than before, travelling to non-standardized destinations is still possible without using any standardized services of standardized companies. And despite McDonaldisation, people may act more individually than it is usually believed (Honkanen 2002, 13). Playing “postmodern games” during package tours is now possible.

The above discussion in a sense abandons the idea that there are strong links between alternative, individual and postmodern. Because of industrialization and development of modern means of transport, which helped tourism become what it is today, it is well known that the whole phenomenon of travelling people is a relatively new phenomenon. Although tourism has surely changed remarkably during past decades, people have always travelled (see Harrison 2002). One good example is probably the oldest form of tourism, pilgrimage, which has remained somewhat similar as it was hundreds of years ago. And even though now the discussion on new forms of tourism has been extensive, the idea of travelling independently is not new (Butcher 2003, 16). It dates back at least to the era of “Grand Tours”.

Now, even though the age of explorers and Grand Tours is over, in postmodern discussions these issues are emphasized. It is seen that the growing appeal of the concepts such as alternative, real, ecological and responsible, is where postmodern tourism comes to its roots. Tourism, when connected to these concepts is seen as the opposite to conventional tourism (Barret 1989; Munt 1994; Poon 1993; Urry 2002; Uriely et al. 2003). The discussion is closely connected to the immense growth of tourism and its negative impacts. Impacts of tourism in general are the most intensively researched issues in the field of sociological tourism research (Cohen 1984, 383).

Economic impacts of tourism are the main reason why touristic activities are developed. They can be massive, but especially in developing countries there are numerous obstacles which must be taken into account (see e.g. Brohman 1996; Mathieson – Wall 1982). First of all, there is a danger that



positive impacts are allocated only to the well-to-do people whilst poorer must involuntarily face the negative impacts. Thus appropriate planning is essential when more sensitive and equal tourism is tried to be reached (Brohman 1996, 59). Secondly, too often revenues gained from tourism leak to tourism generating countries. There are many stakeholders who want to get one part of the revenue, multinational travel agencies and hotel corporations not being the least influential of these. This might contribute to a loss of control over local resources. Thirdly, partly due to poor infrastructure and lack of cooperation, multiplier effect (i.e. circulation of revenues into the economy) is low. This is emphasized as there is often a lack of communication within domestic economic sectors. Fourthly, many countries or tourist destinations are also strongly dependent on the revenues they gain from tourism. One of the most remarkable negative side effects of this dependency is vulnerability in front of unexpected shocks such as ecological crises (e.g. tsunamis) or changes in tourism trends, i.e. economic fluctuations. Finally, especially in the case of small initiatives, the actual benefits may remain low. Thus the fundamental basis of supplying tourism products, gaining at least some kind of benefits, may remain in shade.

In addition to economic impacts, the idea of sustainable development, also in the case of tourism, holds numerous other dimensions, ecological and socio-cultural being the most important of these. Resources of the destinations including all these dimensions must be taken into account when tourism practices are developed and promoted instead of looking back to what was done wrong (see Fennell 1999, 9). The question of responsibility, discussed earlier together with Bauman and postmodern ethics, comes easily into the centre of discussion.

The discussion on ethical issues can be traced back to the 1980's when, on one the hand, tourism expanded rapidly and on the other hand, the interest in environmental issues became on stage (Dowling – Fennell 2003, 6; Holden 2003, 95–96; Smith – Duffy 2003, 135). According to Dowling and Fennell (2003, 6) the intruding of environmental movement to tourism discourse was only a matter of time. Smith and Duffy (2003, 166) mention that ethical issues fit easily into tourism phenomenon because in tourism, encounters between different people and cultures occur constantly.

Now looking this through postmodern lense, it could be said that during the past decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century the modern system with its emphasis on economic values rather than ecological values (cf. Smith – Duffy 2003, 15) showed some signs of decline. Even though speaking of total “mental” change can be considered too exaggerated and being based on merely subjective theoretical hypotheses, new values surely became more visible, even without the help of

orders and regulations which have been later given by for example World Tourism Organization (UNWTO).

According to Global Code of Ethics of World Tourism Organization (2005a) all stakeholders must act for the common goal which is the sustainable future (see Meadows et al. 1972). In addition to UNWTO's "Code", ethical issues have spread even into the hard core of the industry and all the major tour operators have their own programmes of sustainable tourism. In a sense, this is a good trend and follows Clarke's (1997, 224) view of expanded understanding of sustainable tourism discourse towards examining ways of how all forms of tourism could become more sustainable. Thus, the growth of tourism is criticized even by them who are most responsible for it (see Butcher 2003, 17). However, tour operators, like any other enterprises, aim at increasing their profits. Thus when the codes are marketed and promoted, arguments and general credibility play major roles.

In practice, obeying orders and suggestions is up to each and every actor in the market. When actual encounters with the Other occur, codes of conduct most probably are somewhere else than in hand. Instead, choices are made according to one's own will and common sense (cf. Butcher 2003, 72; see also Aristotle 1989). Understanding (or trying to understand) the Other becomes a central challenge (Smith – Duffy 2003, 166).

In tourism these encounters are born continuously when the tourists meet the hosts, and vice versa (cf. Lash 1996). Relationship between hosts and guests ought to be equal albeit in reality, by using westernized indicators, both parties would be in highly unequal situation. Tourist has had opportunity to travel whilst especially in developing countries the other side, the hosts, most probably will never have. In this respect, the role of tourists' conduct is emphasized. In ideal situation, value basis should rise above material and egocentric dimensions and move closer to the Bauman's (1993; also Skiotis 2005) ideal of living for the other, caring for the other and considering the needs of the other (also Smith – Duffy 2003, 161).

The unequal basis of tourism should be kept in mind. A great deal of the global growth of tourism occurs in developing countries. Tourists tend to travel more and more to poorer regions, especially to Asia and the Pacific (see World Tourism Organization 2005b). The new masses have intruded these areas rapidly and even though tourism has no doubt induced wealth to these areas, in the long run the situation turns out to be complicated. There are numerous problems which concern particularly developing countries and there are many obstacles which must be overcome. Thus it is difficult to give exact advice of how, how much, and what kind of tourism should be developed. Different authorities have always different interests and ecotourism products,

for example, are often developed focusing to “industry’s” benefits (Duffy 2002, 1–19).

In general, ethical rules should be seen as guiding principles. The confrontations with the Other happen continuously and these confrontations are emphasized especially in the case of developing countries where the differences are the greatest. Also conflicts between different parties are most likely to happen in developing countries. Thus in addition to ethical principles the actual practices of tourism development are problematic. Destinations are often very vulnerable and fragile and thus ecological impacts are often in the centre when sustainable tourism is discussed (cf. Duffy 2002, 16). Sometimes other, equally important, dimensions are forgotten. For example negative cultural impacts of tourism may occur even due to small influx of tourism (see Mowforth – Munt 1998, 109). Hosts adopt easily practices of tourists (i.e. demonstration effect), which is paradoxical because tourists’ behaviour may differ remarkably between “profane” everyday life and “sacred” holiday (see Selänniemi 1996).

Now it can be asked whether tourism can be fair by any means. If Bauman’s (1993) ambivalent postmodern ethics and discussions on the risky postmodern world are kept in mind, as Smith and Duffy (2003, 2) suggest, there are no simple answer whether tourism in general is good or bad. Ethics also in the case of tourism is full of ambiguities. The issues connected with “fair trade tourism” such as transparency of operations, long-term relationships and reasonable prices are very difficult to meet (see Cleverdon 2002; Cleverdon – Kalish 2000). Thus probably the focus should be targeted to how existing forms of tourism could be more just instead of developing new products to answer the demand. In addition to this, the discourse of sustainable tourism has been criticized being characteristically product-centered and inclined towards forgetting the realities of tourism phenomenon (Sharpley 2000, 14–15).

When the discussion around sustainable tourism began, the opposition of mass tourism was strong. Sustainable tourism (i.e. alternative tourism in that time) was considered good and mass tourism accordingly bad. Later this strict division confronted criticism. It was considered too simple and impractical. Mass tourism phenomenon became the subject of improvement and also positive sides of mass tourism were recognized. It was noticed that mass tourism holds potential for the introduction of sustainable manners. (Clarke 1997) Thus, alternative tourism is not necessarily answer to the problems caused by global tourism. (Smith – Duffy 2003, 135)

Butcher (2003) presents provocative and extensive critique towards this moralisation of tourism (see also Wheeler 1991). He binds together travellers, ecotourists, “new tourists” (Poon 1993), and postmodern tourists (Feifer 1985;

Urry 2002) and claims that this New Moral Tourism [Butcher's own concept] is nothing else but an urge to escape personal guilt. According to him, key features of this moralised conception of leisure travel "are a search for enlightenment in other places, and a desire to preserve these places in the name of cultural diversity and environmental conservation". Also Harkin (1995, 652) agrees and even connects third world tourism to a status seeking nostalgia for colonialism. Here it must be reminded that there is no consensus as how ecotourism should be defined (Duffy 2002, 15; Sharpley 2002, 305; also Buckley 2000; Holden – Sparrowhawk 2002, 435).

The International Ecotourism Society (2006) defines ecotourism as "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people". Smith and Duffy (2003, 163) instead define ecotourism simply by stating that it is ethical tourism that is environmentally and culturally sustainable. Fennell (1999, 43) combines numerous definitions and presents a comprehensive definition:

*"Ecotourism is a sustainable form of natural resource-based tourism that focuses primarily on experiencing and learning about nature, and which is ethically managed to be low-impact, non-consumptive, and locally orientated (control, benefits, and scale). It typically occurs in natural areas, and should contribute to the conservation or preservation of such areas."*

All the three main dimensions of ecotourism presented by Blamey (1997), sustainability, educativity and natural environments, are included in Fennell's rather demanding definition. By utilizing definitions of this kind, it is possible to draw a line between popular soft ecotourism products and products which follow more strict value basis (see Fennell 1999, 43–44). When considering Duffy's (2002) critical overview of ecotourism policies, there surely is a need for clear and exhaustive definitions.

However, there is a world behind the definitions where people travel from place to place without knowing whether certain tourism products labelled with for example the prefix "eco" should be considered good and bad. If there are debates on the subject in the academic world, following the ideas of postmodern ethics, the situation is at least as complicated in the case of individual tourists making their choices. As mentioned earlier, tourists' estimates of sustainability and ethics are basically based either on trust or common sense. This problematic field was approached empirically in the fourth paper, "Personal Perceptions of Ethical tourism" (Mustonen 2006). Ecotourism was not in the centre; rather the study was based on the idea of ethics in general. The aim was to examine how Finnish and Indian tourism students understood ethics when it was connected to two alternative tourism

scenarios. The issues were not approached straightforwardly by using interviews, surveys and such. Instead, the idea was to give students “free hands” and not to give any hints or information on the topic beforehand.

The data were collected by utilizing the method of empathy based stories. Students were asked to write short writings according to the instructions given by the researcher. Thus students were “forced” to play certain roles and elaborate stories freely according to their own will. The final conclusions were then conducted by interpreting these writings.

The first research question was to find out what kind of issues students connect with ethics. The ethics were here defined by using World Tourism Organization’s code of ethics (see World Tourism Organization 2005b) and discussions on postmodern ethics (e.g. Bauman 1993) in the background. The second question concentrated on the differences between Finnish and Indian students. In the study, these students represented two totally different societies. Finnish students studied tourism in Vaasa Polytechnics located in the western coast of Finland whilst Indian students were tourism students in Himachal Pradesh University in Indian Himalayas. These obvious structural differences were connected to postmodern discussion on ethics and as postmodern discussion is largely Western-based, it was assumed that in this sense Finnish data would contain more discussion on ethics as it is usually understood in Western tourism research tradition. In addition to these objectives, one important aim of the study was to evaluate the relevance of the method in the case of sociological tourism research.

The hypothesis about Finnish students being more aware of ethical issues was strengthened during the research process. Writings by Indian students did not contain discussion on ethics *per se*; also the viewpoints presented in UNWTO’s code were absent. However, in the questionnaire that was conducted together with the writing task, also Indians wrote about the issues that could be connected to ethics. Nevertheless, the nature of these notices was rather superficial. In the Indian data, also the orientation towards business and tourism as an “industry” was clearly visible. These observations strengthened the hypothesis that the Indian students are probably not familiar with the discussion on ethics in the context of UNWTO’s code and postmodern perspectives. However, developing countries, such as India, might become more important tourist destinations in the future, and because of this it is important to spread knowledge in the issues connected to ethics of both demand and supply sides of tourism.

The Finnish data, instead, contained substantially more discussion on the most common features of ethics presented for example in the UNWTO’s code. These were the issues such as environmental and cultural aspects of tourism, the use of local services, respectful behaviour and the impacts of tourism.

However, also the discussion of Finnish students was somewhat superficial and hardly any deeper thoughts could be found. The environmental issues were commonly connected to conventional packaged tourism, which was the topic of the first frame story on which the writings were based. Cultural issues instead were connected with the second frame story, which contained the scenario of “individual” travelling (i.e. backpacking tourism) to India.

Although according to the questionnaire Finnish students had quite a lot of travelling experience, they could only connect the issues with the most evident phenomena. Environmental impacts of tourism are of course more visible in the established tourist destinations in the “South” but also in the other destinations physical impacts should be recognized. Also in the case of cultural aspects of tourism, Finnish students were well aware of the cultural differences between Finland and India. However they did not notice that also in the conventional tourist destinations cultural impacts do occur and respectful behaviour is equally important.

As a conclusion, according to the data used in the study, unlike Indian students, Finnish students seemed to have some kind of basic knowledge of the most elementary issues around ethical of tourism. Nevertheless, it is not known whether this awareness reflects into the tourist behaviour.

The utilized method could have been one reason why the answers remained somewhat cursory. However, this cannot be the reason why the Indian students’ writings differed so remarkably from the writing of the Finnish students. The reason must be a totally different ideology and social background. It can be assumed that similar results could be attained in Finland and presumably also in other Western countries even though the target group were not tourism students. In this sense the results were interesting. It could be assumed that in the “globalized world” the value systems would converge and common aspects could be found in the field of ethics in different cultures (see Smith – Duffy 2003, 35). Now in the light of the study results it seems that this is not the case.

The method of empathy based stories produced data that could not be collected by conducting surveys, for example, which inexorably give hints to the respondents. Also personal interviews would have been difficult to conduct for example due to economical reasons. Even though some of the writings were superficial, even immature in some cases, the data revealed interesting differences between the two sets of the data. Thus it seems that the method, which has not been utilized earlier in the tourism research, could well be included in the set of methods of tourism researchers.

### 3.3 Postmodern pilgrimage

Referring to earlier discussions, backpacker tourism has been considered as almost metaphorical representation of alternative “postmodern” tourism. However, this multidimensional form of tourism has not straightforward linkages with sustainability issues. Obenour (2004, 3) describes backpacker tourism by linking it with the search for personal development, cultural understanding and self-understanding. Referring to Maslow’s (1970) famous hierarchy of needs, it can be seen that these motivations can be placed to the higher steps of the pyramid (also Ross 1998).

However, like Kontogeorgopoulos (2003, 181) claims, backpackers tend to be the least sensible and respectful tourists. They characteristically stay in the enclaves, backpacker ghettos, which have become areas of cultural confrontation and misunderstanding between hosts and guests (e.g. Howard 2005; Kontogeorgopoulos 2003; Schveyens 2002). According to Cohen (2004, 46–47), only few backpackers actually travel off the “beaten backpacker tracks”. In this respect the above mentioned new masses can be best described by using contemporary backpackers as examples.

Just like traditional package tourists are said to be living in environmental bubbles, backpackers’ tendency to operate in the same places forms bubbles that are very similar all over the world (cf. Cohen 1972; 1995). According to Howard (2005), these enclaves help tourists to recover from culture shocks, and as Hottola (2004) states, they are kind of refuelling stations which help maintaining the backpacker culture. In this respect, backpackers can be considered as probably the best examples of neo-tribes; backpackers in their own bubbles all represent the same culture although they most probably have never met each other. However, through collective experiences they form a group that may sometimes represent ego-centric behaviour (see Schveyens 2002). In addition to the activity based on possible ego-centric motives and probably a search for certain desired prestige (Spreitzhofer 1998), as well as in the case of any touristic activity, also the multidimensional backpacking may turn into spiritual refreshment (cf. Sharpley 2002, 314).

However, backpacking tourism is not a new phenomenon, and occurred changes in the Western societies have also intruded to this form of tourism. Backpackers cannot be describes as hippies or bums anymore; instead they tend to be middle class citizens and relatively well educated (Mohsin – Ryan 2003, 115). Duffy’s (2002) observations of ecotourists may well be transferred to backpacking as well.

It is commonly thought that some of the new forms of tourism might be capable to meet the goals of sustainability in the third world (see e.g. Butcher 2003, 113). If the scale of tourism is kept relatively small, this is possible, but

only locally. Globally thinking, the only sustainable option would be to act for more responsible mass tourism, including local initiatives but also more extensive changes like developing more environmentally friendly means of transport (cf. Fennell 1999, 25–27). People want to and keep on wanting to travel and all the tourists can not be alternative even if they wanted to (cf. Selänniemi 1996, 231–236). Instead, actors responsible for conventional tourism practices should be aware of practices occurring in the other fields of tourism. It could be possible to adopt these and thus try to develop mainstream tourism. However, here lies a serious risk. Tourism enterprises might adopt influences with all their weaknesses. For example ecotourism products might be beneficial (or if not beneficial, not considerably harmful either) to both parties in the small scale but multiplying the scale to mass tourism level would cause severe negative impacts.

The good conduct depends always on the context. Something that is sustainable in one place might not be that in some other place. Thus, codes of conduct are not the whole answer, although they might be good marketing weapons. In general, all the actors should be conscious of the changes and in addition to this, regularly seek deeper meanings by getting to know the essential cultural and historical facts of the subject especially in the case of developing countries (see e.g. Mohanty 1999).

Developing countries are visible all over in Western countries. The picture that is created is often nostalgic; only beautiful and attractive characteristics like food, colour, clothes or mysticism, are presented. This can be easily noticed by for example browsing through brochures of travel agencies. However, cliché or not, reality can often be found from the other side of the coin. Genuine altruistic tourism to developing countries may enhance one's mind to meet also the other dimensions and realize the values and structures behind them. Thus when sustainable tourist development is discussed, in ideal situation tourists adopt an approach in which ego-centric motives are rejected or surpassed by community based values. In this case the motive basis is connected to enhancing local participation and promoting the economic, social and cultural well-being of the popular majority. The focus is on broader development goals instead just on revenues or tourist numbers. Following to UNWTO's (World Tourism Organization 2005a) code of ethics, tourism should be seen as a local resource and local communities and their needs must be given priority over the other goals. Tourism practices should also focus on the strengths and uniqueness of the communities. Thus practices which are successful in one place will not necessarily succeed elsewhere. (Brohman 1996, 60–65) The ideal situation of active participation of communities can be reached for example by connecting tourists' altruistic motives and hosts' needs. One possible result could be volunteer tourism.



Volunteer tourism could be one part of the solution when *locally* sustainable tourism development is concerned. Volunteer tourist, using the most widely used definition (Wearing 2001, 1; also 2003, 4) is someone, “who for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve the aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments, or research into aspects of society or environment”.

Volunteer tourism has just recently gained interest amongst researchers (Brown – Lehto 2005; McGehee – Santos 2005; Mustonen 2005 [paper 2]; Singh – Singh 2004; Stebbins (ed.) 2004; Wearing 2001; 2003; Wearing – Neil, 1997). There are also various studies, which at least indirectly include discussion on volunteering as a part of tourism (e.g. Drumm 1998; de Kadt 1979; McMillon 1993; Wall – Long 1996). Brown and Morrison (2003, 77) see the emergence of volunteer tourism as a result of increased recognition of negative impacts of conventional tourism (cf. Beck 1995a/b).

Brown and Morrison (2003; also Brown – Lehto 2005) suggest that volunteer tourists can be divided into two groups according to adopted mindsets. Volunteer-minded devote most of their touristic time to volunteer activities whilst vacation-minded want to include volunteering elements to their vacation (Brown – Lehto 2005, 480). In a sense, volunteer-minded can be considered genuine or intentional volunteers (Mustonen 2005, 165 [paper 2]). To these people, volunteerism in itself is the central notion (Brown – Lehto 2005, 480).

Volunteer tourism can be considered one of the most noble ways to tour and as a form of tourism that will most likely meet the strict standards and numerous dimensions of sustainability (cf. Uriely et al. 2003; Wearing 2001) and even be the catalyst of peace (Brown – Morrison 2003, 74). Even though volunteer tourism would not have anything to do with peace or other declamatory goals, it might be beneficial for the hosts, and in the same time, satisfying touristic experience for the tourists. The latter is important to notice as to some extent tourists always want to fulfil their needs, whatever these needs are.

Brown and Lehto (2005) found four motivational dimensions behind vacation-minded volunteer tourism: Firstly, cultural immersion is one central objective. This dimension emphasizes the pursuit of authenticity of the places and cultures. Second motivational factor is closely connected to altruism and to idea of “giving back”. Thirdly, some tourists want to volunteer because like that they are given opportunities to meet and interact with other like-minded tourists. In addition to these, willingness to do volunteering activities may derive from the reasons connected with tourists’ family relationships. On the one hand, volunteerism may be seen as an educative experience for children.

On the other hand, volunteering experiences may be seen as greating cohesion between family members.

In the second paper (Mustonen 2005) the issues around volunteer tourism were examined. It was noticed that those volunteer tourists who genuinely aim at improving welfare of the hosts (i.e. genuine volunteers) differ remarkably from for example mass backpackers and “ecotourists”. The motive basis is the greatest difference and in the case of volunteer tourism this basis lies in the idea of altruism and in the direct interactive experience between hosts and guests (cf. Brown – Lehto 2005, 488). According to Wearing (2003, 3–4) this process should lead to value change and should also have influence on the lives and lifestyles of both sides. The process represents an idea that could be locally sustainable and beneficial to both sides and by developing similar initiatives it is possible to go further towards more equal world also in the field of tourism.

However, this is only an ideal situation. The study concerned two small grass-root level projects in Indian Himalayas, The Ananda Project and The Rural Organization for Social Elevation (ROSE). It was noticed that in these destinations volunteers adopt easily the roles of conventional backpackers; there is a thin line between genuine volunteers and volunteer vacationers (cf. Brown – Lehto 2005). Socializing with fellow tourists seemed to be one central element. This was especially the case in Ananda where volunteers could be classified as vacation-minded volunteers whilst in ROSE tourists were clearly volunteer-minded, genuine volunteers (cf. Brown – Lehto 2005).

It can be assumed that in the roles of volunteers, tourists want to be alternative and different tourists in a real sense (cf. Munt 1994). They try to get rid of the burden of mass tourists and want to differentiate themselves from conventional backpackers as well, to which they will on the other hand transform after their volunteering session. This was clearly visible in the example destinations. Thus it is surely legitimate to ask whether this kind of tourism is just a quest for the “real” disappeared in the West (MacCannell 1976) or merely nostalgia for the lost origins (Spivak 1996, 203-204).

However, despite Butcher’s (2003) critique, the experience has shown that small scale community tourism based for example on volunteerism could be well worth developing. The two destinations in Indian Himalayas, which were under scrutiny in the study, have witnessed that even the smallest projects can survive and develop and create welfare in the communities. The governance is totally local and community based and thus there are no additional middlemen. Tourists literally meet the hosts at their home. In this respect, tourism in the cases of Ananda and ROSE is based on community-based tradition of sustainability (see Saarinen 2006).

The issues around de-differentiation, which were discussed earlier, seem to be strongly visible in volunteer tourism. The tourism experience can be a very meaningful and have effects on individuals' life also after the trip. First experience may generate a need for new ones or similar altruistic behaviour even when travelling as such would not be involved. Volunteering practices can in a sense be conducted also at home.

Going back to MacCannell (1976), tourists can be considered modern pilgrims in the continuous search for the authentic. In the case of volunteer tourism, tourists literally answer to the call of their deep longings. They look for the "center out there" (Turner 1973) and in a way turn into postmodern pilgrims (cf. Graburn 1989). The pilgrimage-like nature of tourism can be seen through two extremes. According to Sharpley and Sundaram (2005, 162) at the one end are the journeys driven by religion and spiritual fulfilment whilst at the other end are the secular pilgrims who want to satisfy personal needs through touristic practices. These personal needs however can be as much spiritual as the ones of the "true" pilgrims. One of the findings of the second paper (Mustonen 2005) was that it is not possible to state who is spiritual or religious and who is not. In this respect it can be claimed that volunteers' experiences can be even more individual and in a sense spiritual than of pilgrims whose motives are often extrinsic. The reason for travelling to Holy Places might not be in a sense religious but just a way to higher one's status (see Ilola 1994). Thus, for contemporary "pilgrims" experience or reward can well be compared to religious experience. Like some holy place is sacred for the devoted pilgrim, for the tourist different kinds of touristic experiences can be sacred (cf. Selänniemi 1996, 181-183).

As mentioned several times above, it is often claimed that postmodern actors are forced to search for the meanings. Sharpley and Sundaram (2005, 162) claim that tourism is a good means in this respect. Touristic time is non-ordinary and sacred (Graburn 1989; also Selänniemi 1996). In the pilgrims' liminoid, the ordinary codes are not valid; the structures around time or place are blurred (Selänniemi 1996, 194-200). In this liminoid, the search for self-actualization begins and in the case of volunteer tourism, this search is connected to postmaterial values. Thus, volunteer tourism, in a sense, can be seen as contemporary representation of traditional pilgrimage. In this respect, postmodernity of tourism can be considered a melting pot where premodern and modern forms of tourism melt into new ones. Similarly to many other aspects of the contemporary society, which are said to represent postmodernity, it is possible to find counterparts from the past.

As stated earlier, tourism by its nature is a modern phenomenon that has changed tremendously and some of these changes have been called postmodern. In addition to this, there are also traditional, premodern

characteristics that have slightly diffused to newer tourism trends. The number of examples of these kinds of connections is endless: Someone may visit ancient sites or go to see famous paintings. This *rendezvous* can actually be the main motive of the trip. Someone, on the other hand, may want to go to visit the brewery where her/his favourite beer is brewed. So like it was in the middle of the 1980's, it is still too early to state that a clear leap from modern tourism to postmodern tourism has occurred. So despite the enormous changes, modern features will most likely remain also in the future.

## 4 CONCLUDING WORDS

The objective behind this study was not to describe the world how it should be seen. This could not have been even possible. Instead, the aim was to present a few approaches how it can be seen. The study consisted of four original publications and an introduction. The aim of the introduction was to bind the themes presented in the papers together and to enhance the theoretical discussion.

“Postmodern” world is complex and so are the theories trying to explain it. Even the most confusing and controversial ideas can be seen to describe some aspects of the world. None of the theories should be considered as omnipotent. The urges to that direction are doomed to fail. The idea about theories which explain everything can be rejected when postmodernity is under scrutiny. If these theories are tried to be created, the heterogeneous nature of contemporary world is necessarily lost.

This is the reason why the different approaches should be considered together. In this study this ideal was a guiding line. All the research papers saw the topic, postmodern tourism, from different perspectives. In addition to this, they all approached the research questions differently. Despite this, they all concerned the changing (or changed) nature of tourism. The changes have been widely researched, but especially in the case of postmodern aspects, new empirical approaches are still somewhat rare (cf. Lahire 2003). However, Mirchandani (2005) has observed that sociological research has recently moved from “epistemological postmodernism to empirical postmodernism”. The latter opens the doors to the insights that are closer to realities of the changing world. In postmodernity metanarratives have been replaced by small narratives. These narratives can be created by approaching empirically the research field and also by taking “the classics” under scrutiny. Like this also in the field of science “postmodern” can be reflexive. The inadequate knowledge must be confessed, and if Mirchandani is right, this is slightly happening.

In this study, several hypotheses often connected with postmodern were examined. First of all, it is usually claimed that in postmodern societies one’s sociodemographic background would not have such an importance as earlier. Instead, it has been surpassed by lifestyle issues manifested usually by consuming. In the third paper, “Sosiodemografiset tekijät ja elämäntapa matkailukulutusta selittävinä tekijöinä: kausaalinen analyysi” (Sociodemographic variables and lifestyles as explanatory variables behind tourism consumption: a causal analysis, Honkanen – Mustonen 2005) the importance of sociodemographic factors in the case of tourism consumption

was examined. It was observed that both sociodemographic determinants and lifestyles, which in the paper were represented by consumption habits, should be taken into account when consumption on tourism is examined. Thus the results did not abandon the postmodern ideas of emerging importance of lifestyles but neither did it abandon the traditional model where sociodemographic determinants are closely connected to behaviour. It was even noticed that these both dimensions are connected to each other. Certain kinds of people tend to “choose” certain kinds of lifestyles.

The importance of sociodemographic variables was also observed in the first paper, “Environment as a Criterion for Choosing a Holiday Destination – Arguments and Findings” (Mustonen 2003). The study approaches tourism from the viewpoint of destination choice. Environmentally sound values and ethical issues are said to be characteristic to postmodern tourism. Thus the desire to choose environment as a criterion was under scrutiny. Background variables were noticed to have an influence on people’s propensity to choose the criteria. The finding that respondents’ political identification was very significant predictor was especially interesting. Again, the metanarratives live on strong.

Whilst these two papers were based on mainly statistical analyses, the other two approached postmodern aspects of tourism qualitatively and following the legacy of Baudrillard and Bauman, theoretically. The third paper, “Volunteer Tourism – Postmodern Pilgrimage?” (Mustonen 2005) continued in the field of postmaterialism by examining aspects behind volunteer tourism that is a new form of tourism often connected to the heterogeneous group of alternative tourism. Issues around the new forms of tourism are often in the centre when postmodern dimensions of tourism are discussed. However, it can well be asked, in what sense they are alternative? In the paper, it was claimed that genuine volunteer tourists do not only differ from tourists attending to conventional package tours. In addition to this, they also want to differ themselves from other backpackers.

Genuine volunteer tourists were finally connected with traditional pilgrims and it was claimed that postmodern tourism actually should be considered as a melting pot where modern and premodern forms of tourism collide and create new counterparts. In this sense the contradictions between modern backpacking tourism and traditional pilgrimage tourism are blurred. The result born in this melting pot can be called postmodern pilgrimage is so wished.

Aspects, which can be connected with somewhat clichéd idea of sustainable development, were present in all the papers, although in the third paper (Honkanen – Mustonen 2005) the dimension was examined only briefly, because the explanant concerning environmentally sound behaviour did not explain tourism consumption. Thus, in the light of this particular paper, the

question of whether attitudes towards sustainable development should be included in the postmodern matrix of tourism remained in shade. So called “green values” may affect individuals’ lives in several ways. They might not have an influence on tourism consumption, because for many, tourism has become a lifestyle. Instead, they may be visible somewhere else. Green issues can also be understood differently. This issue was under scrutiny in the fourth paper, “Personal perceptions of ethical tourism – a comparison between Finnish and Indian tourism students” (Mustonen 2006).

Postmodern discussions are mainly Western-based and also usually concern Western societies. Nevertheless, tourism by its nature is a global phenomenon. Thus in the fourth paper, the concept of ethical tourism was taken to the transnational field. The purely qualitative method of empathy based stories was utilized to examine how Indian and Finnish tourism students’ perceptions of ethical tourism differed from each other. UNWTO’s Global Code of Ethics and the discussion on postmodern ethics were used as a background and as assumed beforehand, it was noticed that Finnish students understand the concept more similarly with these than the Indian students. However, also Finnish students’ viewpoints were rather superficial and the multidimensionality of the idea of ethical tourism was not understood. Of course it is not known how awareness in general reflects the actual behaviour. When on tour, Indian students might well be more “ethical” tourists than Finnish students.

This collection of articles as a whole shows that the complex and controversial phenomenon of postmodern tourism can and should be approached empirically. The methods should be chosen by considering deeply the research questions. It would have been difficult to study volunteer tourism by using quantitative approach since the phenomenon is so small scale and fragmented. Accordingly, comparing the differences between lifestyle issues and sociodemographic determinants in the case of tourism consumption by using qualitative methods would have been impossible.

To conclude, world has changed but it can be argued whether it has entered into a whole new era of postmodernism (cf. Maffesoli 1997). Many changes have occurred in the same time, and they all have been claimed to be signs of postmodernity. All these changes can be empirically observed and thus naming the dominant one is difficult, if not impossible. First of all, traditional communities have slightly given way to modern aggregations and finally through “postmodern” individuality to the rise of the community. Secondly, instead of modern mass consumption the emphasis is now on individualized consumption or even on consumption shared by so called tribes. (Cova 1997, 203; also Warde 1997, 14–20). Postmodern individuality and new forms of sociality such as neo-tribalism are just different sides of the same process.

When older structures are weakening or changing in shape, new ones are born and becoming stronger at the same time (Giddens 1995a/b).

The traditional, modern and postmodern forms of consumption, as well as of tourism, are all visible in the contemporary world. Modernity has enabled contemporary Western way of life, and even today, these same structures are the motor behind the consumer societies. International tourism as it is seen, interpreted and experienced today, for example, would not be possible without the possibility to fly.

Consumer society, in which consumption is linked with everything, is relatively easy to consider as a natural continuation to modern society. The re-gathering of remote and lost individuals instead is new and characteristic to contemporary society. In this respect, postmodern could be regarded as a u-turn towards premodern. In addition to Bauman's (1996, 288) remark about invisible control of premodern communities lacking in postmodern ones, the great difference can be found from the new sociality (Bauman 1993; 1996; also Maffesoli 1995). In postmodern societies modern is shamelessly exploited and in the same time the security is sought and possibly found via social relationships. Thus, although diversity has increased, at the same time, it has created uniformity.

Maybe, as suggested in the second paper, postmodern could be understood as a melting pot, where all the dimensions collide and mix. This is the reason why it is not possible to say whether the postmodern "epoch" is something that differs fundamentally from its ancestors. In contemporary world all the dimensions are visible. There is now a need for new tools and insights. The existence of the modern must be recognized in order to gain information of the new world (Mirchandani 2005, 110) – whether it is postmodern or not, is up to each and every one. This study offered both "for" and "con" arguments for both interpretations.



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## PAPER 1

Mustonen, P. (2003) Environment as a Criterion for Choosing a Holiday Destination – Arguments and Findings.  
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## Environment as a Criterion for Choosing a Holiday Destination : Arguments and Findings

PEKKA MUSTONEN

In this article the whole picture of tourism is viewed through the lens of individuals' choices and motives. Inglehart's (1977; 1997) idea of postmaterialism is used as a background as differences are sought between individuals who have considered environment as a major criterion for choosing a holiday destination and individuals who have not. The most remarkable result was that the political identity is related to a person's choice of destination. Those who identify themselves with the Left seem to consider environment to be an important criterion more often than those on the Right. This strengthens the theory of postmaterialists: those on the Left tend to be more environment friendly than those on the right. The great deal of other differences found, for example between countries, could be due to differences between other variables such as political attitudes or latent cultural and social features which are difficult to measure using statistics. More detailed examination of the postmaterial issues and tourism would require more detailed data.

**Keywords :** postmaterialism, postmodernism, sustainability, environmental friendly, holiday.

### Introduction

According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO) international tourism arrivals amounted to 693 million in 2001. It is only 0.6 % less compared to 2000 despite the impact of the terrorist attacks of September 11. WTO forecasts that international arrivals are expected to reach over 1.56 billion by the year 2020. It is evident that predictions so far into future are questionable, but they give us some views of the expected progress. Tourism will no doubt continue growing. Arrivals have grown continuously since 1982, when arrivals fell 0.4 %. In 1991, when the Gulf War occurred, international tourist flows grew 1.2 %. Year 2001 was an exception to this trend, though before September 11 number of arrivals was on a strongly growing path. (WTO 1998; 2002)

The number of tourists, which is predicted to become well over one billion, could be too much for many destinations. Thus it is easy to justify why sustainability of tourism must be examined. In this article, the whole picture of tourism is viewed through the lens of individuals' choices and motives. Inglehart's (1977, 1997) idea of postmaterialism is used as a background as differences are sought between individuals who have considered environment as one of the major criteria for choosing a holiday destination and individuals who have not. The

study is based on a data set called Eurobarometer 48 (Melich 2002), which is a survey collected in 1997.

### Quality of the Environment as a Criterion for Choosing a Holiday Destination – Indicator of Sustainability?

It is quite a difficult task to try to define whether touristic behaviour is environmentally friendly or not by only using statistical data. What makes behaviour sustainable? In the Eurobarometer 48 survey respondents were asked to choose one or more important factors that have influence when choosing a holiday destination. The question asked was: "In general, what are the main criteria for choosing your holiday destinations?" In total there were 18 possibilities to choose from. One of them was 'quality of the environment'<sup>1</sup>.

In the survey there were no questions about attitudes or behaviour in the destination. The only variables considering both the environment and tourism were questions of the criteria and environmental problems noticed in the destination. The former was chosen to be the dichotomy dependent variable in this study. So in this study environmental friendliness as such is not examined, but respondents' propensity to choose environment as a criterion and its possible relations with the background variables is examined. It must not be forgotten that there

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are problems when tourists are asked questions about their multiple motives (see Krippendorf 1987). And it must also be remembered that the concept of 'quality of the environment' could be understood in many different ways.

The hypothesis is that if quality of the environment has been an important criterion, then this person acts and thinks in a more sustainable way than a person who does not consider the environment important. Reality is not that simple. Travelling to mass-destinations could be more sustainable than travelling to destinations with an unspoiled environment (see Selänniemi 1996). Further, connecting mass-destinations and environment – not to mention quality of the environment — could be misleading. Also, travelling to destinations where there is a beautiful and untouched environment does not necessarily mean sustainable tourism.

If a person has chosen environment to be one of the main criteria, she/he must somehow connect environmental values with tourism. Another assumption is that the person does not necessarily know about the quality of the environment in the destination. People who travel to mass-destinations do not necessarily find an unspoiled environment in the destination, so it is also difficult to consider environment as an important criterion.<sup>2</sup> Tourists could well be aware of how to behave in the destination even if they did not consider environment as an important criterion. For example, in circumstances where someone visits their friends and relatives environment may not be an important criterion. In general, travel guides do not give detailed information about the environment in destinations they market. If travel agencies and guides do not offer information on alternative choices, the individual himself has little choice (compare to Inglehart 1977). So it must be noted that this idea presented here does not work if we only consider those who had not chosen environment as a criterion.

### Postmaterial Values

Even if there has been a lot of discussion on phenomena like globalization and postmodernization (Urry 1990; Featherstone 1991; Yearley 1996; Inglehart 1997), there are different ways to understand these phenomena. Munt (1994) connects postmodern tourism with the new social movements, and claims that the postmodern Other could be found from environmentalism. Feifer (1985), Urry (1990) and Ritzer *et al.* (1997) have maintained discussions on so called post-tourists, who are said to be aware of their role of being tourists in the world of staged authentic destinations (compare to MacCannell 1999). Touristic behaviour has spread from holidays to everyday life and *vice versa*; many tourists want their holiday experiences to

be similar to their everyday life (see Urry 1990, Ritzer *et al.* 1997). Anyway, people still want to travel and free themselves from their everyday routines (Rojek *et al.* 1997).

Although traditional mass tourism remains alive (Ritzer *et al.* 1997), the phenomenon of touring people i.e., tourism, has changed. Thus the notion of new tourism (see Poon 1993) is an essential part of the discussion as it claims that changes in tourists' behaviour and values are the driving forces for the new tourist, who is more flexible, independent and experienced than the old tourist.

From postmodernism it is easy to make a shift to the idea of postmaterialism. Presented by Inglehart (1977 and 1997), the idea is the basis of my study. Inglehart (1977) argues that material values are turning into non-material values. When material values, typical to modern society, come together with the belief in science, technology and social organizations as means of progress (see Seippel 1999), postmaterial values are connected more to the personal quality of life. Postmaterial values take priority when experience of formative security allows individuals to be more interested in the issues concerning quality of life than the conditions of life (Scarborough 1995)<sup>3</sup>.

The pioneer in the discussion on sustainability must be Meadows' *et al.* (1972) *Limits to growth*. Inglehart (1977) foresaw that if a value shift from material to post-material is indeed going on, it should ease the transition to the kind of society (that is a sustainable state) Meadows *et al.* envisioned in their classic. Twenty years after *The silent revolution* Inglehart still writes about the postmaterial, though he concentrates more on the postmodern:

*"... on this new postmodern trajectory, economic rationality determines human behaviour less narrowly than before: the realm of the possible has expanded, and cultural factors are becoming more important. The great religious and ideological metanarratives are losing their authority among the masses. Uniformity and hierarchy that shaped modernity are giving way to an increasing acceptance of diversity. And the increasing dominance of instrumental rationality that characterised modernisation is giving way to a greater emphasis on value rationality and quality of life..."* (Inglehart 1997:22)

To sum this up, the main goal of modern society is economic growth and the way to reach it is industrialization. Postmodernization aims at maximizing individual well-being instead of material welfare (Inglehart 1997). Because one of the characteristics of the postmodern and postmaterial is a change in values and priorities and also the taking up of new issues, it could be asked if *environmentalism* is a postmodern value? If postmodernism is taking care of one's quality of life and well being, is it, at its worst, nothing but a selfish way to act and think?

There are a few obvious similarities between postmodernism and postmaterialism: They both seek explanations to political shifts through the examination of value change and both detect the emergence of new values. And both identify new younger educated cohorts prone to belonging to new movements. Despite these similarities, there are also differences between the postmodern and postmaterial concepts. The postmaterialist seeks self-realization whilst the postmodernist seeks self-expression. Postmaterialists are teleological, future orientated and concerned with progress whereas postmodernists are concerned with the present. As a conclusion, the value orientation of postmaterialists is homogeneous comparing to pluralist and heterogeneous orientation of the postmodernists (Gibbins and Reimer 1995).

Environmental thinking looks further away from individual's own needs. Environmentalism contains the idea that instrumental rationality must take into account or be constrained by the laws of nature (Brand 1999). Thus, environmental thinking is easier to link with postmaterialism than postmodernism if that theoretical distinction must be made. Though it must be noted that a postmodernist can be materialist and *vice versa* (see Gibbins and Reimer 1995). It is also possible to underline ethical aspects of postmodernism. When the influence of social institutions on people's everyday lives declines, then those people also face a greater moral responsibility (Bauman 1996).

One way to find out how environmental values do have an effect on well-being is to use Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow 1970). Having reached a certain level of physical well-being, mental satisfaction must also be reached. "I have done something good for the environment" is surely a postmaterial way to think. An optimistic reason for acting in an environmentally friendly way is a belief that a good act for the environment will have an effect on the welfare of everybody or the world in general. Anyway, both environmentalism and postmodernism deconstruct modernity and express the sense of postmodernity in strikingly similar and complementary ways. Environmentalism is firmly embedded in the postmodern social experience of space and time (Brand 1999).

### Who Are Postmaterialists?

Materialists and postmaterialist differ from each other in several ways. Postmaterialists tend to be those with higher incomes and status. They are most likely to be young professionals and persons with education. This phenomenon, particularly noticeable in earlier times, could be explained by the fact that the wealthier and better

educated will be most likely to hold a whole range of security values, including postmaterialism; the less secure strata will emphasise survival priorities. From now on postmaterial values have slowly diffused to the other classes (Inglehart 1977, 1997).

Postmaterialists are more interested in social problems, international politics and third world problems and it seems that postmaterialism is spreading and thus people are more interested in these issues. Materialists are thus opposed to paying more attention to them (Gabriel & van Deth 1995). In the political arena, postmaterialists are expected to take a less conservative, more change-oriented stand in politics than the materialist type. On the other hand, one must remember that there are also differences between countries when considering politics and political traditions, and institutions of a given country limit the degree to which an individual's values influence his political position (Inglehart 1977).

Since Inglehart's *The Silent Revolution* the world has changed, and new issues, such as environmental ones, have become important. In fact this is a trend that could well be seen as a core prediction of Inglehart (1977). Some of his arguments are still valid. In the political field, change-oriented forces could be targeted to the Left and preserving forces to the Right (Konttinen and Peltokoski 2000). In an increasingly postmaterial society, one might expect the most salient political questions to shift from economic to life-style issues. So the meaning of Left and Right has changed (Konttinen and Peltokoski; 2000, see also Knutsen 1995). Compared to 70's, being a Left-winger now has much wider characteristics than before. For many people identifying oneself with the Left is a way, on the one hand, to represent values of solidarity and on the other hand, against the capitalistic system. It could also be seen to be mainly the criticism of the principles of the modern industrialized world and also a critique against economic growth. (Konttinen and Peltokoski 2000). There are also other ways to see change from material to postmaterial (or from modern to postmodern) values. The modern attitude to tourism could be seen as Protestant-oriented and postmodern as anti-Protestant oriented (Dann and Cohen 1996). So among the postmaterialists, the influence of the *protestant ethic* might be slowly disappearing (compare to Himanen 2001).

One way to explain the origin of postmaterial values is to claim that one inherits a sense of political party identification from one's parents. Party preferences would thus drift from generation to generation. There are several factors that influence one's identification (Inglehart 1997):

1. Pre-industrial variables (religion, language, race)

2. Industrial variables (income, occupation, education, memberships in labour unions)
3. Post-industrial variables (individual level values, based on post-economic needs)

The Maslowian way to see this would be that, in general, we must reach a certain level of material welfare to satisfy our non-material needs. Yet environmentalism does not fit easily in the hierarchy of needs. There are many small subcultures etc. which are willing to reduce their consumption for ecological reasons. This kind of behaviour is most likely to be seen among young people (Konttinen 1999; Konttinen and Peltokoski 2000). In a study about environmental movements in Finland conducted by Konttinen and Peltokoski (2000) 40% of the total number of 167 activists featured in the research were less than 20 years old and almost 75% of them were younger than 25. In the study these newer movements were called *the fourth wave of environmental protest*. According to the same study, this new wave seems to be an urban phenomenon: in small towns<sup>4</sup> and the countryside lived only one fifth of the respondents. It was also noted that in addition to environmental issues, also human rights, development countries, animal rights, women's rights, anarchistic issues and peace issues among others were important to the respondents. Brand (1990) calls the critique, born in 70s the anti-modernist critique of the civilization. This could be well compared to Inglehart's concepts. Brand's study also strengthens the idea of a wavelike movement of the environmentalism, though the new wave of the 90s was still to come.

Konttinen and Peltokoski (2000) found that criticism of the political parties and politics in general are found to be strong in the new wave of environmentalism and most of the respondents consider themselves to be on the left in the political field.<sup>5</sup> It was stated in the study that the political aspect of environmental radicalism is clearly visible. Material values could also be important in a totally different way. For example, in a sample of the study of Konttinen and Peltokoski (2000) 47% of the respondents identified themselves as vegans<sup>6</sup> and 37% as vegetarians. Thus we may think that material promises of economic growth have to some extent lost their attractions among the younger cohorts, especially from educated families (Brand 1990).

#### About the Data

This study is based on the Eurobarometer 48 survey collected in 1997. Eurobarometer surveys are conducted on behalf of the European Commission at least two times a year in each country of the European Union. In 1997 those

countries were Portugal, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Italy, Spain, France, Ireland, United Kingdom, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria, Finland, Sweden, and Belgium. Persons that were interviewed were all over 15 years of age. Questions were mainly about social and political attitudes, but in addition to those questions there were also special questions concentrating on some particular topics like holidays in this case. Respondents were asked about holiday trips made in 1997. The size of the sample was 16, 186.

This study concentrates only on respondents having made a trip to a foreign country in 1997. Size of the sample in every country was approximately 1,000<sup>7</sup>. Using these data without recodes could lead to a situation where countries with fewer inhabitants would have too much weight in the final results. Using weight variables to get countries as comparable as possible was thus necessary. The weight variable used was "Euro weight 15", which included all the 15 members of EU. Weight variables were provided in the data and were originally created using NUTS-classifications<sup>8</sup>.

In the weighted Eurobarometer 48 survey the number of observations of certain countries became noticeably small. These countries were Greece, Luxembourg and Portugal.<sup>9</sup> Of these countries Greece and Portugal were countries where only a small amount of respondents had made a trip. The number of observations of Luxembourg became small because of the country's small size. All these observations remained, of course, in the matrices, but separate analysis of them was not possible.

#### Variables

In this study, connections between political identity and probability to choose the environment as a criterion for choosing holiday destination are researched. In the survey respondents were asked to place themselves on the 1—10 scale where 1 was being on the left and 10 was being on the right. The question was: "In political matters people talk of "the Left" and "the Right". How would you place your views on this scale?" In this study a transformed variable where answers from 1—4 make a group "the Left", 5—6 make "the Centre" and 7—10 make "the Right", is used. It is expected to find that people who find themselves to be on the Left tend to consider environment to be an important criterion (for choosing the destination) more than do people on the Right.

In addition to the political identity, the most common sociodemographic variables and the country of residence have been added to the analysis. Of those, *income* has surely

a major effect on tourism consumption. And in postmaterial dimension, it could be easily expected that it will also have an effect on how the criteria for choosing the destination are chosen. Income is divided into quartiles individually in every country, so direct comparisons between countries cannot be made. The hypothesis is that persons from the upper quartiles (third and fourth) have chosen environmental reasons more often than those from the lower quartiles (first and second). The variable used here differs from the one used by Toivonen (2001). In his study the same data set were used. Toivonen used purchasing power parities to make the countries comparable. In this study, only quartiles are examined, one reason being the different scales used in surveys in every country.

Leisure tourism has traditionally been considered as luxury (see Mathieson and Wall 1982), but nowadays this attitude has disappeared especially in the western world. Tourism today is a very heterogenic phenomenon and there are people who travel literally without money ("bums" etc.) or with only a little money (backpackers). Of course the world has also seen 'budget-tourists' in the past decades. If a global perspective is taken, it could still be said that probability to make a trip increases with income (see Räsänen 2000 and Toivonen 2001) or when common welfare increases. It is easier to be a scrounger in a country that, at least in theory, gives its citizens the possibility of a certain level of welfare. Giving away symbols of material welfare voluntarily requires at least theoretical possibilities to reach some kind of material standards of living.<sup>10</sup> (see Ilmonen 1999)

In sociological literature there have been arguments that connections between social structures and consumption behaviour are slightly disappearing (Featherstone 1991, Toivonen 1992, 1997; Urry 1995; Miles 1998). Instead of traditional structural variables, local groups and leisure-time associations could be seen as important explanatory variables (see Räsänen 2000). People do not necessarily behave according to certain norms associated with class or the like. In general, issues concerning lifestyles have become more important than ever before (see Miles 2000). It seems that people who identify themselves with the higher class travel more than those who consider themselves to belong to lower class (Räsänen 2000). One important question is: what is practically and theoretically the most relevant class division? Others argue that it makes no difference what kind of model is used (Toivonen 2001). The indicator of *socio-economic group* in this study is respondent's occupation divided into 8 categories. The variable is identical to Toivonen's (2001).

In addition to economic capital (indicated by income

quartiles in this study), *human capital* is also an important variable in human affairs (see Toivonen 2001). There were not proper variables in the data indicating the level of education or number of years of education. The only indicator of human capital was an age when respondent had stopped full-time education. The scale of the final variable was up to 15 years, 16–19 years, 20 or more years and 'still studying'. As a hypothesis it is expected to find that people with more education have chosen environment as a criterion more often, compared to those with less education. The category indicating students is very heterogeneous and thus quite problematic because it consists both of students still in comprehensive schools and also those studying in universities or similar institutions.

*The age* of the respondent is scaled in 4 groups: 15–25 years, 25–44 years, 45–64 years, and 65 or more years. Public discourse, when it is about environmental movements, usually concentrates on the youth. Young people are often the most visible and most active participants in the more spectacular actions undertaken by environmental organizations. Thus, we might expect younger respondents to have the biggest presence in the group of those who have chosen environment as a criterion (see Skogen 1996). On the other hand, those growing up in the post-war period are gradually more inclined to emphasize needs of an ethical and aesthetical character than former generations (Inglehart 1977). Thus we might also expect the group 45–64 to stand out.

Variable indicating 'sex'<sup>11</sup> was added to create a gender point of view in the study. Although sometimes females are said to be more environmentally orientated than males, no clear hypothesis is stated here (see Skogen 1996). Neither is any hypothesis stated for the variable *country of residence*. All the 15 EU member countries are included in the analysis.

There might be some problems when using nationalities or countries of residence as variables. Dann (1993) finds four reasons why those variables are problematic. The first one is that some tourists possess multiple nationalities and the country of birth could be different from the country of nationality. The second is that the importance of nationality is weakening because of the new political order in many countries. The third reason is that there are countries like United States with multiple nationalities, where one could hardly use the concept of nationality. The fourth reason is that countries like India could not be considered homogeneous because, for example, of the many different religions and languages to be found there. Dann suggests that instead of those, scholars should use variables indicating personality, lifestyles,

tourist roles, social class and culture. Deeper analysis requires yet more detailed data. In these Eurobarometer data good alternative variables could not be created. But it is also possible to find interesting results using these criticized variables. Very clear differences between respondents from different countries have been found (see, e.g., Toivonen 2001).

There are also problems with other variables used in this study. For example political identity could be connected to socio-demographic factors such as income, education, and occupation. This problem of collinearity is of course common to all social researchers using these kind of variables.

Even though differences between different groups are sought, it must be remembered that tourism and touristic behaviour is a very complex phenomenon, which is sometimes difficult to study empirically. Tourism has been part of the modern – or postmodern – life for a long time. The data used here create possibilities to find differences between respondents from different countries. The number of cases is also large enough to make some kind of generalizations. Nevertheless, going further and deeper into tourists' motives and profiles of sustainable touristic behaviour requires more detailed data with variables indicating attitudes and values. One must remember that not only people's level of income or education, but also people's cultural attitudes, are important indicators of tourism (Parrinello 1996).

### Method and Analysis

The data were analysed by employing the SPSS 10.1 computer program. Cross-tabulations were executed first to clarify structures of the sample. Later the significances of the independent variables were tested by using logistic regression analysis. Results are presented in tables where the odds ratios indicate the level and the direction of the dependence. Odds ratio is a probability to belong to a certain group divided by a probability not to belong to a group. It is simply an indicator of a difference between a certain group and a reference group. In binary logistics one of the classes of the independent variables must be set as a reference class. The significant level is set to 95 percent, which means that the hypothesis of the independence is rejected when the p value indicating the t-test coefficient is below 0.05, though in some cases variables have been taken into analysis even though the ratio was over the stated level.

Before going further it must be said that there were some differences between the persons having made a trip and the persons having not. The significance levels of the

differences between average values in both categories were tested using the ANOVA analysis. All the differences were significant (see Table 1). From now on the study will concentrate mainly only on those respondents who had made a trip abroad.<sup>12</sup>

**Table 1. Comparisons Between those Having Made a Trip and those Having not (ANOVA)**

Variable:	Trip (n=4,221)	No trip (n=11,965)	Sig.*
Politics	5.1	5.0	0.000
Age	2.3	2.5	0.000
Income	2.9	2.4	0.000

\* Significance

### Cross-tabulations

There were remarkably great differences between average values of the income quartiles<sup>13</sup>. The average<sup>14</sup> income level of all the 15 countries was 2.8, which means that those who had made a trip abroad belonged more often to higher income groups than lower ones. Denmark holds the smallest average, 2.6. Averages of Germany, Italy, Ireland, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Sweden and Belgium were also below the average of all countries. From respondents having made a trip, the highest levels of income were found in Portugal (3.3) and Spain (3.1) (see Table 2). In these countries, tourists tend to belong to higher income quartiles (compare to Toivonen 2001).

**Table 2. Means of the Variable Income by Country of Residence**

Country of residence	Mean	N
Portugal	3.32	30
Denmark	2.56	107
Germany	2.79	1,433
Greece	2.93	18
Italy	2.75	389
Spain	3.13	112
France	2.89	362
Ireland	2.68	48
UK	2.90	895
Luxembourg	2.59	10
The Netherlands	2.69	336
Austria	2.87	109
Finland	2.83	51
Sweden	2.69	152
Belgium	2.66	170
<b>Total</b>	<b>2.81</b>	<b>4,221</b>

As examined earlier, respondents were asked about their identity in the political arena. As expected, the average of all the countries was near the centre (5.1). In fact the distribution was a little bit skewed to the left. Ireland (5.5) and Nordic countries, Finland (6.0), Denmark (5.8) and Sweden (5.7) were the only country where the average was above the theoretical average 5.5. The countries most far to the left were Spain (4.7), Greece (4.8), Austria (4.8) and France (4.9) (see Table 3). The difference between those having made a trip and those having not was biggest in Greece, where the average of those having not made a trip were 5.5, and Sweden (5.2).

**Table 3. Means of the Variable Politics by Country of Residence**

Country of residence	Mean	N
Portugal	5.37	24
Denmark	5.79	100
Germany	5.03	1,155
Greece	4.76	15
Italy	5.04	306
Spain	4.70	93
France	4.86	324
Ireland	5.54	39
UK	5.09	844
Luxembourg	5.37	7
The Netherlands	5.11	315
Austria	4.83	93
Finland	5.97	46
Sweden	5.74	144
Belgium	5.23	160
<b>Total</b>	<b>5.10</b>	<b>3,666</b>

Of all respondents 28% (n=3,664) stated quality of the environment to be an important criterion when choosing a holiday destination. The percentual proportion of them was biggest in political group 4 when the variable was scaled from 1 to 10 (34%). The proportion was smallest in the group 10 (13%). Of those respondents being on the Left (groups 1-4, n=1,330) 30% chose environment, whereas 22% of those being on the right (groups 7-10, n=878) chose environment. Thus, as expected, it seems that people who place themselves to the left tend to consider environment to be an important criterion more often than people on the right. (Table 4)

**Table 4. Politics (1-10)—Quality of the Environment: Cross-tabulation**

Politics	-(No)	%	+ (Yes)	%	Total
1	83	73	31	27	114
2	175	75	59	25	234
3	316	73	115	27	431
4	364	66	187	34	551
5	660	72	253	28	913
6	377	69	166	31	543
7	320	76	102	24	422
8	253	80	65	20	318
9	67	74	24	26	91
10	41	87	6	13	47
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,656</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>1,008</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>3,664</b>

There were also some differences between the age groups: 33% of respondents aged 45—64 chose environment when percentages of other groups varied from 23 to 27. Respondents over 65 years and from 15—24 years were the least eager to vote for the environment as an important criterion (see Table 5). The outcome from the cross-tabulation was quite surprising, as young respondents were expected to have most frequently chosen the environment from the group of criteria. Instead the group 45—64 stands out clearly, which was also expected. Differences between income groups were quite small: 30% of respondents from the highest quartile chose environment when percentages of other groups were around 25.

It is quite reasonable to expect some kind of differences to exist between countries when the propensity to choose environment as an important criterion is examined, although stating a clear hypothesis is difficult. When the differences between countries are evaluated, the fact that there are connections between some independent variables

**Table 5. Age Group—Quality of the Environment: Cross-tabulation**

Age group	-(No)	%	+ (Yes)	%	Total
15-24	647	77	195	23	842
25-44	1,211	73	452	27	1,663
45-64	901	67	435	33	1,336
65 & above	291	77	89	23	380
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,050</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>1,171</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>4,221</b>

must be remembered. As stated earlier, in some countries tourism seems to be something that residents from the higher income groups do. As we see in Table 6, Italy differs clearly from other countries. Also, respondents from Germany, Greece, France, Austria and Finland chose environment more than the average, which was 28%. At the other end, Ireland and the Netherlands stand out clearly.

**Table 6. Country of Residence—Quality of the Environment: Cross-tabulation**

Country of Residence	- (No)	%	+ (Yes)	%	Total
Portugal	24	80 %	6	20 %	30
Denmark	88	83 %	18	17 %	106
Germany	933	65 %	500	35 %	1,433
Greece	12	71 %	5	29 %	17
Italy	232	60 %	157	40 %	389
Spain	92	82 %	20	18 %	112
France	251	70 %	110	30 %	361
Ireland	43	90 %	5	10 %	48
UK	699	78 %	196	22 %	895
Luxembourg	8	80 %	2	20 %	10
The Netherlands	299	89 %	37	11 %	336
Austria	78	72 %	31	28 %	109
Finland	36	71 %	15	29 %	51
Sweden	121	80 %	31	20 %	152
Belgium	133	78 %	37	22 %	170
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,049</b>	<b>72 %</b>	<b>1,170</b>	<b>28 %</b>	<b>4,219</b>

All the variables used in this study were categorical, though age, income and politics could also be treated as continuous. To maximize the size of the sample, missing cases of the variables 'politics' and 'income' were inputted to the centre group (politics) and for income, the new group was created.<sup>15</sup> All the independent variables except sex and income were relevant according to the chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) test. In addition to clearly relevant variables (sig. <0.05), variables with significant level less than 0.1 are examined because there is a great possibility that there is also some kind of relevance in these explanatory variables. As Mäkelä (1991) states, these very widely used levels indicating whether a variable is significant or not are not based on any scientific fact. It must be remembered that relevancy here means that the given variable is connected to the dependent variable, so that the difference between different

groups is significant. Of course, it could be said that all the variables are certainly somehow relevant when considering people's behaviour.

Cross-tabulations could give some vision of the relations between the variables. To control the impact of the other variables than the one that is examined, some multivariate analysis needs to be performed. The estimated model is:

*Environment (sex, education, socio-economic group, age, income, country, politics)*

#### *Background variables*

The hypothesis stated earlier was that people with more education would choose the environment as a criterion to choose a destination more often comparing to those with less education. Here (Table 7) the reference group is "still studying". The only variable that differs almost significantly (0.057) from the reference group is group 4, "age over 20 when full-time education was stopped". The odds-ratio was 1.5. The result is congruent to what was expected. Respondents who were over 20 years old when they stopped their education, created the only group that differed from the reference group, students, which as mentioned earlier, is very heterogeneous and thus quite problematic.

The reference socio-economic group was group 7 (retired). There were no significant groups, although according to Wald's statistics the significance of group 3 was quite near to the critical level (odds = 0.066). So according to these data, respondents belonging to the group "other white collars" seem to be less interested in the environment when choosing the destination (odds=0.7).

Of the four age groups, the probability to belong to the group of respondents who had chosen environment as a criterion according to the cross-tabulations was highest in the age group 45—64. The regression supports this finding that the group was the only significant one. The odds ratio of the group was 1.5. The reference group was respondents aged 65 or more years. The variable indicating income was not significant. In the cross-tabulations the age group 15—24 was least eager to choose environment. In regression this group was not found to be significant.

#### *Country of residence*

According to the significance levels, the most relevant countries were the Netherlands, Italy and Ireland. The significance levels of Spain and Denmark was quite near to the critical value so it is possible not to expect some any



Table 7. Logistic Regression

Quality of the environment		
	Odds:	Sig. (Wald)
Female	1.031	0.688
Male	—	Ref
Up to 15 years	1.003	0.988
16-19 years	1.391	0.119
20- years	1.515	0.057
Still studying	—	Ref
Self employed	0.833	0.298
Managers	0.977	0.887
White collars	0.728	0.066
Manual workers	1.065	0.690
House person	1.335	0.106
Unemployed	0.982	0.936
Retired	—	Ref
Students	—	—
15—24 years	0.970	0.883
25—44 years	1.073	0.702
45—64 years	1.499	0.015
65+ years	—	Ref
Income: 1 quartile	0.869	0.313
Income: 2 quartile	0.814	0.076
Income: 3 quartile	1.060	0.225
Income: 4 quartile	0.880	Ref
Income (missing)	—	0.555
Portugal	0.952	0.391
Denmark	0.810	0.076
Germany	2.000	0.178
Greece	1.764	0.758
Italy	2.778	0.009
Spain	0.820	0.074
France	1.733	0.523
Ireland	0.425	0.015
UK	1.020	0.107
Luxembourg	0.978	0.604
Netherlands	0.464	0.000
Austria	1.481	0.172
Finland	1.706	0.708
Sweden	1.058	0.259
Belgium	1.031	Ref
Politics Left	1.192	0.000
Politics Centre	1.130	0.001
Politics Right	—	Ref

Valid cases: 4,221

The pseudo R-square (Nagelkerke): 0.083

Variable sex: sig. 0.688

Variable income: sig. 0.149

Other variables: sig. &lt;0.01

kind of relevance to exist. The reference group here was Belgium that according to cross-tabulations was very near to the average.

Respondents from Italy seem to be most interested in the environment when considering the criteria for choosing a destination. The odds ratio of respondents from Italy was 2.8, which means that the probability of them to choose environment as a criterion was 180% higher than respondents from Belgium. Odds ratios of respondents from Germany and France were also high: 2.0 and 1.7, through the significance levels were not close enough to the critical level, 0.05. The difference between the reference country (Belgium) and the Netherlands was also remarkably significant. Respondents from the Netherlands were less eager to choose a quality of the environment as a criterion. The odds ratio was 0.5. The odds ratio of the respondents from Ireland was 0.4.

#### Political identity

The variable indicating political identities was highly significant (sig. <0.001) and the result was as expected. Comparing to those on the Right, respondents who identified themselves to be on the Left were more likely to belong to the group of respondents who had considered the environment as an important criterion. The odds ratio was 1.2. Reference group here was 'the Right'. Also the group 'centre' differed clearly from the reference group though the odds ratio of the group 'Left' was a little bit higher.

#### Conclusion

Because the differences that were found to exist between countries were not systematic, it is difficult to find explanations for these differences using these data. Thus the impact of the country of residence to the propensity to choose environment as a criterion remains unexplained. Using these data and method we are not able to say that the country of residence as such would have influence on the criteria for choosing a destination. In general, countries could be classified by many different ways for example by using the regimes (see Esping-Andersen 1990, 1999).

In this study no decent classification could be built. In the background of the differences that were found in this study could be lie some latent social, political, and cultural phenomena which are not measured in the data and which are difficult to measure using statistics. There could also be some technical differences, for example, in the techniques on how the interviews were done, though surveys should be comparable in every country (compare to Haller 2002).

However, more detailed examination would require more detailed data.

As a background work for this study the Eurobarometer 25 (Rabier *et al.* 1999) data from 1985 were also examined, though further results are not presented here. In this earlier data the question considering criteria for choosing a holiday destination was slightly different: "what are the things which in your opinion are the most attractive points when choosing somewhere to go on holiday?" For this study the interesting one of the eight alternatives was "unspoiled nature". Results are not fully comparable with the results presented earlier. In addition to differences mentioned above, the variable indicating political identity and the countries Austria, Finland, Sweden and former DDR were absent. Anyway some interesting findings could be presented here. As in 1997, in 1985 Italians were most eager to choose environment as a criterion. According to both data, over 40% of Italian respondents chose environment. The greatest change occurred in the Netherlands where the share of respondents having chosen the environment has fallen from 45% in 1985 to 11% in 1997.

A dynamic element was created by using the combined data. A dummy-variable was created to indicate the significance of the data. The significances were tested by using the logistic regression. The data-variable indicating the source data was significant, though the direction of the correlation was not what probably could have been expected: in 1985 the environment seems to have been a more important criterion than in 1997. One reason could be difference between questions asked in Eurobarometer 25 and Eurobarometer 48. In the survey made in 1985 there were only eight alternatives to choose from when in 1997 there were 18 of them. Thus it is not possible to make direct comparisons.

According to the results presented in this study it seems that the political identity is related to the way on how person chooses a holiday destination. This result strengthens the theory of postmaterialists: Those on the Left tend to be more environmentally friendly (among other postmaterial values) than those on the Right. However, there are some problems when stating this kind of conclusion: the question asked in the survey was about the criteria and conclusions about environmental friendliness could be issued only indirectly.

To conclude, more detailed examination of the postmaterial issues and tourism would require more detailed data. Any decent variables indicating attitudes towards the environment or issues on sustainability could not be found from the Eurobarometer data. So it could not

be said how good an indicator the criteria for choosing a destination is when one aim of the examination is to find more information on environmentally friendly tourism. But from the literature it could be found that the political attitudes and environmental attitudes are connected with each other in the same way that political attitudes and criteria for choosing a destination are in this study. Despite these shortages, this study shows that there surely are some structures behind people's behaviour when choosing a holiday destination.

#### Endnotes

- 1 Quotations are from the original questionnaire.
- 2 In the Eurobarometer survey the question was about "quality of the environment", not about sustainability. Because of that, in some cases respondents may have considered environment as a criterion only because it is important for them that there is not much litter etc. in the destination.
- 3 Inglehart's ideas have also faced some criticism, see e.g. Haller (2002).
- 4 In Finland, small town was an urban settlement with 10,000 to 30,000 inhabitants.
- 5 In the study of Konttinen and Peltokoski (2000), respondents could choose from 7 different classes indicating their political view: the classes 1-3 on the Left held 79% of the respondents whilst classes 5-7 on the Right only 3 %.
- 6 Vegans do not use animal based products whilst concept of vegetarians could be understood in several ways, the denial of eating meat being common to them all.
- 7 Except 2,062 in Germany (former DDR and West Germany together), 620 in Luxembourg and 1,375 (of which 311 indicates Northern Ireland) in UK.
- 8 NUTS: Basic regions as defined by the EUROSTAT (nomenclature of territorial units for statistics). Further information on NUTS and on weights are found on:  
[http://www.gesis.org/en/data\\_service/eurobarometer/standard\\_eb/ebweight.htm](http://www.gesis.org/en/data_service/eurobarometer/standard_eb/ebweight.htm)
- 9 Frequencies were: Greece n=18, Luxembourg n=10 and Portugal n=30. Also frequencies of Ireland (n=48) and Finland (n=51) became quite small.
- 10 Of course there are exceptions which are to be found particularly among some religious groups.
- 11 In this study the variable "sex" was named after the expression used in the original questionnaire. The word sex that could be used to refer biological sex, to cultural gender and sexuality, contains a series of complicated questions.

- To try to prevent the problem the word "gender" could be used to refer to cultural and social phenomena (see Thorne and Luria 2002).
- 12 Toivonen (2001, 2002) has made further analysis and comparisons between countries.
- 13 Thus income level was coded in quartiles, it was possible to
- examine the average values. Missing cases were coded to their own group (2.5).
- 14 Average of the quartiles. Theoretical average was thus 2.5.
- 15 In this study respondents who identified themselves in the centre-group are not examined. Thus it was possible to create a biased centre-group to maximize the amount of respondents in the analysis.

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## PAPER 2

Mustonen, P. (2005) Volunteer Tourism – Postmodern Pilgrimage?  
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# Volunteer Tourism: Postmodern Pilgrimage?

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Volunteer tourism is very close to modern backpacking tourism but when the motive basis is concerned, it can be considered a clearly separate form of tourism. Thus new viewpoints must be utilised. In this study the discussion was expanded towards premodern tourism and postmodern theories were utilised. To strengthen the theoretical ideas, two example destinations in Indian Himalayas were selected. The rise of so-called alternative tourism is one aspect of postmodernity in tourism. Volunteer tourism belongs to the group but it also differs remarkably from the other members. These differences are connected here with traditional pilgrimage, which represents probably the oldest type of tourism. While pilgrims are searching for enlightenment by conducting pilgrimages to particular sites, volunteer tourists follow their altruistic motives and reach their aspiration level in sacred liminoid. Altruistic tourism will most likely grow in the future. In addition to this, traditional pilgrimage has also been changing. Contemporary pilgrimages include behaviour which has traditionally been typical to conventional tourism. Thus the convergence of traditional pilgrimage towards leisure tourism and the birth of volunteer tourism represents the blend of premodern and postmodern – a trend which was started by the help of modernity but finally occurred in postmodernity.

**Keywords:** India, postmodern, volunteer tourism, pilgrimage, liminality

## Introduction

Volunteer tourism has become a very salient part of contemporary tourism, especially where the somewhat clichéd idea of sustainable development is concerned. Despite this, there are still only a few studies trying to theoretically interpret the altruistic basis of volunteer tourism.

In this paper, it is briefly discussed whether postmodern ideas connected to tourism can be valid in the case of volunteer tourism. The fundamental aim of this study is to find continuity from premodern to postmodern times through modernity using pilgrimage as a reference idea. This continuity and affiliation of these two different types of tourism can be found by utilising theories of liminality in tourism (see Graburn, 1989, 2001; Selänniemi, 1996, 2001; Turner & Turner, 1978).

In this paper, the discussion of both volunteer tourism and pilgrimage is restricted to concern only India. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that these types of tourism also occur in other parts of the world (see Ilola, 1994; Uriely & Reichel, 2000).

Another aim of this study is to open discussion on the importance of more extensive research on volunteer tourism as a separate type of contemporary

tourism. From the theoretical discussion presented in this study, many possible approaches for future studies can be found.

This study is mainly based on theoretical argumentation. Volunteer tourists are here considered a kind of backpacker who, from a postmodern point of view want to differentiate themselves from conventional backpackers, and who finally end up being postmodern pilgrims. To strengthen this theory, two volunteer tourism projects in India, the Ananda project in Himachal Pradesh and Rural Organization for Social Elevation (ROSE) in Uttarakhand were chosen as examples (Ananda and ROSE hereafter). Field trips to these two places occurred in 2002 (ROSE) and 2004 (Ananda and ROSE).

Methods used in the field consisted of unstructured interviews, discussions, participant observations and notes made during field studies, and during the time spent in the premises of Himachal Pradesh University, Institute of Vocational Studies.<sup>1</sup>

According to Bernand (1988: 150) participant observation is not a method but rather a strategy that facilitates data collection in the field. In the case of this study, the researcher was a member of the communities, although the role of a researcher was clearly indicated. When observing one's own culture, the role of researcher might be problematic (see Bernand, 1988: 163; Lüders, 2004: 225). However, the volunteer tourists in Ananda and ROSE lived apart from the author so that there was no danger of drifting into the group. Thus it was relatively easy to retain the status of a researcher and be an outsider in the community.

Volunteer tourism is a very unstructured and fragmented form of tourism. It has been discussed in the literature only recently (e.g. McGehee & Santos, 2005; Singh & Singh, 2004; Stebbins, 2004). In addition to this, there is a lack of reliable data on the topic. Collecting statistical information and conducting surveys on the topic would be difficult if not impossible. There are only a few volunteers, if any, in the destinations at a certain time. Even though it would be possible to make enquiries beforehand, volunteer tourists according to the observations in the example destinations, quite often behave like backpackers; they travel without plans and change them if they ever had any (e.g. Ryan *et al.*, 2003). Tourists may, in principle, arrive at their destinations by accident.

In addition to this, volunteer tourism by its nature (and especially in the example destination) is very small-scale. One way to get general information about motives or demographics of tourists would be to collect information by e-mail or letters. This might be possible in future studies on the subject.

In general, mostly due to the unorganised nature of volunteer tourism, finding information about future tourists is difficult. However, this situation is slowly improving due to more widespread knowledge and adoption of information technology in even the smallest projects. For example the ROSE website has been developed just recently (ROSE Website, 2005).

Partly due to these problems presented above, the aim of the field studies was to increase knowledge on the nature of the phenomenon and strengthen ideas derived from the more general theories of tourism. Conducting further field studies was not possible due to economic reasons and restricted time. However, the field studies and theoretical analysis showed that further empirical examinations of volunteer tourism, and also pilgrimage, should be conducted to deepen existing knowledge on the topic.



In the discussion later it is argued that volunteers resemble backpackers in many ways. However, there are characteristics which do not fit into the picture of modern tourism. Hence because the purpose of this study is to search for new insights and explanations, there is a need to absorb new viewpoints. Traditionally used theories must be challenged. In this study, this is done by theorising volunteer tourism through the idea that postmodernity might be a dimension where different types of tourism collide and transform into new types.

Information regarding phenomena which differ from conventional theory cannot be gained by staying outside. Researchers must seek more in-depth knowledge by getting to know the essential cultural and historical facts of the subject (e.g. Mohanty, 1999: 40). An example of this approach can be found from the critique of western feminist research, which points out that 'third world women' should not be examined from western point of view (Mohanty, 1999; Spivak, 1987). As well as these women, volunteer tourists also represent a wide set of characteristics. This multidimensionality is a great challenge for research.

Tourists, especially volunteers and pilgrims want to encounter the 'other'. This is a concept which postmodern theorists often leave unexplained (Rantonen, 2000: 208). Postmodernism is surely a western-based concept (see Williams & Childs, 1997: 203) and thus when postmodern theories are utilised and deeper insights of new phenomena are researched, new approaches must be adopted (cf Mohanty, 1999: 230). The motives of modern tourists differ remarkably from the motives of altruistic 'postmodern' tourists. If features of the phenomenon of volunteer tourism are to be explained, a eurocentric point of view must be at least recognised (see Williams & Childs, 1997: 75).

Nevertheless, challenging existing theories does not mean that they should be abandoned. In this study, volunteer tourism is considered as a western-based pilgrimage and as a part of western tourism. This is the reason why, in addition to adopting new insights, the general discussion concerning western tourism cannot be totally forgotten. The most fundamental reason why new approaches must be adopted is the intention to understand volunteerism, which, as will be presented later, resembles traditional pilgrimage. Furthermore, the example destinations of this study are situated in Indian Himalayas and this is the 'other' which tourists confront. Thus, as well as tourists, researchers must also recognise the different dimensions of not only touristic behaviour, but also of destinations (cf Mohanty, 1999: 232–237).

In the first part of this study, the notion of volunteer tourism is discussed using experiences and observations from the field as examples. This is followed by an analysis of volunteer tourism from a postmodern point of view. Through the brief discussion on pilgrims, volunteer tourism and pilgrimage are theoretically connected utilising the framework of liminality.

### **The Ananda Project and ROSE**

Both Ananda and ROSE are situated in the remote Indian Himalayas. Information on the projects can be found via different websites concerning volunteerism.<sup>2</sup> Both projects also have their own websites where further information as well as contact information can be found. In addition to different

organisations and these websites, information spreads via word of mouth. Tourists may find their way to the projects even if they originally did not intend to visit them. The demographic structure of the tourists is visibly similar to conventional backpackers in India. They come from different western countries and are mainly 20–30 years old.

There are a few remarkable differences between the two projects. First of all, Ananda was originally co-founded by a non-Indian person, whilst ROSE was founded by a local. Ananda is also a much younger project. In addition to these, Ananda is situated in the Kullu Valley, which is a very popular area among backpackers. The town of Manali, not far from Ananda, is full of backpackers, especially during the summer. ROSE however, is far from backpacker hubs, but like Ananda, close to some areas popular among mountaineers and hikers. This might be a reason why the motivation of the tourists in these two projects is somewhat different. Visitors to ROSE seem to represent more likely genuine altruistically motivated volunteers. However, the verification of this hypothesis would require more detailed data and more extensive fieldwork.

Tourism in the case of both example projects is relatively unstructured. Tourists come and go and spend their time in the destinations according to their own will. The roles represented by tourists change from altruistic volunteer to conventional backpacker. By utilising discussions and observations made in these two destinations and during the field trips outside the destinations, it is possible to formulate hypotheses that the image of volunteer tourism can be quite similar to other destinations in India and even in other countries. However, differences connected to the particular place can be easily found even when Ananda and ROSE are concerned.

### **The Ananda Project, Himachal Pradesh, India**

The Ananda Project, founded in 1999, operates in the area around the nearly 4000-year-old Krishna temple near the village of Naggar, which is situated in the northern part of the Kullu Valley, Himachal Pradesh, India. The purpose of the project is to 'help local communities regain their self-reliance and return to a sustainable way of life' and the main focus is to 'introduce cultivation techniques at the community level in order to help the villagers generate a sustainable source of income and to conserve endangered species of medicinal plants being overharvested from the wild' (The Ananda Project Website, 2004).

Tourists, who come to Naggar to volunteer, help villagers as much as they want in various tasks. These include taking care of vegetables, tree seedlings and plants. Depending on the season this means watering, weeding and collecting seeds. Also help in the office is needed. The price that tourists are supposed to pay includes accommodation in the guesthouse, two simple meals in the temple area and shower facilities.

Because the project is situated in the sacred temple area, tourists are expected to behave respectfully. Rules are somewhat strict and tourists are, for example, not able to enter the temple or the kitchen where the food is prepared. Thus it is not possible to help in the kitchen, which is something that many tourists would like to do. The local family, who owns the office and the guesthouse where the tourists stay, eat their meals inside their home, which is located

inside the temple area. Tourists are not able to mingle with them. For the tourists this is not usually a problem. They enjoy sitting in the terrace of the temple and gazing at the valley below. Many tourists also cook their own meals using the kitchen located in the guesthouse near the temple.

The field study was conducted during author's stay in the project in April 2004. All the information presented in this article, if not otherwise cited, is based on observations and discussions with the personnel of the project and the tourists.

### **Rural Organization for Social Elevation, Uttaranchal, India**

The Rural Organization for Social Elevation (ROSE), was founded by Mr Jeevan Lal Varma in 1983 under the name of Kurmanchal Seva Sansthan (KSS). The headquarters of the organisation is in the village of Sonargaon, Kanda Valley, Uttaranchal, India. The main aim of the organisation is to uplift the plight of the rural poor by means of education and social awareness. With the help of visitors the organisation initiates projects for local people. These may include housing projects, running schools for children of the poorest families, latrine and path building, and organic farming. Visitors may help ROSE to maintain and initiate projects by assigning donations. They may also contribute by teaching and helping in the field, in the kitchen and wherever additional help is needed (ROSE Website, 2005).

Field studies were conducted during author's stay in the project in October 2002 and May 2004. All the information presented here, if not otherwise cited, is based on observations and discussions with Mr Jeevan Lal Varma, the rest of the family, the relatives of the family, the people of the village, the tourists and Professors Tej Vir Singh and Shalini Singh from the Centre for Tourism Research and Development, Lucknow.<sup>3</sup>

### **Volunteer Tourism**

A volunteer tourist, using the most widely used definition (Wearing, 2001: 1; see also Wearing, 2003: 4) is someone 'who for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve the aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments, or research into aspects of society or environment'. Volunteer tourism can be considered one of the most noble ways to travel, and as a form of tourism which will meet the strict standards and numerous dimensions of sustainability (cf Uriely *et al.*, 2003; Wearing, 2001) and will even be a catalyst for peace (Brown & Morrison, 2003: 74).

Even if the discussion on volunteer tourism here and elsewhere usually concentrates on tourists who volunteer while travelling, it must not be forgotten that there are a huge number of people in the host destinations who work voluntarily for tourism and just like volunteer tourists, share a combination of altruistic and leisure related motives (Uriely *et al.*, 2003: 59–61).

Although volunteer tourism holds a great potential for research, it has not been among the main interests of scholars. However, there are various studies, which at least indirectly mention volunteering as a part of touristic action (e.g. Drumm, 1998; McMillon, 1993; Wall & Long, 1996). One of the

earliest contributions must be DeKadt's (1979) classic essay, 'Tourism – Passport to Development'. Most of the studies made on the subject refer to Wearing (Wearing, 2001; Wearing & Neil, 1997). The most recent contributions on volunteer tourism are *Volunteering as Leisure/Leisure as Volunteering: An International Assessment* edited by Stebbins (2004) and articles 'Volunteer Tourism: New Pilgrimages to the Himalayas' by Singh and Singh (2004) and 'Social Change, Discourse and Volunteer Tourism' by McGehee and Santos (2005).

According to Brown and Morrison (2003: 77), emergence of volunteer tourism is the result of increased recognition of the negative impacts of mass tourism. Every form of tourism can be considered a commodity in some sense, but alternative forms of tourism, to which group volunteer tourism has been linked (Lilach *et al.*, 2003; Wearing, 2001) can be regarded a protest against the commoditisation of tourism in general. Nevertheless, most of the studies which discuss new forms of tourism as alternatives to mass tourism do not offer wider philosophical discussion on the topic and actually never even define mass tourism. As Ryan *et al.* mention (2003: 93–98), Cohen's (1995) observations of the mass tourist 'bubble' can be, to some extent, connected to backpackers (see also Mustonen, 2003; Scheyvens, 2002; Wearing *et al.*, 2002). This must be recognised when volunteer tourism, which holds several characteristics very similar to backpacking tourism (cf Ryan *et al.*, 2003), is concerned.

Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that behaviour and roles can and do change during travel, and in the role of volunteers, tourists make a real step away from conventional tourism. In the example destinations, volunteers most likely follow their intrinsic altruistic motives, no matter how they behave outside the volunteering period. The roles of tourist are prone to fluctuate between conventional and altruistic tourists. In the theoretical discussion presented in this study the main focus is on *genuine* or *intentional* volunteer tourists, who differ from other tourists when the motivation basis is concerned. For them, the main motivation is linked with an altruistic desire to volunteer. This keeps volunteer tourism apart from other types of alternative tourism (cf McGehee, 2002). These motives are obviously linked to the factors influencing tourists to include volunteering on their travels. These consist of *internal* factors, which are derived from person's values and history and somehow echo person's self-identity (see Allardt & Littunen, 1975; Berger & Luckmann, 1998).

Volunteer tourism usually includes normal touristic behaviour as well, it is, for example, a very social phenomenon. In Ananda and ROSE, tourists spend a lot of time together and share experiences. Volunteers seem to share the same kind of values and this is one reason why the social aspect of this kind of tourism can become easily very important. Like backpackers, on whom a lot of research has been carried out, they want to socialise both with fellow tourists and hosts (Lyons, 2003: 6; Ryan *et al.*, 2003).

To conclude, altruistic internal motives are the most important factors creating differences between volunteer tourism and other more conventional forms of tourism. From this point of view, volunteer tourism can be regarded a clearly separate phenomenon which most likely will gain more importance in the future, regardless of the general commoditisation of tourism. Nevertheless, like tourism in general, volunteer tourism can also be motivated by *external*

factors. A host community may, for example, find solutions to their shortage of workforce from foreign tourism and this might lead to situation where tourists are actually treated as inexpensive workers rather than tourists (Lilach *et al.*, 2003: 18).

### **Volunteer Tourism and Postmodernity**

In discussions on postmodern society, the 'definition' of Lyotard is almost always mentioned. He claims that incredulity towards metanarratives, which refer to religious, political and scientific explanations of the world, is characteristic of the postindustrial world (Lyotard, 1985). This has led to increasing insecurity due to a legitimacy crisis. Modernity breaks down the basis of the institutions and structures of industrial society.

In general, postmodernism is something which does not fit easily into older paradigms of society (Best & Kellner, 1997: 21–23). Theories and discussions are connected to the fact that modern ways of life have changed and this has created a need for new general rules (e.g. Bauman, 1996: 191–215, 1997). In the case of tourism this means, for example, that new forms of tourism have been born and they might replace or at least change existing forms and even fundamental structures of tourism. The emergence of a new motivation basis behind tourism is one part of this process.

Although the postmodern debate can often be described as fruitless, some theories and ideas are worth considering when a picture of contemporary tourism is built. Postmodern tourism can be considered a melting pot where premodern and modern types of tourism form into new ones. This is clearly visible in volunteer tourism, which is very close to conventional backpacking tourism and therefore even mass tourism, but also at least theoretically very close to traditional pilgrimage.

Mowforth and Munt (1998: 53) describe changes in tourism in several different levels. First, the Fordist production model has turned into the post-Fordist model. Second, modern has changed to postmodern. Third, from readily packaged tourism the change has been towards individual and flexible tourism. And in addition to these, as social, cultural and ecological responsibility has become more and more the focus of discussion, sustainable tourism is now an increasingly important topic (cf Beck, 1995a: 20–21, 1995b: 244). Many of these changes presented by different authors are linked to Poon's (1993) idea of the New Tourist, who is said to be more flexible, more individual and more ecologically aware than the 'ordinary' mass tourist.

Uriely *et al.* (2003) state that there are two different ways to see postmodernity in tourism. The first dimension is simulational postmodernity, which refers to hyperreal experiences provided, for example, by theme parks (see Baudrillard, 1996; Featherstone, 1991; Lash & Urry, 1994). This dimension also includes Feifer's (1985; also Urry, 1990) idea of post-tourists who do not have to move physically to gaze on touristic sites. In the case of volunteer tourism, it can be assumed that in general the destinations where volunteers tend to travel have not been built only for tourists. Of course it is not known if the presence of tourists is always beneficial in host communities. And on the other hand, is the help of volunteers really needed?

The second dimension, presented by Uriely, is 'other' postmodern tourism, which in the case of volunteer tourism is more interesting than the simulational aspect. This 'other' dimension emphasises the growing appeal of concepts such as alternative, real, ecological and responsible tourism. Tourism, when connected to these concepts is seen as the opposite to conventional tourism (Barret, 1989; Munt, 1994; Poon, 1993; Uriely *et al.*, 2003; Urry, 1990).

In general, the idea of volunteering lies in the direct interactive experience between hosts and guests. This process should lead to value change and should also influence the lifestyles of both sides (Wearing, 2003: 3–4). Where India is concerned, value change and self-actualisation are in the centre of the matrix. Notes from the field pointed out that not only the particular destinations studied here, but also India in general played an important part in tourists' experiences. Many tourists seek inner peace through Indian spirituality, which for example in Ananda and ROSE is visible in the everyday practices of the members of the communities. Among the tourists intentional and visible seeking of spirituality is emphasised. Whilst local people do not necessarily consider their normal behaviour religious or spiritual, many tourists meditate and practise yoga and other exercises, and they regularly speak about spiritual issues. Observations from the field bear witness to this and it is very noticeable that, for example, by emphasising spiritual issues, volunteers want to be alternative and different tourists in a real sense (cf Munt, 1994). In the role of backpackers (a role in which most of the tourists visiting Ananda or ROSE fit easily) they try to get rid of the burden of mass tourism and in the role of volunteers they differentiate themselves from conventional backpackers, to which they will transform after their volunteering session is completed.

In general, the public discourse around backpacking in India almost demands tourists to seek some kind of spiritual experience. India seems to be a place where people are expected to search for themselves or something authentic which cannot be found from the west. As Spivak (1996: 203–204) puts it, this is the quest and nostalgia for lost origins. Nevertheless, further discussion on searching for authenticity and on different characteristics of backpackers who volunteer, and those who do not is beyond the scope this study. However, this aspect is worth studying in the future.

In addition to the rise of individualism, which has led to the birth of many new forms of tourism (sometimes occurring inside older conventional forms of tourism) de-differentiation is often mentioned when postmodern society is discussed (Lash & Urry, 1994; Uriely, 1997; Uriely *et al.*, 2003; Urry, 1990, 1995). Uriely *et al.* (2003: 58–59) present two dimensions of de-differentiation; horizontal and vertical. By horizontal de-differentiation they mean processes where conventional distinctions between different fields of social activity are gradually decreasing in contemporary culture. By vertical de-differentiation; they mean traditional distinctions between, for example, high and low culture. Now in postmodern society these differences in social activity, in addition to social structures, are said to be breaking down (Featherstone, 1991; Miles, 1998; Settle *et al.*, 1978; Toivonen, 1992, 1997; Urry, 1995).

Horizontal de-differentiation in tourism can simply mean that touristic practices can be found in various contexts of everyday life. Lash and Urry

(1994) even state that people are actually tourists most of the time, even when not taking vacation. According to Munt (1994) 'tourism is everything and everything is tourism'. Munt, to whom environmentalism is at the centre of the matrix of postmodern tourism, also refers to intellectualisation and professionalisation of tourism, from which ideas of environmentally sound behaviour can be found.

Because of de-differentiation, environmentally and socially conscious behaviour has spread to different fields of social life, tourism being a good example. From this point of view, volunteer tourism represents postmodernity and totally new approach to tourism. By interpreting Beck's (1995b: 239) visions on reflexive society, postmodern change may endanger the whole modern structure of tourism. Members of contemporary societies must face the side-effects of modernity. This forces conscious individuals to reflect on their own behaviour and thus face themselves. This, according to Beck, is an explanation for the increased knowledge of ecological issues (Beck, 1995a: 20–21, 1995b: 244; see also Bauman, 1993 on postmodern ethics).

Uriely *et al.* (2003) also find this connection between de-differentiation and volunteer tourism. They state that the domain of tourism by altruistic motivations and volunteer activity complies with the process of horizontal de-differentiation and this is the reason why volunteer tourism is one expression of postmodern tourism. This connection can be simplified with an example. Those people who volunteer often share the same altruistic values, even when not in the role of tourists.

The horizontal de-differentiation can be due to the volunteering experience. Discussions with the people in Ananda and ROSE bear witness to this idea. Some people, who might have volunteered unintentionally, may feel they have changed during the experience and thus possible new values and ways of thinking follow them home.

If tourist typologies and classifications are to be made, volunteers may belong to the group of volunteer tourists, backpackers or even both. Volunteer tourism in the example destinations, in addition to being a clearly separate form of tourism, lies in the blurred area somewhere between modern backpacker tourism and traditional pilgrimage. It is difficult to say who actually is a genuine volunteer and who is not. For example, in the case of the Ananda Project, numerous people come to visit the project with volunteering on their mind, but finally forget their altruistic motives and end up smoking marijuana (*Cannabis sativa*), which grows naturally everywhere. According to the founder of the project, Ben Heron, this is a big problem whilst at the same time a lot of help would be needed. Regardless of the fact that narcotics might change tourists' behaviour, here the conflict between the interests of the volunteers and hosts is evident. In the case of ROSE, these kinds of problems are scarce. Instead, tourists seem to come and stay in the project because of the possibility to volunteer. Compared to Ananda, they seem to be closer to the community and its everyday life. The majority of the tourists in ROSE travel to the Himalayas because they want to volunteer. One reason behind this observation might be the registration process. Unlike in Ananda, volunteers are asked to pay a fee before they arrive at the destination.

## **On Pilgrimage**

In this study, volunteer tourism as a subtype of western tourism, is contrasted with Indian pilgrimage. In this section, some essential aspects of pilgrimages are discussed.

Pilgrimage tourism in India and the Himalayas has very deep roots. Even though pilgrimage tourism is a very important part of social life in India, and besides that, a huge economic phenomenon, the scientific research into social features of this particular topic is almost totally absent. Indian pilgrimage sites are widely presented in the literature (see e.g. Singh, 2004 on Himalayan pilgrimages) but there is a great lack of knowledge on the social dimensions. One reason for this could be that research is considered unnecessary because pilgrimage as a part of Indian society is considered to be so obvious. However, the tradition of pilgrimage in India holds great potential for tourism and also for research. In general, tourism research in India has just recently emerged and hopefully example surveys revealing pilgrims' attitudes and values will be conducted in the near future. Rajandeep Singh (2000) has conducted two surveys on pilgrimages, which unfortunately date back to the 1960s. However, it is possible to draw some conclusions from these surveys and other literature.

In India structural factors do not seem to influence people's desire to conduct pilgrimages. Almost all the people go, or at least wish to go, on a pilgrimage. Depending on the social class or caste, destinations may be near or further afield. Pilgrimages are also more and more attached to holidays. According to Singh (2000), the elite prefer places which are better known through the religious literature. Motives of these pilgrims tend to be associated more with gaining religious merit and destinations are often further from home. These same people also spend more time travelling and combine their pilgrimage with holidaying.

Pilgrimage tourism by its volume can be compared to western mass tourism, which can be considered a phenomenon of people travelling by package tours for a week or two, usually to some warm and touristic place (see e.g. Selännemi, 1996). Like mass tourists, pilgrims also share some common motives, but also their motives do vary. Pilgrimage for some is surely a very deep, individual, even spiritual experience. But when asked, not all pilgrims will give articulate answers of purposes and motives. Nevertheless, if no specific motive can be imputed to the answers of pilgrims, their desire to visit sacred places must be understood on non-mundane grounds. Thus desire for identification with the sacred order is clearly one of the most important purposes of pilgrimage. The accumulation of merit and the removal of sin also belongs to the same group. However, verifying this by research is difficult, because collecting reliable data can be a problem. Pilgrims do not necessarily admit that they intend to achieve merit or remove sin by, for example, bathing in the sacred water. Thus, this purpose can be even more important than it is thought. Life-cycle purposes are somewhat connected to the motives linked with merit and status. These motives mean that some rituals or duties must be performed in order that one may be recognised as a member of some certain group, be it religious or social. Remarkably different



from these are problem-generated purposes, which are related with the economic and corporeal conditions of the pilgrim. There is nothing spiritual per se in these purposes, but behaviour may belong to the realm of religion because by acting in a certain way, the pilgrim shows their dependence on the non-mundane. The last set of motives is related to social motives and desires. Here, going on a pilgrimage may be something that is a part of some social value system of a certain group of people. In India the authority creating orders is religion and among the Hindus, usually a caste. For example in pilgrimage sites, people belonging to the lower castes may experience a sense of equity and equality, which in the profane world is denied to them. Pilgrimage environments are among the few places where distinction of castes temporarily melts away (Mishra, 2002; Morinis, 1992; Singh, 2000: 121–126; Singh, 2004: 56–57; Turner & Turner, 1978).

Like tourism in general, pilgrimage tourism is also largely motivated by either intrinsic or extrinsic rewards. When extrinsic motives dominate, people are performing activities for some specific goal independent on the activity itself. Intrinsically motivated people seek pleasure or values associated with the activity itself. For extrinsically motivated tourists, accomplishing some specific task and thus certain status is important. For intrinsically motivated tourists the action itself is important (see Ross, 1998: 18–19).

Where pilgrimages are concerned, religion is the dominating factor when the destination is chosen. On the other hand, tourists may perform pilgrimage even though the original motive would have been something else than related to the religion. Just like in the case of conventional tourism, the motive can be pure recreation. Thus the line between ordinary tourism and pure pilgrimage tourism is blurred.

### **Volunteer Tourism and Pilgrimage: Connections and Disconnections**

In general, the main reason why people conduct pilgrimages, and accordingly volunteer tours, is to associate with something great or holy for the purpose of knowing higher thought of life (e.g. Mishra, 2002). Motives are connected to people's desire to reach self-actualisation. The mechanism however may vary depending on the context.

The basis of traditional pilgrimage lies in old traditions and literature, and motives are created through the socialisation process. In the case of volunteer tourism the motives seem to be created mainly inside. Traditional pilgrims instead want to gain self-actualisation and merit following their own religious rules. Thus it can be stated that in some cases, the motive basis of truly altruistic volunteer tourism can be even deeper, and in a sense more personal than in the case of traditional pilgrimage.

According to Maslow's classic hierarchy of needs, needs associated with self-actualisation should not motivate behaviour until all the lower needs, namely physiological, safety, love and esteem are fulfilled (Maslow, 1970). In the case of pilgrimage tourism, Maslow's original idea of the hierarchical order of needs does not work because even the people belonging to the lowest classes of Indian society are potential pilgrims, and some even voluntarily give up the

visible signs of material welfare. So a person's behaviour can well be motivated by the higher steps of the pyramid, even though they do not necessarily possess opportunities to fulfil the lower needs. Of course it is possible to consider that the religious needs and duties belong to lower steps of Maslow's pyramid. Contrary to Maslow, Murray (1938, cited in Ross, 1998) believes that needs will change independently. Thus knowing the strength of one need will not explain anything about the strength of others. This fits well into examples of volunteer tourism where motives and needs may change during the trip.

In addition to the evident search for self-actualisation and even merit (see e.g. Lilach *et al.*, 2003), other sets of motives similar to pilgrimage can also be found behind volunteer tourism. Like pilgrims performing their tour, for example, to solve some existing problem like disease, volunteers may hold genuinely altruistic motives and travel to the destinations only because they somehow want to help the community concerned and want to improve the quality of life of the hosts. Both Ananda and ROSE are situated far from the transport hubs, and so travelling to these destinations is tiring, risky and takes a long time. For some people, travelling several hours along curvy mountain roads is over their limits. Thus it can be assumed that only tourists who are seriously motivated by other than purely touristic factors, travel to these destinations.

In addition to theoretical similarities presented above, volunteer tourism and pilgrimage can be theoretically connected by utilising the idea of the liminoid. According to Graburn (1989, 2001), tourists make a step into the liminoid when the transformation from everyday life (profane) to holiday (sacred) occurs. This shift resembles the process that pilgrims go through (see Turner & Turner, 1978) and as discussed earlier, might also concern backpacking tourism in general, especially when 'the east' is concerned.

Selänniemi (1996, 2001) states that this transformation happens slowly and tourists enter into the liminoid after psychic preparation, which occurs before the physical movement. Similarly after the holiday, tourists do not enter post-liminoid immediately (Selänniemi, 1996, 2001). In the liminoid, moral codes of everyday life are not valid, place and time lose their meaning and tourists' behaviour may differ significantly from their behaviour at home (Selänniemi, 1996: 194–200). In the case of all travelling, assumed transition from everyday life to the sacred liminoid is concrete – tourists must recognise that they are moving from one place to another. Psychically this transition can be unconscious to some extent. Tourists may feel that their life has been changed even though this was not their intention before the trip.

Selänniemi (1996, 2001) uses the notion of placelessness when describing the liminoid south where many destinations are somewhat similar. In the case of volunteer tourism, the notion of timelessness can be used. If the experience derived from the field studies can be generalised, the majority of volunteer tourists do not want to follow time or a calendar. This happens especially when volunteers outside their volunteering part of the trip adopt the role of backpackers. Often the tourist visa, which in India is issued for maximum of six months, is the only limit. For many tourists, the behaviour of the researcher, who in time wanted to use e-mail, a computer or even a mobile phone to write down notes, was far over the top. One informant was afraid of going home after staying six months in India. According to him, the experience has apparently

been so profound that returning home would be difficult if not impossible. It can be assumed that for him, returning from the sacred liminoid would be a longer process than, for example, for some tourist staying a week or two in the south. In his case, it is possible that this 'enlightenment' might have changed his motives and values towards tourism permanently.

However, the experience of volunteers remains rather superficial as they may leave the projects whenever they wish. Thus, the liminoid is not necessarily due to the projects and activity itself but rather due to placelessness and timelessness. These are born when tourists confront the 'other'. Tourists can, in principle and when general discourse is concerned, forget the worries and stress of everyday life. And even though they would possess opportunities and strong motives to help, they remain outsiders. When they leave the destinations, host communities must again cope with the everyday life alone.

In cases of intentional pilgrimage and volunteerism, tourists are trying to reach some imaginary stage of aspiration level. The aspiration level is pursued by travelling to the places where aims and motives could be met and where the altruistic expectations could be fulfilled. The final theoretical aspiration level is a feeling or a state of mind where nothing more can be done to fulfill the original purpose, be it a certain status or state of satisfaction. When the individual has reached the aspiration level, there is no need to conduct new pilgrimages. Theoretically this can never happen if motives and values of the individual are assumed to remain unchanged. Thus the return to the preliminoid state is evident after the trip (Selänniemi, 1996: 195). The result is a wavelike movement where preliminoid and postliminoid states occur alternately and the individual will soon start planning a new trip to reach the aspiration level in the liminoid once again. Here it must be mentioned that the preliminoid and postliminoid may differ remarkably from each other, because pilgrims or tourists may feel that their life has changed (cf Selänniemi, 1996).

Pilgrims in India can be seen as aiming at enlightenment, *Moksha* (e.g. Singh, 2004: 47). This aspiration level is something that in the first place can be found only theoretically, because it is impossible for other people to evaluate whether someone has attained enlightenment or not. As in the case of volunteer tourism, pilgrims even more clearly return to the profane state from the sacred state, to postliminoid from liminoid, because their experience is more strongly connected to the particular pilgrimage site. The reason why the wavelike movement occurs in the case of pilgrims is 'life' in general and evident sin, which it includes. Thus individuals are forced to conduct pilgrimage after pilgrimage.

By utilising Maslow's hierarchy of needs (see also Ross, 1998), the self-actualisation the volunteers are searching for and achieving can be compared to the reward received by the pilgrims. Although the fundamental idea behind Maslow's hierarchy of needs is far from postmodern, the idea of self-actualisation is strongly connected with the postmodernity of tourism. It is linked with individualism and taking care of one's quality of life, which is not necessarily linked with material welfare (cf Inglehart, 1997). When all these similarities are considered, volunteer tourism can actually be viewed as a continuation of the traditional pilgrimage. Volunteers might be the new

pilgrims of contemporary world, who represent traditional pilgrims in postmodernity.

As mentioned above, if the motives of the volunteer tourist or pilgrim remain unchanged, aspiration level can be attained only temporarily. During the rituals people feel that they are closer to God, but this attained state of mind disappears soon. Similarly, western volunteers meet the realities of their own world immediately when they return home. In the case of Hinduism, the need for conducting pilgrimages lies deep in its culture and directions can be found from the holy literature. All the interviewed native Indians agreed with this idea (see also Singh, 2000). Despite evident similarities between volunteer tourism and pilgrimage, which can be found utilising the theory of liminality, this is also the greatest difference. Although it is impossible to compare people's levels of spirituality and to collect reliable data, when the motives of pilgrims and volunteers are concerned, it can be claimed that the experience of volunteers can be even more individual, and in a sense spiritual, than that of pilgrims whose motives are often extrinsic.

## **Discussion**

Without deeper and more extensive data, it is only possible to create theoretical comparisons between volunteer tourism and backpacker tourism. These differences can be assumed to be connected mainly with altruistic motives. However, volunteer tourism might just be one part, though among the tourists in Ananda and ROSE a very important and deep part, of general tourism experience in India.

In this study, the ideas were formed by utilising existing theories together with newer postmodern viewpoints. Existing theories of tourism cannot be totally forgotten, because volunteer tourism is mainly a western-based phenomenon and the aim is to increase knowledge on this particular topic. In the case of pilgrimages, the situation is of course different.

Connecting volunteer tourism with pilgrimage and postmodern theories of tourism can be one starting point, but it is not the only one. For example ethnographic studies would give more information on the importance of placelessness and timelessness in tourists' experience. On the other hand, even though volunteer tourism can be easily regarded a separate type of tourism, the differences between the motives of volunteers and backpackers would require more examination, for example on the concept of the 'other'. What is the 'other' for volunteers and how does it differ from the general discourse on the 'other' met in 'the east'?

In addition to finding a clear conjunction between pilgrimage and volunteer tourism via the theory of liminality, the study also created numerous questions. As the discussion and field studies point out, volunteer tourism as a form of tourism represents theoretically and empirically many different dimensions of tourism. Is it possible to categorise volunteer tourism? Individual forms of tourism are often considered as good examples of postmodern tourism, but in the case of volunteer tourism this connection is not so clear. Volunteer tourism contains even premodern features, which are visible when its similarities with pilgrimage are concerned.

On the other hand, modernity has made the birth of volunteer tourism possible. And, if there is such a thing as postmodern tourism, the complex phenomenon of volunteer tourism surely lies at its heart. It is a matter of choice whether contemporary tourism in any form is considered as postmodern. In this paper it was claimed that contemporary volunteer tourism is a continuation, a kind of a rebirth of traditional pilgrimage, although the latter has never disappeared. Instead, traditional pilgrimages to older religious destinations have gained more interest among conventional tourists (e.g. Ilola, 1994). And in India, still millions of people, and worldwide many times more, go on a pilgrimage every year. Volunteer tourism could be some kind of recession in a continuously growing modern tourism market. It could be a protest against over-commoditised tourism. For example, the experience of ROSE has given evidence that volunteer tourism projects can survive and develop. It can be assumed that tourism based on altruism will continue growing and gain more importance among mainstream tourists who might have got tired of regular backpacking, which can be seen as a one important part of contemporary mass tourism.

However, traditional pilgrimage has also changed (Bleie, 2003; Singh, 2004). Nowadays, more and more pilgrimages, for example in India, include behaviour, which has traditionally been typical of conventional tourism. Now it can be stated that both these two phenomena, convergence of traditional pilgrimage towards leisure tourism and birth of volunteer tourism, represent the blend of conventional tourism and traditional pilgrimage, modern and premodern – a trend, which was started by the help of modernity but finally occurred in postmodern times.

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### Notes

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2. There are numerous websites that contain information on different volunteer tourism projects all over the world (e.g. EVolunteer, 2005; Himalayan Exposure, 2005; The International WWOOF Association, 2005; Transitions Abroad, 2005).
3. Professors Singh and Singh have written a few research papers on ROSE (see for example Singh, 2002 and Singh & Singh, 2004).

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## PAPER 3

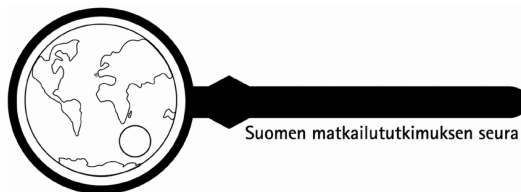
Honkanen, A. – Mustonen, P. (2005) Sosiodemografiset tekijät ja elämäntapa matkailukulutusta selittävinä tekijöinä: kausaalinen analyysi. (Sosiodemographic variables and lifestyles as explanatory variables behind tourism consumption: a causal analysis.)

*Matkailututkimus*, 1: 3-25.



*Matkailututkimus 1, 3–25 (2005)*

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## Sociodemografiset tekijät ja elämäntapa matkailukulutusta selittävinä tekijöinä: kausaalinen analyysi

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Sociodemographic variables and lifestyles as explanatory factors for tourism consumption: Causal analysis

Postmodern theories state that instead of demographics, social divisions are based on identity and lifestyle. In this article, the effects of these both were examined. Tourism consumption was divided into two dimensions, “actual tourism” and “desire to travel more”. Analysis was based on survey “Finland 2004”. Sociodemographic factors were assumed to influence more on actual tourism than on desire to travel more. However, sociodemographic variables might influence on travelling habits also indirectly through lifestyles. The results strengthened the hypothesis. The effect of lifestyles was quite strong but sociodemographic factors had still direct but also indirect effect via lifestyles.

Matkailututkimuksessa matkailu usein erotetaan erilliseksi toiminnaksi, jota tutkitaan oman erityisen tutkimusperinteen ja käytäntöjen mukaisesti. Toisaalta matkailu voidaan ymmärtää myös vain eräänä erityisenä kulutuksen muotona (ks. Sharpley 2000), sillä pakollisten elämiseen liittyvien menojen jälkeen länsimaisella kuluttajalla on lukuisia eri vaihtoehtoja, joihin hän voi kuluttaa rahojaan. Matkailu on osa vapaa-aikateollisuutta. Matkailukulutusta tarkasteltaessa ei olekaan syytä olettaa sen olevan irrallaan muusta kulutuksesta, vaan pikemmin osa sitä.

Yleisesti uskotaan, että vapaa-ajan matkailulla on tärkeä sija ihmisten elämässä (esim. Selänniemi 1996; Urry 2002). Matkailuun uhrataan suuria summia rahaa, siitä unelmoidaan ja esimerkiksi matkaohjelmista on tullut varsin tärkeä

osa televisiotarjontaa. Kuitenkaan kaikki ihmiset eivät matkusta yhtä paljon (ks. Honkanen 2004). Osa ihmisistä on valmiimpia sijoittamaan matkailuun enemmän rahaa ja vapaa-aikaa kuin toiset. Matkailu on osa heidän elämäntapaansa.

Elämäntavan ja kulutuksen yhteen liittymistä on pidetty eräänä postmodernin yhteiskunnan piirteenä. Tyylin ja elämäntavan uskotaan näkyvän kulutuksen individualistisina muotoina ja kulutuksen kulttuurisen merkityksen kasvaneen. Tällöin elämäntapaa viestitään yhä pienemmillä kulutukseen liittyvillä yksityiskohdilla. Postmodernin ajan kuluttaja ei enää osta tavaroita tarpeeseen, vaan hän ilmaisee kulutuksen avulla omaa identiteettiään. (esim. Bocoock 1993; Slater 1997.)

Tässä artikkelissa tarkastellaan, miten elämäntapaa ilmentävät kulutustyyli ja toisaalta sosiograafiset tekijät vaikuttavat matkailukulutukseen. Pyrkimyksenä on selvittää, kuinka individuaalista ja postmodernia matkailukulutus on. Varsinainen tutkimuskysymys voidaan muotoilla seuraavasti: selittävätkö sosiodemografiset tekijät, kulutusasenteiden kautta mitattavat elämäntavat vai molemmat yhdessä parhaiten matkailukulutusta. Analyysissa on huomioitu myös, että sosiodemografiset tekijät voivat vaikuttaa matkailukulutukseen epäsuorasti elämäntavan kautta. Tutkimuskysymyksen merkittävyttä voidaan perustella sillä, että postmodernien kulutusteorioiden yhdistävänä piirteenä on usko sosiodemografisten ja muiden rakenteellisten tekijöiden merkityksen vähenemiseen kulutusta jäsentävinä tekijöinä. Tutkimuksen avulla pyritään testaamaan tätä olettamusta.

On varsin selvää, ettei edes nykyisenkaltaisissa kulutuskulttuureissa resursien merkitys kuluttamiseen ole kadonnut kokonaan. Postmoderneja teorioita onkin usein syytetty liioittelusta (esim. Agger 1991; Lash 1990, 2; Ritzer 1999, 72). Niinpä tässä artikkelissa matkailukulutus on jaettu kahteen ulottuvuuteen. Ensimmäinen ulottuvuus viittaa reaaliseen toimintaan, joskin kyse on siitä, miten vastaajat ovat suhteuttaneet oman matkailukulutuksensa itse arvioimaansa keskimääräiseen kulutukseen. Jälkimmäinen ulottuvuus puolestaan kiinnittyy haluun. Vastaajilta on kysytty haluaisivatko he lisätä matkailukulutustaan, mikäli taloudellisia resursseja ei tarvitsisi huomioida. Tutkimuksen teoriakirjallisuudesta johdettu olettamus on, että matkailukulutus selittyy parhaiten resursseilla, kuten tulotasolla, ja vastaavasti matkailuhalu kulutusasenteiden kautta mitattavalla elämäntavalla. Olettamusta voidaan pitää eräänlaisena keskittienä kaikkein "postmodernimpien" ja toisaalta kulutusta pelkästään sosiodemografisilla tekijöillä selittävien teorioiden välillä.

## Postmoderni kulutusyhteiskunta

Postmodernin ilmenemisen yhtenä keskeisenä piirteenä pidetään muutoksia kulutuskäyttäytymisessä (esim. Jameson 1992, 165–166). Voidaankin puhua postmodernista kulutusyhteiskunnasta, joka nimensä mukaisesti korostaa muutosta tuotantopainotteisesta yhteiskunnasta kulutuspainotteiseen yhteiskuntaan. Tämän seurauksena traditionaalisten rakenteiden uskotaan heikentyneen ja samalla syntyneen uusia sosiaalisia ryhmiä vanhojen tilalle (Bauman 1996, 191–215; Beck 1995, 27–31; Best and Kellner 1997, 21–23).

Bocockin mukaan uusille ryhmille eivät enää ole yhteistä ulkoiset tekijät, kuten ikä, sukupuoli, etnisyys tai sosiaalinen asema, vaan pikemminkin yhteinen kulutuksen kautta muokattava identiteetti. He samaistuvat ryhmiin kulutuksen eivätkä perinteisten sosiodemografisten tekijöiden perusteella. (Bocock 1993, 27–28; ks. myös Mackay 1997, 5.) Myös Featherstonen (1991, 85) mukaan postmodernissa yhteiskunnassa kulutus ei perustu käyttöarvoon vaan merkitykseen. Kuluttaja ei enää osta tavaroita niinkään tarpeeseen, vaan hän ilmaisee kulutuksen avulla omaa identiteettiään ja erilaisiin identiteettiryhmiin kuulumista.

Kulutuskulttuuri jäsentää nykyistä yhteiskuntaamme, mutta kulutuksen kulttuurisidonnaisuus ei ole uusi ilmiö, vaan kaikissa tunnetuissa kulttuureissa kulutus on saanut kulttuurisia merkityksiä. Juuri mitään kuluttamista ei voidaakaan redusoida pelkästään kulutusyksikön käyttöarvoon. Ihmisen pitää esimerkiksi syödä elääkseen, eli nälän poistaminen on ruuan käyttöarvo. Käyttöarvo ei kuitenkaan yksinomaan määrittele syötävää ruokaa, vaan kaikissa yhteisöissä on lisäksi erilaisia ruokiin liittyviä kulttuurisia sääntöjä, jotka määräävät, mikä on suotavaa tai vältettävää ravintoa. Länsimaisten ihmisten inho koiran syömistä kohtaan ei johdu sen kelvottomuudesta elintarvikkeena vaan kulttuurisesta tavasta. (Slater 1997, 132.)

Kuluttamisen voidaan katsoa olevan kulttuurista myös siten, että normaalisti yksilö toimii oman tahtonsa ja tarpeidensa mukaan, mutta ajoittain hän joutuu toimimaan toisin kulttuurisista syistä (Slater 1997, 133). Kulttuuri asettaa rajoitukset kuluttamiselle siten, että pelkkä yksilön kokema tarve ei määritä kulutusta sellaisenaan. Mitään kulutuksen muotoa ei ohjaa pelkästään tarvenaturalistinen näkökulma, vaan kulttuuriset tekijät vaikuttavat kulutuksen kaikkiin muotoihin.

Kulutuskulttuurilla ei tarkoiteta, että kulttuuri määrittää kulutuksen, vaan kuluttamisen katsotaan pikemminkin määrittävän kulttuuria. Kulutuskulttuuri on sidoksissa nykyisiin elämäntähtöihimme, ja sitä esiintyy erityisesti länsimaissa. Se onkin sidottu modernin yhteiskunnan piirteisiin, kuten yksilöllisyyteen, valintaan ja markkinasuhteisiin. (Slater 1997, 8.) Juuri ajatusta siitä, että kulttuurin ja kuluttamisen valtasuhde on kääntynyt toisin päin, voidaan pitää keskeisenä kulutuskulttuurin tunnusmerkkinä.

Postmodernissa yksilöiden voidaan sanoa olevan tietoisia siitä, että heillä on vain yksi elämä, josta nauttimisen ja kokemisen eteen tulee tehdä kovasti töitä. Postmoderni yhteiskunta on nautinnollisen kuluttamisen yhteiskunta, jossa kuluttamisen symboleilla esitellään oma elämäntapa muille. Campbellin (1995, 100) mukaan kulutuksen ylikorostunut asema tuotantoon nähden ei tarkoita pelkästään, että yhteiskunta on rakentunut enemmän kulutuksen kuin tuotannon ympärille. Tämän lisäksi ihmiset katsovat kulutuksen olevan osoitus sosiaalisesta menestymisestä ja persoonallisesta onnellisuudesta, jolloin kuluttaminen on heidän elämänsä tärkeimpiä päämääriä. Kulutuskulttuurissa elämäntapa sekä valitaan että esitetään kuluttamisen avulla.

Mutta voiko elämäntavan valita vai onko se seurausta sosiaalisesta taustasta ja muista vastaavista tekijöistä? Esimerkiksi Räsänen (2000, 14–15) kritisoi teorioita, joissa kuluttajan oletetaan luovan identiteettinsä kulutuksella. Hänen mukaansa ne eivät huomioi traditionaalisen mallin jatkuvuutta ja pysyvyyttä. Elämäntapaa ja identiteettiä ei tulekaan samaistaa sellaisenaan. Elämäntapaa voidaan lähestyä kahdesta kilpailevasta tai toisiaan täydentävästä teoriaperinteestä. Sosiaalisen rakenteen teorit korostavat ihmisiä rajoittavia rakenteita kun taas toimijuuteen keskittyvät teorit tuovat julki yksilön valintoja. Vealin (2000, 16) mukaan elämäntyö on päälähtöisesti valinta, mutta valinnan vapaus vaihtelee ihmisestä, ryhmästä ja aikakaudesta toiseen. Tällöin elämäntapa ei olisikaan vastoin postmodernistien käsitystä rakenteet haastava vaan niiden selityskykyä täydentävä teoria.

Ilmonen ja Siisiäinen pitävät vahvana liioitteluna sellaista postmodernia käsitystä, jonka mukaan vapaa-aika ja kulutus olisivat korvanneet työn merkityksen ihmisten elämässä. Vapaa-ajan kulutus on toki lisääntynyt länsimaissa yhteiskunnissa, mutta samanaikaisesti huoli työpaikasta on kasvanut. Vapaa-ajan aktiviteetit ovat kuitenkin pohjimmiltaan sidoksissa työhön, sillä ne vaativat rahaa. (Ilmonen & Siisiäinen 1998, 9.) Tämä näkemys voidaan ymmärtää impliittisenä tukena sille, että resursseilla on yhä merkitystä kulutukseen myös postmodernissa yhteiskunnassa.

Ehkäpä Chaney (1996) onkin oikeassa väittäessään, että postmoderneista elämäntavoista ja arvoista tulee yhä tärkeämpiä, mutta ne eivät poista perinteisten elämää säätelevien mekanismien, kuten luokka ja sukupuoli, merkitystä kokonaan. Mikäli kuitenkin ymmärrämme postmodernin Inglehartin (1997, 12) tapaan muutoksena kohti entistä suurempaa yksilöllistä vapautta, moninaisuutta ja mahdollisuutta itsensä ilmaisuun, postmodernin yhteiskunnan piirteiden läsnäoloa on vaikea kieltää. Yksilöllisen vapauden myötä oletettavasti myös elämäntavan merkitys kuluttamisessa on kasvanut, vaikka rakenteellisten tekijöiden vaikutus ei olekaan kadonnut kokonaan.

## Elämäntapa ja matkailukulutus

Elämäntapa ei ole uusi käsite, vaan siihen ovat vähintään implisiittisesti viitanneet sosiologian klassikoista muun muassa Simmel (1990, 429–512) ja Veblen (2002; ks. myös Miles 2000, 17). Weberin (1979, 180–195) mukaan yhteiskunnan kerrostuneisuus muodostuu luokka-, puolue- ja statusasemasta. Jälkimmäinen voidaan ymmärtää paitsi joidenkin ryhmien nauttimana arvostuksena myös määrättyinä ryhmässä noudatettavana elämäntapana (Miles 2000, 17; ks. Weber 1978, 305–307).

Vealin (2000, 9) mukaan elämäntapa-käsitteen sisällöstä ei kuitenkaan ole yksimielisyyttä, mutta useimmista määritelmistä on löydettävissä käsitys, että elämäntapa on kokonaisuus, joka muodostuu yksilön tai ryhmän noudattamista yksilöllisistä tai sosiaalisista käyttäytymispiirteistä. Milesin (2000, 28) mukaan elämäntapa voidaan ymmärtää yksilön identiteetin materialisoituneena ilmauksena. Elämäntapa ei kuitenkaan synny yksilön individuaalisesta psyykestä vaan suhteessa muihin. Toivonen (1998, 163) puolestaan määrittää elämäntavan Eskolaan (1985, 166) viitaten seuraavasti:

*“Elämäntapa voidaan määritellä yksilön sisäistämien asenteiden, tunteiden ja käyttäytymistaipumusten kokonaisuudeksi. Sen muodostumiseen vaikuttavat yksilön sosiaalinen tausta, kuten sukupuoli, asuinpaikka sekä oma että vanhempien koulutus ja ammatti, yksilön elämäntapa ja hänen sosiaaliset suhteensa.”*

Tämän näkemyksen mukaan elämäntapa ei ole pelkästään individuaalinen valinta, vaan siihen vaikuttavat myös sosiaaliset rakenteet, kuten sosiodemografiset tekijät. Toisaalta Toivonen (1998, 163) myös kiinnostavasti erottaa elämäntavan ja elämäntyylin, joista jälkimmäiseen nimenomaan itse pyritään kun taas edellisessä korostuu sosiaalisen taustan merkitys. Elämäntavan ja elämäntyylin erottaminen toisistaan empiiristä tutkimusta tehtäessä on kuitenkin varsin vaikeaa ja ehkäpä sen takia niitä monesti käytetään toistensa synonyymeinä. Niin on tehty myös tässä tutkimuksessa, vaikka postmodernissa kulutus-teoriassa on korostettu juuri yksilön valintaa.

Bourdieu (1984; 1998, 18) käyttää käsitettä habitus, joka voidaan ymmärtää eräänlaisena käyttäytymistaipumuksena, joka yhdistää samoissa asemassa olevien ihmisten käytännöt ja valinnat yhtenäiseksi elämäntavaksi. Bourdieun mukaan habitukseen perustuva maku on keskeinen tekijä sosiaalisten erojen paljastajana ja muodostajana. Maku kertoo, miten ihminen luokittelee sosiaalista ympäristöä ja miten sosiaalinen ympäristö luokittelee ihmistä. Maku ei kuitenkaan ole staattinen, vaan sitä tuotetaan ja uusinnetaan koko ajan. Lisäksi siitä, kuka määrittää hyvän maun, käydään jatkuvaa taistelua erilaisilla kentillä.

Resursseina tässä taistelussa käytetään sekä taloudellista että sosiaalista pää-omaa. Jälkimmäisellä tarkoitetaan kykyä luoda ja ymmärtää eroja sosiaalisissa ilmiöissä. Erottelukyvyyn avulla on mahdollista nostaa sosiaalista statustaan yhteiskunnassa. (Bourdieu 1984.) Bourdieun (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1995, 151) mukaan habituksen avulla pyritään välttämään sekä objektivismin että subjektivismin ongelmat. Habitukseen vaikuttaakin sekä ympäristö että yksilön omat pyrkimykset ja toiminnot. Habitusta kuten elämäntapaakaan ei näin ollen voida ymmärtää ainoastaan valintana. Ne ovat liitoksissa myös henkilöön taustaan, jota voidaan mitata sosiodemografisilla tekijöillä (ks. Wilska 2002, 197).

Ryan (1995, 65–70) käy matkailututkimuksen metodioppaassaan lyhyesti läpi elämäntavan ja matkailukulutuksen välistä suhdetta koskevaa tutkimusta. Hänen mukaansa sinänsä ristiriitaiset tutkimukset paljastavat, että elämäntapa ei ole poistanut sosiodemografisten tekijöiden vaikutusta matkustamisessa havaitta-viin eroihin. Elämäntapa on kuitenkin syytä ottaa huomioon yhtenä tekijänä muiden joukossa, ja todennäköisesti se vaikuttaa enemmän esimerkiksi loma-kohteen valintaan kuin matkustamisen yleisyyteen.

Kuten edellä olleesta käy ilmi, usein elämäntavan ja sosiodemografisten tekijöiden on katsottu olevan liitoksissa toisiinsa. Postmodernit kulutusteorioiden ovat kuitenkin haastaneet tämän näkemyksen. Toisaalta on mahdollista, että vaikka elämäntapa selittäisi kulutusta sosiodemografisia tekijöitä paremmin, sosiodemografiset tekijät voivat vaikuttaa elämäntavan kautta; toisin sanoen sosiodemografiset tekijät vaikuttavat elämäntapaan, joka puolestaan vaikuttaa kuluttamiseen.

Tähän viittaa myös Campbell (1995, 114–115), jonka mukaan ei ole kovinkaan järkevää rakentaa teoriaa moderneista kulutustavoista elämäntyylien varaan. Hänen mukaansa elämäntyyliin perustuvat tutkimukset voivat olla käyviä markkinoinnissa, mutta niiden sosiologisesta merkitsevyydestä ei ole juurikaan todisteita. Tällä hän tarkoittanee, että alakulttuureja on mahdollista identifioida kulutustottumusten avulla, mutta kulutustottumusten muodostumiseen sosiodemografisilla tekijöillä ja arvoilla on yhä vaikutusta. Alakulttuurit eivät tällöin ole seurausta individuaalisista asenteista vaan erilaiset yhteiskunnalliset asemat vaikuttavat niiden syntymiseen.

Campbellin (mt.) mukaan valtaosa elämäntyyli-teorioista perustuu pohjimmitaan perinteisiin kategorioihin, kuten ikään, sukupuoleen ja asemaan työmarkkinoilla. Nämä tekijät ovatkin suurin vaikuttava tekijä käytettävissä oleviin tuloihin, jotka puolestaan vaikuttavat ostomahdollisuuksiin. On myös huomioitava, että vaikka subjektiivisempia tekijöitä olisikin otettu huomioon, niiden painopiste on pikemmin arvoissa kuin maussa. Esimerkiksi vihreys kulutustottumuksissa on enemmän kiinni arvoista kuin makuasetelmista. Keskeiseksi tämän asian tekee se, että maut kehittyvät tai vaihtuvat huomattavasti nopeammin kuin arvot. Tämän seurauksena valtaosa kuluttajista ei



olekaan valmis omaksumaan uusia arvoja pelkästään vaihtamalla kulutustottumuksiaan, vaan kyseessä on syvempi prosessi. Useimmat teoriat, joissa kulutus ja arvot samaistetaan, ovatkin keskittyneet nuoriin, joiden elämässä on vielä keskeistä oman identiteetin etsintä.

Pohjimmiltaan kiista elämäntyylin vapaasta valinnasta ja toisaalta sosiodemografisten tekijöiden vaikutuksista johtuu erilaisista identiteettinäkemyksistä. Ensimmäinen näkemys olettaa individualisoitumisen näkyvän identiteettien atomisoitumisena. Tällöin jälkimodernissa yhteiskunnassa ei ole enää auktoriteetteja, jotka määrittäisivät kulutusta. Jälkimmäinen näkemys kiistää atomisoitumisen, mikä ei kuitenkaan ole todiste individualisoitumisprosessin olemattomuudesta. Individualisoituminen on voinut merkitä uusien (elämäntapa)ryhmien muodostumista, mutta sosiodemografiset tekijät toimivat yhä niiden keskeisinä rakennustekijöinä. Maailma vain on tullut komplisointuneemmaksi kuin aiemmin. Joka tapauksessa taloudellinen hyvinvointi on kasvaneiden mahdollisuuksien myötä mahdollistanut aiempaa vapaamman valinnan, mikä mahdollistaa erilaisten kulutusryhmien syntymisen. Tätä ajatusta voidaan perustella sillä, että ehkäpä ihmiset eivät käyttäydy sen individualisemmin kuin ennenkään, mutta samaistumisen kohteina olevia ryhmittymiä, joista esimerkiksi Maffesoli (1995) käyttää termiä *uusheimot*, on entistä enemmän, ja ne ovat selvemmin erotettavissa toisistaan.

Miten elämäntapa sitten vaikuttaa kuluttamiseen? Elämäntavan on katsottu olevan liitoksissa arvoihin ja asenteisiin, jotka ohjaavat kulutuskäyttäytymistä. Ehkäpä tunnetuin esimerkki tästä on VALS-typologia (*values, attitudes and lifestyles*), jossa mitataan peräti 300 erilaista asenneväittämää (Veal 2000, 10). VALS-typologiaa on hyödynnetty myös matkailututkimuksessa (esim. Shih 1986; Skidmore & Pyszka 1987). Gonzálezin ja Bellon (2002, 56) mukaan elämäntapa on yleensä rakennettu empiirisissä tutkimuksissa mittaamalla esimerkiksi vapaa-ajan aktiviteetteja, kiinnostuksen kohteita ja mielipiteitä ympäröivästä maailmasta. Hänen mukaansa elämäntapaa hyödyntävät segmentointitutkimukset voidaan jakaa lisäksi sen mukaan, onko kerätty informaatio luonteeltaan yleistä elämäntapaa vai jotain spesifiä elämäntapaa koskevaa. Jälkimmäisestä hyvä esimerkki on kulutusta koskevat tutkimukset, joita voidaan kutsua kulutustyylitutkimuksiksi (*consumption style*).

## Sosiodemografiset tekijät matkailukulutuksen taustalla

Usein matkailukulutusta (esim. Honkanen 2004; Mustonen & Honkanen 2005; Räsänen 2000; Toivonen 2001), kuten muitakin sosiaalisia ilmiöitä, on selitetty sosiodemografisten tekijöiden perusteella. Yksi yleisemmin käytetyistä sosiaa-

lista toimintaa selittävästä tekijöistä on ollut sosiaalinen asema. Sosiaalinen asema muodostuu asemista, jotka ihminen on onnistunut saamaan. Monet yhteiskunnan kerrostuneisuuteen erikoistuneet tutkijat ovatkin keskittyneet ammatillisten asemien jakautumiseen ja sen seurauksiin sosiaaliselle toiminnalle. Ammattiaseman kautta on mahdollista saavuttaa, paitsi hyvä palkka, myös yhteiskunnallista arvostusta. Sosioekonominen aseman vaikutus ei olekaan pelkästään taloudellinen, vaan oletettavasti se vaikuttaa matkailukulutukseen myös yhteisesti jaettavien elämäntapojen kautta.

Esimerkiksi Bourdieun (1984) mukaan sosiaaliseen toimintaan ei kuitenkaan vaikuta pelkkä taloudellinen pääoma vaan myös kulttuurinen pääoma. Kulttuurisen pääoman kasvattajana koulutuksella on suuri merkitys. Sen lisäksi siihen vaikuttavat muun muassa kasvatusta ja perhetausta. Korkean koulutuksen voidaan olettaa herättävän kiinnostusta muita paikkoja ja niiden kulttuureja kohtaan eli synnyttävän matkailukulutuksen tarvetta (ks. Honkanen 2004).

Alueelliset erot matkustamisessa ovat olleet Suomessa varsin merkittäviä (ks. Tilastokeskus 1993–2003). Vaikutusmekanismi lienee varsin monitahoinen. Helsingistä on ensinnäkin helpompi matkustaa ulkomaille, sillä valtaosa lennoista lähtee sieltä. Toiseksi kaupunkimaiseen elämäntapaan kuuluvat kontaktit ulkomaalaisiin, joita asuu pääkaupunkiseudulla ja suurissa kaupungeissa muita enemmän. Kynnys matkustaa vieraan kulttuurin pariin voi olla matalampi. Kolmanneksi suurissa kaupungeissa elämäntapa voi suosia matkailua. Aihetta ei kuitenkaan ole tutkittu kovinkaan paljon.

Matkailututkimuksessa varsin paljon käytetyt elämänkaariteoriat (*lifecourse*, *lifecycle*, *life-stage*) liittyvät varsin läheisesti perheen kokoon ja vastaajan ikään (esim. Bojanic 1992; Lawson 1999; Nichols & Snepenger 1999). Niiden perusteella uskotaan, että ihmisten matkailukulutuksen määrään vaikuttavat vähentävästi esimerkiksi pienet lapset ja korkea ikä. Elämänkaari on helpoiten huomioitavissa juuri sosiodemografisten tekijöiden avulla.

## Empiirisen analyysin lähtökohdat

Empiirinen osuus artikkelista perustuu Suomi 2004 aineistoon (Suomi 2004). Postikyselynä tehty aineisto on otos suomalaisista lukuun ottamatta Ahvenanmaalla asuvia. Vastausprosentti oli 62 prosenttia, jolloin vastauksia saatiin kaikkiaan 3574. Kyselyä ei ole suunniteltu erityisesti matkailututkimusta varten, mutta varsinkin kyselyn aiempaa vuonna 1999 kerättyä versiota on käytetty runsaasti taloussosiologisessa tutkimuksessa (esim. Erola 2004; Räsänen 2003; Wilska 2002).

Tutkimuksen pyrkimyksenä oli tarkastella, kuinka elämäntapa vaikuttaa itse arvioituun matkailukulutukseen suhteessa keskivertokuluttajaan ja toisaalta haluun matkustaa lisää, mikäli taloudellisia rajoitteita ei tarvitse huomioida.

Kulutustottumuksiin pohjautuvan elämäntavan lisäksi huomioitiin sosiodemografisten tekijöiden vaikutus; kuinka paljon matkailukulutuksessa on merkitystä sosiodemografisilla taustatekijöillä vai vaikuttaako matkailukulutuksen määrään pelkästään sitoutuminen erilaisiin kulutusasenteisiin? Koska edellä käydyssä keskustelussa korostui mahdollinen sosiodemografisten tekijöiden merkitys elämäntavan syntymisessä, myös näiden välillinen vaikutus on huomioitu.

Tutkimuksella pyrittiin etsimään kausaalisuhteita etsimällä parhaat mahdolliset mallit, jotka selittävät matkailukulutusta ja matkailuhalua. Kausaalisuhteista puhuminen ei ole viimeisten vuosikymmenten aika ollut suosittua, vaan niiden mainitsemista on jopa vältely (ks. Toivonen 1999, 24–25). Eräänä syynä tähän voidaan pitää kausaalisuhteen määrittelyn vaikeutta. Toisaalta esimerkiksi Eskola (1969) lainaa klassisessa metodikirjassaan Schlickia (1949), jonka mukaan “jos kausaliteetti yleensä on mitään, se ei voi olla muuta kuin Järjestyksen periaate”. Kausaliteetti voidaan siis yksinkertaistaa malliksi, jossa X:stä seuraa Y, jolloin X:n täytyy edeltää ajallisesti Y:tä. Toisin kuin luonnontieteissä, ihmistieteissä harvoin löydetään selityksiä, jotka pätsivät aina, vaan kyseessä on useimmiten probabilistinen selittäminen, eli X:stä seuraa Y vain tietyllä todennäköisyydellä. Tämä tutkimus ei tee poikkeusta tämän suhteen.

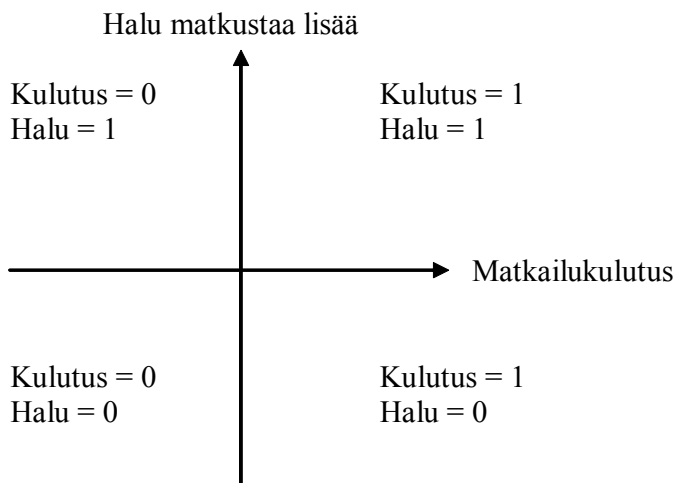
Kausaalisuhteiden etsimisen vaikeus on siinä, että havainto kahden ilmiön korrelaatiosta ei sinällään takaa kausaalisuuden olemassaoloa. Kyse voi olla siitä, että todellisuudessa jokin kolmas tekijä aiheuttaa sekä seurauksen että oletetun syyn. Onkin esiintynyt väitteitä, että kausaalisuhde voidaan todentaa ainoastaan silloin kun kausaalimekanismi kyetään selittämään (esim. Elster 1989, 4). Kausaalisuhteen toteamiseen tarvitaan siis tietoa, miten X vaikuttaa Y:hyn. Toisaalta tätä on pidetty myös ongelmallisena. Kausaalisuus ei selity useinkaan yhdellä mekanismilla, vaan mekanismit sisältävät alemman tason mikromekanismeja, jotka puolestaan koostuvat muista alemman tason mekanismeista. Mekanismin selittäminen tuo selitykseen lisäarvoa, mutta sitä ei voida vaatia välttämättömänä osana selitystä, vaan ilmiötä voidaan pitää selitettynä, mikäli muut yleiset kausaliteetin lait täyttyvät. Joka tapauksessa lienee selvää, että kausaalipäätelmiin tarvitaan sekä teoreettista että korrelatiivista tietoa asioiden välisistä riippuvuuksista. (Töttö 2004, 131–132, 193.)

Tässä tutkimuksessa elämäntapaa mitattiin huomattavasti pienemmällä kysymyssarjalla kuin esimerkiksi aiemmin esitellyssä VALS-typologiassa. Analyysissä käytetyt kysymykset käsittelevät pelkästään spesifiä aihetta eli kuluttamista. Kyseessä on siis lähinnä kulutustavat kokonaisen elämäntavan sijasta. Vaikka elämäntapaa ei voikaan typistää pelkästään kulutusasenteiksi, voidaan kuitenkin olettaa, että samanlaista elämäntapaa noudattavat henkilöt jakavat myös samanlaisia kulutusasenteita ja näin ollen kulutusasenteiden erilaisuus

kertoo myös elämäntavan erilaisuudesta. Postmodernin teorian mukaan juuri kulutus muodostaa perustan erilaisille elämäntavoille.

Sosiodemografisten tekijöiden ja kulutusasenteiden kautta mitattavan elämäntavan vaikutusta matkailukulutukseen tutkittiin tässä kahden erilaisen ulottuvuuden kautta. Matkailukulutuksen tasoa kysyttiin vastaajilta seuraavalla kysymyksellä, joka koski vapaa-ajan matkailua: “Miten kulutuksesi painottuu. Kulutatko mielestäsi “keskiarvokulutajaan” verrattuna?”. Vastaukset annettiin viisiportaisella likert-asteikolla, jossa 1 tarkoitti “paljon enemmän” ja 5 “paljon vähemmän”. Lisäksi vastaajilta kysyttiin matkailukulutuksesta seuraavasti: “Mitä seuraavista tekisit, jos sinulla olisi varaa niihin?”. Kysymykseen tarjottiin vaihtoehdoksi “Tekisin enemmän lomamatkoja”. Myös tässä vastausvaihtoehdot olivat viisiportaisella likert-asteikolla, jossa ääripäät olivat 1 “tekisin huomattavasti enemmän” ja 5 “en tekisi lainkaan enemmän”. Analyysia tehtäessä molempien kysymysten asteikot käännettiin toisin päin.

Ensimmäisen kysymyksen ajateltiin edustavan reaalista toteutunutta matkailua, joskin kysymys perustui itsearviointiin. Jatkossa tätä kutsutaan yksinkertaistaen *matkailukulutukseksi*. Jälkimmäisen kysymyksen oletettiin viittaavan haluun. Tätä ulottuvuutta kutsutaan jatkossa *matkailuhaluksi*. Matkailukulutus ja matkailuhalu eivät ole sama asia, sillä ihminen voi esimerkiksi matkustaa paljon, jolloin hänen matkailutarpeensa tyydyttyy riittävässä määrin, ja taloudellisten resurssien kasvaessa kulutus suuntautuu johonkin muuhun kulutuksen muotoon (ks. kuvio 1).



Kuvio 1. Matkailukulutus ja matkailuhalu

Sosiodemografisesta taustasta kertoviksi muuttujiksi valittiin sukupuoli, asuinalue, elämänvaihe, ikä, tulot ja luokkasamaistuminen. Luokiteltujen muuttujien vaikutuksia selitettäviin muuttujiin testattiin yksisuuntaisella varianssianalyysillä (ei esitetty tässä). Tulosten perusteella näistä tehtiin alkuperäisiä muuttujia yksinkertaisempia dummy-muuttujia siten, että varianssianalyysissä tilastollisesti merkitseviksi havaitut muuttujien luokat on otettu mukaan. Käytäntöön päädyttiin käytetyn analyysimenetelmän eli Amos-ohjelmalla toteutetun polkuanalyysin vaatimusten takia. Oletettavasti tämä kuitenkin laski sosiodemografisten tekijöiden selitysvoimaa jonkin verran.

Esimerkiksi alkuperäisessä lasten lukumäärästä kertovassa muuttujassa luokat oli muodostettu siten, että ensimmäiseen luokkaan kuuluivat perheet, joissa oli vähintään yksi alle 7-vuotias lapsi. Toisessa ryhmässä olivat lapsiperheet, joissa jokainen lapsi oli vähintään 7-vuotias ja nuorin alle 17-vuotias. Kolmanteen ryhmään kuuluvat kaikki muut perhetyypit mukaan lukien yhden hengen taloudet. Kuitenkin jatkoanalyysia varten muodostettiin analyysimenetelmän vuoksi vain yksi dummy-muuttuja, jossa arvon 1 sai perheet, joissa on alle 7-vuotias lapsi muiden perheiden saadessa arvon 0.

Luokka-asemaa mitattiin luokkasamaistumisella eli sillä, mihin luokkaan vastaaja itse katsoi kuuluvansa. Vastausvaihtoehtoina olivat yläluokka, ylempi keskiluokka, alempi keskiluokka, työväenluokka, ei mikään luokka ja muu. Tässä muuttujassa dummy-koodaus tehtiin siten, että yläluokka ja ylempi keskiluokka yhdistettiin yhdeksi luokaksi ja muut vaihtoehdot toiseksi luokaksi. Asuinalueessa vaihtoehtoja oli kaksi: taajama-alue/kaupunki tai maaseutu.

Jatkuvista muuttujista vastaajan ikää käytettiin sellaisenaan. Tuloja oli kysyty ruokakunnan nettotuloina. Muuttuja osoittautui ongelmalliseksi, sillä huipukkuudesta ja vinoudesta kertovat tunnusluvut olivat poikkeuksellisen korkeita. Syyksi paljastui tulonjaon epätasaisuus eli muutama poikkeuksellisen paljon ansaitseva ruokakunta. Koska muuttujamuunnokset eivät poistaneet ongelmaa, jouduttiin yli 10 000 euroa kuukaudessa ansaitsevat ( $n=16$ ) jättämään analyysin ulkopuolelle. Muuttujissa oli myös varsin paljon puuttuvia arvoja. Puuttuvia arvoja ei haluttu korvata (*imputoida*), vaan niitä sisältävät tapaukset poistettiin analyysistä. Tämän seurauksena alkuperäisen otoksen koko ( $N=3574$ ) laski huomattavasti ( $N=2672$ ).

## Kulutustyyli elämäntapana

Elämäntapoja tarkasteltiin yksinomaan kulutukseen liittyvien asenteiden kautta. Kulutustyyliä tiivistettiin pääkomponenttianalyysin avulla. Pääkomponenttianalyysi on läheistä sukua faktorianalyysille ja se usein sekoitetaan siihen. Molempien avulla pyritään löytämään keskenään voimakkaasti korreloivat muuttujat ja näin esimerkiksi yhdistämään lukuisat asennemuuttujat harvem-

miksi niiden perustavana oleviksi asenneulottuvuuksiksi (tai latenteiksi muuttujiksi). Perusolettamuksena pääkomponenttianalyysissa on, että siinä käytetyt muuttujat ovat jatkuvia, aineisto on normaalisti jakautunutta ja havainnot ovat toisistaan riippumattomia. (Tabachnick & Fidell 2001.)

Pääkomponenttianalyysi on tehty hyödyntäen kysymystä, jossa vastaajia pyydettiin ottamaan kantaa esitettyihin väittämiin (ks. taulukko 1) viisiportaisen likert-asteikon avulla. Ennen pääkomponenttianalyysin tekemistä kysymykset käännettiin siten, että 1 merkitsee täysin eri mieltä ja 5 täysin samaa mieltä. Osa alkuperäisissä lomakkeissa olleista kysymyksistä rajattiin analyysin ulkopuolelle teoreettisin perustein, sillä pyrkimyksenä oli löytää henkilökohtaiseen kulutukseen liittyviä asenteita. Tällä perusteella ulkopuolelle jätettyjä kysymyksiä olivat muun muassa sukupolvien välisiin kulutukseen liittyviä ristiriitoja ja taloudellisten suhdanteiden vaikutuksia käsittelevät kysymykset. Lisäksi muutama kysymys jätettiin analyysin ulkopuolelle tilastollisin kriteerein. Näissä tapauksissa niiden kommunaliteetti oli liian pieni.

Pääkomponenttianalyysin avulla löydettiin kuusi ulottuvuutta, joita käytetystä menetelmästä huolimatta jatkossa kutsutaan faktoreiksi. Löydetyt faktorit selittivät 50,3 prosenttia kokonaisvaihtelusta. Faktoria nimettäessä huomioitiin väittämät, joiden lataus oli yli 0,4 (lihavoitu taulukossa 1).

Ensimmäisessä faktorissa latautuivat voimakkaimmin ympäristöön, elintarviketurvallisuuteen ja liialliseen kulutuskeskeisyyteen liittyvät tekijät. Kuluttamisen keskiössä oli eettisyys. Faktori nimettiin *ympäristöksi*. Toinen faktori *säästö* ja kuudes faktori *hinta* muistuttivat toisiaan siinä, että molemmissa korostuivat rahan kulumiseen liittyvät seikat. Faktorit poikkesivat toisistaan kuitenkin tavoitteellisuuden suhteen. Edellisessä voimakkaimman lataukset saivat väittämät, jotka liittyivät tavoitteelliseen säästämiseen. Sen sijaan jälkimmäinen kertoi lähinnä pyrkimyksestä ostaa halvinta mahdollista tuotetta, mutta siihen ei välttämättä liittynyt tavoitteellista säästämistä. Kolmannessa faktorissa, *muoti*, korostuivat muoti, ulkonäkö ja sisustaminen. Kulutus liittyi estetiikkaan. Neljäs faktori liittyi ravintoloihin, heräteostoksiin ja nautinnolliseen kuluttamiseen. Niinpä faktori nimettiin *nautinnoksi*. Viidennessä faktorissa, jota kutsutaan *kulttuuriksi*, latautuivat kaikkein eniten korkeakulttuuriin, kuten klassiseen musiikkiin ja viinikulttuuriin liittyvät väittämät.

Pääkomponenttianalyysilla muodostettiin faktoripisteitä käyttäen kuusi erillistä muuttujaa. Faktoripisteet laskettiin hyödyntäen SPSS 12 -ohjelman pääkomponenttianalyysiin kuuluvaa vaihtoehtoa *regression*. Tabachnickin ja Fidellin (2001, 627) mukaan tämä vaihtoehto on suositeltavin useimmissa tapauksissa lähinnä siksi, että se on helpoiten ymmärrettävissä ja yleisesti käytetyin.

Taulukko 1. Kulutustyyli: pääkomponenttianalyysi

	Ympäristö	Säästö	Muoti	Nautinto	Kulttuuri	Hinta	h <sup>2</sup>
Teen tietoisesti ympäristöystävällisiä valintoja kulutuksessani	,725						,60
Olen huolissani kulutukseni vaikutuksesta ympäristöön	,697						,52
Olen huolissani kuluttajille myytävän ravinnon alkuperästä ja sen sisältämistä terveysriskeistä	,670						,53
Maailmassa on liikaa tavaraa ja elämä on liian kulutuskeskeistä	,566						,42
Rahoitan ostoksiani säästämällä etukäteen		,720					,55
Jokaisen pitäisi säästää pahan päivän 'varalle'		,678					,49
Koen eläväni säästäväisesti		,635					,53
Velanottoa tulisi välttää		,508					,36
En välitä muodista vähääkään			-,754				,60
Luen usein muoti- ja/tai sisustuslehtiä			,724				,56
Pidän hyvää huolta ulkonäöstäni			,633				,42
Käyn paljon ulkona syömässä				,749			,62
Käyn paljon anniskeluravintoloissa (mm. baarit, pubit)				,739			,61
Haluan saada nautintoa kulutuksestani				,490			,39
Teen usein heräteostoksia			,381	,423			,47
Niin sanottu korkeakulttuuri on mielestäni 'snobbailua'					-,703		,55
Kuuntelen mielelläni klassista musiikkia.	,306				,603		,59
Juon mielelläni viiniä ruoan kanssa.				,345	,585		,49
Ostan usein alennusmyynneistä.						,732	,63
Ostan usein kirpputorilta/kierrätyksestä.						,708	,58
Ostoksia tehdessäni laatu on minulle hintaa tärkeämpi.	,381					-,598	,54
Eigenvalues	3,0	2,4	1,7	1,5	1,3	1,0	
% of variance	14,1	11,6	8,1	7,3	6,0	4,9	52,0

Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser  
 Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = ,745  
 Bartlett's Test of Sphericity = 8137,04; df = 210; sig. = ,000

## Sosiodemografiset tekijät ja kulutustavat matkailukulutuksen ja -halun selittäjinä

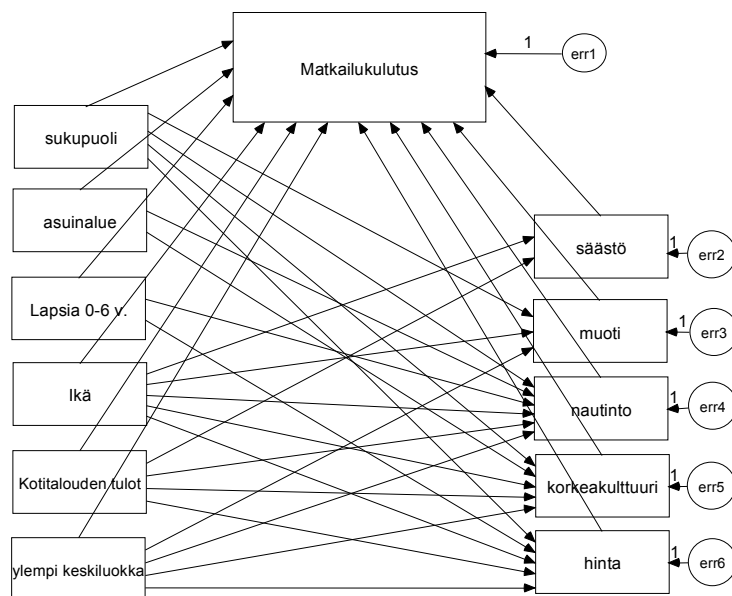
Seuraavaksi käytettiin rakenneyhtälömalliperheen yksinkertaisinta analyysitapaa eli polkuanalyysia. Polkumalleissa ei ole lainkaan latentteja muuttujia vaan ainoastaan havaittuja muuttujia. (ks. Nummenmaa 2004.) Polkuanalyysin käyttöön päädyttiin menetelmän kausaalisen luonteen vuoksi. Polkuanalyysia kutsutaankin joskus lineaariseksi kausaalianalyysiksi (ks. Toivonen 1999, 363). Analyysin avulla on mahdollista tarkastella, mitkä tekijät selittävät matkailukulutusta ja -halua parhaiten, ja onko sosiodemografisilla tekijöillä kausaalinen suhde selitettäviin tekijöihin myös elämäntavan kautta. Analyysilla pyrittiin löytämään nimenomaan paras mahdollinen matkailukulutusta ja -halua selittävä malli, joten yksittäisten tekijöiden vaikutusten selittämiseen ei ole kiinnitetty erityistä huomiota. Analyysi on tehty Amos 5.0.1 ohjelmalla.

Polkumallin rakentaminen aloitetaan spesifioinnilla eli malliin valittujen muuttujien välisten yhteyksien määrittämisellä. Kuviossa 2 olevaa mallia, joka selittää matkailukulutusta, lähdettiin rakentamaan edellä esitellyn keskustelun perusteella. Kuviossa yhdensuuntainen nuoli eli polkunuoli merkitsee kausaalista yhteyttä muuttujien välillä nuolen osoittamaan suuntaan. Mallia lähdettiin rakentamaan perusmallista, jossa oletettiin kaikki mahdolliset yhteydet identifioitavuusvaatimuksen rajoissa. Sosiodemografiset tekijät olivat eksogeenisiä muuttujia ja kulutustyyli- ja matkailukulutustekijät, matkailukulutusta sekä matkailuhalu endogeenisiä muuttujia. Toisin sanoen mallilla selitettiin teorian mukaisesti matkailukulutusta sosiodemografisilla tekijöillä ja kulutustavoilla siten, että sosiodemografisten tekijöiden vaikutus kulutustapoihin huomioitiin. Jäännöstermien estimaatit kiinnitettiin arvoon 1. Tämän jälkeen parametrit estimoitiin suurimman uskottavuuden menetelmällä. (ks. Numminen, Kontinen, Kuusinen & Leskinen 1997, 330–332.)

Mallia yksinkertaistettaessa huomiota kiinnitettiin sekä mallin hyvydestä kertoviin tunnuslukuihin että parametriestimaattien tilastollisiin merkityksiin. Lopulta jäljelle jäivät vain yhteydet, joiden estimaatit olivat merkitseviä tasolla  $p < ,05$ . Standardoidut estimaatit on merkitty liitteessä 1 olevaan taulukkoon. Estimaatteja ei kuitenkaan käsitellä tässä sen syvällisemmin, sillä pyrkimyksenä oli tarkastella vain malleja eikä pohtia yksittäisten selittävien tekijöiden merkityksiä. Sosiodemografisten tekijöiden välisiä kausaalisuhteita ei oletettu esiintyvän, mutta kovarianssi sallittiin. Kuvioiden pitämiseksi mahdollisimman selkeinä kovariaationuolia ei kuitenkaan piirretty taulukoihin 2 ja 3..

Mallin sopivuutta testattiin  $\chi^2$ -testillä, jolla verrattiin kokeiltavaa mallia perusmalliin. Kuviossa 2 oleva malli oli kuitenkin tämän testin mukaan varsin heikko (taulukko 2). Näin tehtyä testausta on kuitenkin usein kyseenalaistettu





Kuvio 2. Matkailukulutus

(esim. Bollen & Long 1993).  $\chi^2$ -testin arvo on suoraan verrannollinen otoskoko, ja otoksen ollessa suuri, testi hylkää mallin liian herkästi sopimattomana (Nummenmaa, Konttinen, Kuusinen & Leskinen 1997, 270, 332; ks. myös Toivonen 1999, 380–381).

Taulukko 2. Matkailukulutus-mallin tunnuslukuja

$\chi^2$ -testi	99,39	df = 19	p. =, 000
GFI	,994		
AGFI	,974		
NFI	,961		
RMSEA	,040	lo 90 = 0,32	hi 90 = 0,48

Rakenneyhtälömalleja varten onkin kehitetty erilaisia tunnuslukuja. Esi-merkiksi otoskoon kontrolloimisen pyrkivä GFI (*goodness of fit index*) ja AGFI (*adjusted goodness of fit*) tunnusluvut antoivat huomattavasti paremman kuvan mallin sopivuudesta. Mitä lähempänä näiden arvot ovat yhtä, sitä parempi malli on. Approksimointivirhettä osoittava RMSEA (*Square Error of Approximation*) oli alle 0,05 ja NFI:n (*normed fit index*) arvosta, joka oli lähellä yhtä, voitaisiin päätellä suuren otoskoon vaikuttaneen  $\chi^2$ -testin tulokseen. Mallia voidaan pitää siis riittävän hyvänä, ja sosiodemografisten tekijöiden epäsuorien

vaikutusten poisjättäminen olisi laskenut kaikki tunnusluvut alle hyväksyttävyyden rajan. (Ks. Tabachnick & Fidell 2001, 698–702.)

Kuviossa 2 olevan mallin mukaan sekä sosiodemografiset tekijät että kulutusasenteet vaikuttavat matkailukulutukseen niin, että jokainen muuttuja on merkitsevä. Muuttuja *ympäristö* jätettiin kuitenkin kokonaan tarkastelun ulkopuolelle, sillä ilmeni, että sillä ei ollut vaikutusta sen enempää matkailukulutukseen kuin matkailuhaluunkaan. Löydöstä voidaan pitää varsin mielenkiintoisena, sillä voitaisiin olettaa, että ympäristötietoiset ihmiset välttelevät matkustamista johtuen liikennevälineiden suurista ympäristökuormista. Näin ei kuitenkaan ole, vaan ehkäpä kulutuksen vihreys näkyy enemmänkin matkakohdevalinnassa tai muussa kulutuksessa.

Sosiodemografisista tekijöistä havaittiin, että naiset ja kaupunkilaiset matkustivat enemmän kuin miehet ja maaseudulla asuvat. Lapsiperheet (alle 7-vuotiaita lapsia) matkustivat muita vähemmän. Tulojen määrän kasvu oletetusti lisäsi matkailukulutusta. Myös ikääntyminen lisäsi matkailukulutusta, joskaan yhteys ei oletettavasti ole niin lineaarista kuin tulokset antavat olettaa. Yleensä kaikkein vanhimmat ikäluokat vähentävät matkailukulutustaan esimerkiksi heikentyneen terveyden myötä (esim. Mustonen, Honkanen & Ahtola 2004).

Sosiodemografiset tekijät eivät kuitenkaan vaikuta pelkästään suoraan vaan myös kulutustyylien kautta. Esimerkiksi *nautintoon* vaikuttivat kaikki analyysissa mukana olevat sosiodemografiset tekijät, ja vastaavasti korkea arvo tässä kulutustyyliässä nosti matkailukulutusta. Kulutustyyleistä *säästö* ja *hintaa* vaikuttivat matkailukulutukseen negatiivisesti, joskin parametriestimaattien arvot olivat varsin pienet. Muut kulutustyyliä vaikuttivat matkailukulutukseen nostavasti.

Selitysosuuksista (taulukko 3) nähdään, että matkailukulutuksesta selittyi malliin mukaan otetuilla muuttujilla noin 20 prosenttia, ja kulutustyyleistä

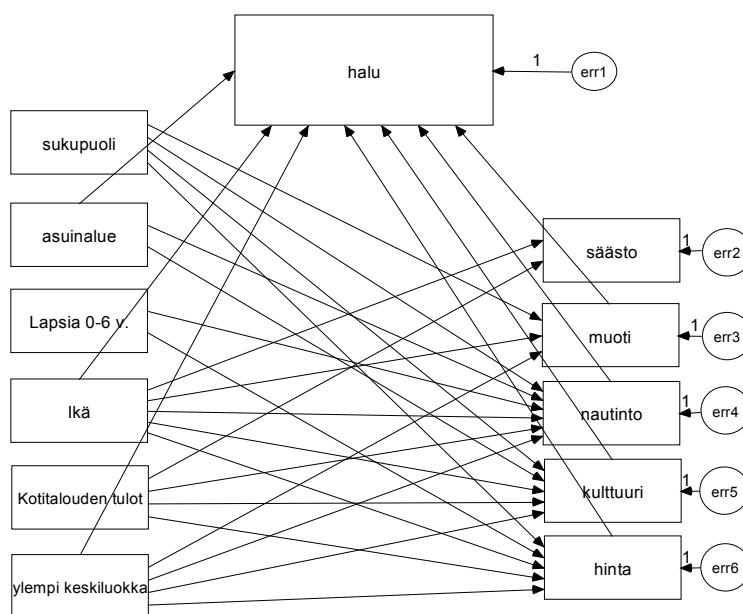
Taulukko 3. Endogeenisten muuttujien selitysosuudet

Selitettävä muuttuja	R <sup>2</sup>
Säästö	,058
Muoti	,151
Nautinto	,173
Korkeakulttuuri	,136
Hinta	,142
Matkailukulutus	,203
Matkailuhalu	,114

Huom. Koska mallit poikkeavat toisistaan ainoastaan muuttujien matkailukulutus ja matkailuhalu osalta, ovat eri kulutustyylien selityssasteet samat molemmissa malleissa

säästö-faktoria lukuun ottamatta joko hieman yli tai alle 15 prosenttia. Oletettavasti säästämistä korostava kulutustyyli syntyy tarpeesta, eli on olemassa jokin kohde, jota varten säästetään. Tällöin kulutustyyliin eivät vaikuta niinkään sosiodemografiset tekijät vaan elämäntilanne.

Myös matkailuhalua selittävä malli tehtiin vastaavilla periaatteilla kuin edellä (kuvio 3, liite 1). Tässäkin  $\chi^2$ -testi osoitti heikkoa sopivuutta, mutta muut testit puolsivat mallin hyväksymistä (taulukko 4). Kelpoisuuden suhteen ero mallien välillä oli kohtuullisen pieni. Vastaavasti kuin matkailuhalu-mallissa, sosiodemografisten tekijöiden epäsuorien vaikutusten poisjättäminen olisi merkinnyt mallin tunnuslukujen heikkenemistä alle hyväksyttävyyden rajan.



Kuvio 3. Matkailuhalu

Taulukko 4 Matkailuhalu-mallin tunnuslukuja

$\chi^2$ -testi	101,931	df = 23	p. = ,000
GFI	,994		
AGFI	,978		
NFI	,965		
RMSEA	,036	lo 90 = 0,29	hi 90 = 0,43

Kuvion 3 mukaan matkailuhalu selittyi varsin heikosti sosiodemografisilla tekijöillä ja kulutustyyliä vaikuttivatkin siihen enemmän. Toisaalta matkailuhalun selitysaste oli varsin pieni (taulukko 3). Sosiodemografisista tekijöistä

matkailuhalua selittivät asuinalue, ikä ja muuhun kuin yläluokkaan tai ylimpään keskiluokkaan samaistuminen. Ikääntyminen vaikutti matkailuhaluun eri tavalla kuin matkailukulutukseen. Matkailukulutus kasvoi iän myötä, mutta matkailuhalu laski. Syynä tähän voi olla se, että iän ja sen kautta kasvaneen matkailukulutuksen myötä matkailutarve tyydyttyy ja matkailukulutuksen tasoon ollaan tyytyväisiä.

Kulutustyyleistä *säästö* ei vaikuttanut ollenkaan matkailuhaluun. Toisin kuin matkailukulutuksen yhteydessä, *hinnan* parametristimaatti oli positiivinen. Tästä voitaisiin päätellä, että kyseisen kulutustyylin edustajat eivät matkustaneet, koska he preferoivat jonkin toisen säästämistä vaativan kulutustyyppin matkailua tärkeämmäksi. Kuitenkin he haluaisivat matkustaa erityisesti silloin jos taloudellisia rajoitteita ei tarvitsisi huomioida. Joka tapauksessa näytti varsin selvältä, että matkailukulutus ja matkailuhalu selittyivät varsin erilailla kun selittävinä tekijöinä käytetään sosiodemografisia tekijöitä ja kulutustyyplejä.

## Yhteenveto

Postmodernin elämäntavan nousu on siirtänyt kulutustutkimuksen mielenkiintoa lisääntyvässä määrin elämäntavan vaikutukseen kulutustottumuksissa. Samanaikaisesti sosiodemografisten tekijöiden vaikutuksen uskotaan vähentyneen. Tässä tutkimuksessa vapaa-ajan matkailukulutus jaettiin kahtia itse arvioituun reaalisen matkailukulutuksen määrään suhteessa keskivertokuluttajaan ja haluun nostaa matkailukulutuksen tasoa, mikäli taloudellisista rajoitteista ei tarvitse välittää. Analyysin tuloksia arvioitaessa on kuitenkin huomioitava, että elämäntapamuuttajat oli muodostettu pelkästään kulutusasenteiden avulla ja lisäksi käytetyn analyysimenetelmän vuoksi osa sosiodemografisista tekijöistä oli koodattu dummy-muuttujien avulla, mikä oletettavasti vähensi selitysasetta. Joka tapauksessa olettamuksena oli, että matkailukulutukseen vaikuttavat sosiodemografiset tekijät enemmän kuin kulutusasenteet ja matkailuhaluun taas toisin päin.

Olettamus osoittautui oikeaksi. Sosiodemografisten tekijöiden vaikutus korostui matkailukulutuksessa, joskin myös kulutustyyleillä oli vaikutusta. Matkailuhaluun sosiodemografiset tekijät vaikuttivat sen sijaan vähemmän. Sosiodemografiset tekijät vaikuttivat kuitenkin välillisesti molemmissa malleissa kulutustyylien kautta eli kausaalisesti ajatellen sosiodemografiset tekijät vaikuttivat myös matkustushaluun välillisesti. Kulutustottumukset selittyivät kuitenkin vain osittain sosiodemografisilla tekijöillä. Selitysprosentit jäivätkin kohtuullisen pieniksi, joskin osaltaan syynä on käytetty menetelmä. Sosiodemografisten tekijöiden vaikutuksista oletettavasti varsin iso osa jäi piiloon käytettyjen muuttujien luonteesta johtuen, ja esimerkiksi ikämuuttujan vaikutus ei

ole kokonaisuudessaan lineaarinen, mikä käytetyssä menetelmässä oli oletuksena.

Varsin mielenkiintoinen löydös oli, että ympäristöystävälliset kulutustottumukset eivät vaikuttaneet matkailukulutukseen tai matkailuhaluun ollenkaan. Tulosta voidaan pitää yllättävänä, sillä kaikki muut kulutustyyli vaikuttivat matkailukulutukseen ja matkailuhaluun lukuun ottamatta *säästöä*, jolla ei ollut merkitystä matkailuhaluun. Ilmeisesti vihertävät kulutusasetteet eivät vähennä matkailukulutusta, vaan todennäköisemmin ympäristöä tärkeänä pitävät suuntaavat kulutusta määrättyihin matkailumuotoihin, tai vihreät asenteet saattavat ilmetä muiden kulutusmuotojen kohdalla. Matkailun suhteen asia on kuitenkin monin tavoin ongelmallinen. Esimerkiksi motorisoitu liikkuminen liittyy lähes kaikkeen matkustamiseen, mikä synnyttää päästöjä riippumatta siitä kuinka ympäristöystävällisesti matkakohteessa käytäydytään.

Tutkimuksen pohjalta ei voida antaa yleistä suositusta pitäisikö matkailukulutuksen eri muotoja tutkittaessa käyttää sosiodemografisia tekijöitä vai elämäntapoja selittävinä tekijöinä, sillä valinta riippuu tutkimuksen päämääristä. Mikäli kausaaliset suhteet ovat kiinnostuksen kohteena, sosiodemografisten tekijöiden poisjättämistä ei voi puolustella. Vastaavasti reaalista matkailukulutusta tutkittaessa erityisesti resursseihin liittyvät sosiodemografiset tekijät on syytä huomioida. Sen sijaan, mikäli pyrkimyksenä on yksinomaan ennustaa halukkuutta matkailukulutukseen, pelkillä kulutustyyleillä saadaan lähes yhtä hyvä ennuste kuin sosiodemografiset tekijät huomioiden. Ongelmallista on kuitenkin elämäntapaa luotaavien kysymysten valinta, sillä eri asioihin keskitymällä lopputulos on aina erilainen. Elämäntapaa voidaan lähestyä varsin monenlaisista lähtökohdista. Tässä käytetty kulutusasetteiden pohjalta operationalisoitu elämäntapa jättää huomioimatta monia muita elämäntavan ulottuvuuksia, mutta toisaalta operationalisointi pohjautui postmoderneihin kulutus-teorioihin.

Joka tapauksessa paras tulos matkailukulutusta tutkittaessa saadaan tämän tutkimuksen mukaan käyttämällä sekä sosiodemografisia tekijöitä että elämäntapaa, mutta tällöinkin on syytä huomioida kausaaliset suhteet. Elämäntapa ei ole korvannut sosiodemografisten tekijöiden vaikutusta vaan sosiodemografiset tekijät vaikuttavat elämäntavan kautta, joskaan niillä ei pystytty selittämään elämäntavan valintaa tyhjentävästi, vaan siihen vaikuttavat myös muut tämän tutkimuksen ulkopuolelle jääneet tekijät.

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Liite 1. Standardisoidut parametriesiintymäsuorat ja epäsuorat vaikutukset ( $\beta$ ) ( $p. < ,05$ )

Malli matkailukulut		Tulot	Ikä	Lapset	Asuin- alue	Suku- puoli	Hinta	Korkea- kulttuuri	Nautinto	Muoti	Säästö
SUORAT VAIKUTUKSET											
Selittävä muuttuja	Luokka										
Selittävä muuttuja											
Hinta	,108	-,125	-,193	,059		,230					
Korkeakulttuuri	,240	,133	,081		-,116	,139					
Nautinto	,056	,047	-,351	-,158	-,115	-,170					
Muoti	,103		-,084			,362					
Säästö		-,101	,221								
Matkailukulutus	,095	,223	,049	-,073	-,066	-,053	-,079	,116	,185	,129	-,059
EPÄSUORAT VAIKUTUKSET											
Matkailukulutus	,060	,040	-,064	-,034	-,035	,013					
Malli matkailuhalu		Tulot	Ikä	Lapset	Asuin- alue	Suku- puoli	Hinta	Korkea- kulttuuri	Nautinto	Muoti	Säästö
SUORAT VAIKUTUKSET											
Selittävä muuttuja	Luokka										
Selittävä muuttuja											
Hinta	-,108	-,125	-,193	,059		,230					
Korkeakulttuuri	,240	,133	,081		-,116	,139					
Nautinto	,056	,047	-,351	-,158	-,115	-,170					
Muoti	,103		-,084			,362					
Säästö		-,101	,221								
Matkailuhalu	-,055	-,101	-,144		-,067		,077	,082	,144	,161	
EPÄSUORAT VAIKUTUKSET											
Matkailuhalu	,008	-,018	,063	,036	-,072	-,026					



## PAPER 4

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# PERSONAL PERCEPTIONS OF ETHICAL TOURISM: A COMPARISON BETWEEN FINNISH AND INDIAN TOURISM STUDENTS

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**Abstract:** The aim of this study was to examine how Finnish and Indian students of tourism understand ethics in the context of different tourism scenarios. The method of empathy based stories was utilized to collect data. The evident structural differences were connected with postmodern discussion of ethics and as postmodern discussion is largely Western-based, it was assumed that in this sense Finnish data would turn contain more discussion on ethics *per se*.

The analysis showed that Finnish students had a basic knowledge of the issues concerning ethics of tourism. However, this knowledge can be considered rather superficial. The environmental issues were usually connected stereotypically to conventional packaged tourism and cultural issues to the alternative scenario of “individual” travelling. Writings by Indian students did not contain discussion on ethics. However, in the conducted questionnaire they mentioned the issues which can be connected with ethics.

The observations and analysis strengthened the hypothesis of inadequacy of postmodern approach in the case of India. However, developing countries, such as India might become more important tourist destinations in the future. Thus as well as in Finland, also in India it is important to spread knowledge of the issues connected to ethics of both demand and supply sides of tourism.

**Keywords:** Post modern, Ethics, The method of empathy based stories, Finland, India.

## Introduction

This article focuses on ethics, discussion of which is considered one essential dimension of postmodern society (Bauman, 1993; 1996). Also in the case of (postmodern) tourism, ethical dimensions often connected for example with environmentally friendly tourism, are widely recognized (e.g. Munt, 1994). In this study the ideas connected often to postmodern tourism were approached methodologically from a qualitative perspective. The fundamental aim was to examine how students of tourism connect ethical issues to tourism. This was done by utilizing *the method of empathy-based stories* (MEBS); a method which has not been utilized earlier in the research of similar issues.

The data consisted of short writings written by tourism students of Vaasa Polytechnic and Himachal Pradesh University. Because ideas of postmodern are often Western-based (see e.g. Bauman, 1996: 191), in this study, Finnish students were assumed to represent so called Western postmodern world and accordingly postmodern tourists and on the other

hand, future workers for tourism industry. Indian students instead represented the world which is fast absorbing Western manners despite strong old traditions and manners.

India, as well as other less developed countries, has not been in the centre of postmodern discussions. However, because of cultural and religious aspects, in India ethical issues are emphasized in everyday life. However, in India these issues are not necessarily reflected in consumption and other secular behaviour *per se*. People do not necessarily consider themselves particularly religious (e.g. Mustonen, 2005). This assumed contradiction between the East and The West was the backbone of this study. How did writings written by Finns and Indians differ from each other? Was it possible to find discussion on ethics, as it is understood in this study, from the data conducted by Indians, and on the other hand, how was “Western postmodernity” reflected in the writings of Finnish students? In addition to trying to find answers to these background questions, one important aim of this study was also to evaluate the method of empathy based stories in the case of sociological tourism research.

As mentioned earlier, postmodern theories and discussions on postmodern ethics usually concern Western societies (e.g. Bauman, 1996: 191). Thus in this study it was assumed that Finnish students should be more aware of the topics which are generally connected to ethical tourism than Indian students are. Possible differences might also be due to different curricula. In Western countries, ethical issues, following the thoughts of postmodernists, might be more in the centre of the discussion also when education systems are considered.

### **Postmodern features of ethics**

Countless studies have been conducted to gain more information on the impacts of tourism. Literature is extensive and impacts of tourism must be one of the most researched topics in the wide field of tourism (see Ratz, 2005). Economic impacts are often the main factors behind the development of tourism and on the other hand, physical impacts are easily visible in the destinations. Nevertheless, in addition to these, the idea of “sustainable tourism” includes numerous other dimensions, socio-cultural sustainability being the most important of these (Bruntland, 1987; see also Meadows *et al.*, 1972: 47). Renn (2005: 24) defines sustainable development by describing it as a vision of a society living below or near the carrying capacity, but which is able to satisfy its economic, social and cultural needs. All these dimensions must be taken into account when tourism practices are developed and promoted. This multidimensionality is one of the most pivotal problems regarding the concept; sustainable development can be defined differently by different actors according to the field of interest (*ibid.*).

When the future of tourism in the light of sustainability is discussed, the question of responsibility comes easily into the centre of discussion. The call for sustainability can be considered an external norm, which arises out of ethical motivation (Renn, 2005: 34). The fundamental idea of sustainable development is that also future generations should have the same possibilities as contemporary people have (Bruntland, 1987). In this definition, the vertical axis of responsibility is emphasized. By this Birnbacher (2001) means responsibility happening *in time*. Nevertheless, also horizontal responsibility can be

connected to the discussion. Horizontal dimension in this case means that everyone should take responsibility of other creatures such as animals and plants (*ibid.*).

According to the *Global Code of Ethics* of World Tourism Organization (2005), all stakeholders must act for the common goal, which is the sustainable future (Bruntland, 1987; also Meadows *et al.*, 1972). In practice this goal means that ethical issues must spread even into the hard core of the tourism industry. This has occurred to some extent, whilst tour operators have their own programmes of sustainable tourism and the growth of tourism is criticized even by them who are mostly responsible of it (see Butcher, 2003: 17). However, obeying orders and suggestions is up to each and every actor in the market. When actual encounters with the *Other* occur, codes of conduct most probably are not in hand. Instead, choices are made according to one's own will and common sense (compare to *ibid.*: 72). Many theorists state that consumers acquaint themselves with ethical issues as they face the negative sides of modern society (e.g. Bauman, 1996: 191–215; 1997; Beck, 1995a: 20–21; 1995b: 244). When tourism is concerned, this means that postmodern tourists should notice the impacts of tourism and become familiar with ethical issues. In this study the difference between sustainability and ethics was considered from this perspective: ethics was regarded an intrinsic value which probably leads the person to act according to the principles of sustainable development.

Aristotle in his *Nicomachean Ethics* (1989) suggests that people aim at happiness, which is the very basis of good life. All other urges aim at something else, but in the end always to happiness. People are members of societies and their behaviour inside these groups is connected with the happy outcome that is sought after. Despite some new insights brought into the field for example by Thomas Aquinas, the legacy of Aristotle can be considered a philosophical basis of contemporary discussions of sustainable development – even together with the discussions on postmodern ethics.

Aristotle makes a distinction between those who intentionally behave according to good manners and those who behave similarly without particular intention. If good behaviour is intentional, the actor accordingly represents good and vice versa. In the case of tourism this is an important consideration. When the present is concerned, does it really matter whether the motives behind behaviour are individual or altruistic? It could be thought that the only thing that matters is the final outcome. Ideally, however, the basis of behaviour should be intrinsic in the longer run. This is only possible if people and all the stakeholders internalize and spread further the necessary information of the ethical dimensions of consumption.

Postmodern individuality and consumer culture emphasize the freedom of choice. This freedom increases insecurity because of claimed breakdown of controlling structures (Bauman, 1996; Lyotard, 1985). Because of this, choices are on one hand connected with external pressures and on the other hand with moral pressures (Ahokas *et al.*, 2005: 117). Without freedom, connections between social behaviour and responsibility are weak (*ibid.*: 115) and there is always someone else who holds the final responsibility, the *Other*. The problem is this contradiction between freedom and responsibility, especially in the case of tourism (compare to Ahponen, 1998). People are, in practice, free to travel, but on the

other hand pressures on sustainability are created continuously (see e.g. World Tourism Organization, 2005).

The questions of responsibility become relevant particularly when different actors meet each other. According to Bauman (1993; also Lévinas, 1993: 124–125; 1996: 78–82) all confrontations between people should base on the idea of being *for* the Other instead of being *with* the Other. Skiotis (2005) describes this by stating that the first is a relationship based on love whilst latter is based on power. In tourism these confrontations happen continuously when tourists meet the hosts, and *vice versa* (compare to Lash, 1996). This relationship ought to be equal albeit by using westernized indicators, both parties are in a highly unequal situation in real world. Tourists have had opportunities to travel whilst the majority of individuals in developing countries will most probably never have the same opportunity.

When Bauman (1993; 1996) speaks about postmodern ethics, he regards morality as something without an ethical code. According to Bauman (1996: 42–43), modern was an urge to dissolve individuals' responsibility by creating controlling structures. In postmodern era, ethical codes are no more produced and assigned by these authorities. Instead, responsibility is personal and occurs in interpersonal communication in postmodern world. Individuals are the source of ethics and discussion. (*ibid.*: 212–213) In the world where moral has become privatized (*ibid.*: 44), the roles of experts and intellectuals are emphasized. Their advice is needed even though no one can be sure of the outcome. The need is born, because in the insecure postmodern world actors cannot survive without the aid and advice made by these intellectuals. Thus paradoxically, the more insecure the world gets, the more advice is needed, especially on ethical issues. (*ibid.*: 220–221)

Tourists, who are guests in someone else's home, face ethical issues on Other's home ground. Individuals are placed in the centre of ethical discussion, whether they want to be there or not. They are forced to make ethical choices in everyday practises (compare to Butcher, 2003: 72). Where and how to live, where and how to travel, what to eat, what to wear? These among others are the questions to which proper universally applicable answers are difficult to find. Is the common sense which was discussed earlier in the case of the codes of conducts enough to secure the sustainable and ethical development?

In practice, in the field of tourism, there is nothing fundamentally new under the sun. What is new is that now consumerist lifestyles are intruding in developing countries, too. However, in postmodern *habitat* structures linked with for example consumption are formed differently than in modern (or pre modern) world (see Bauman 1996: 197–202). New structures are non-predictable, complex and to some extend unrestricted (*ibid.*: 198–199). It can be assumed that despite the fact that consumption-based lifestyles and ideologies behind them have intruded to India amongst others, ethical questions are probably not personalized to the same extent that in postmodern Western societies. In postmodern world consumption choices are affected by the social environment, which is usually driven by consumption and almost demands people to travel (see Sharpley, 2002: 307–311; see also Miles, 1998).



## Global Code of Ethics

Like discussed earlier, the main idea behind ethics in postmodern consumption culture is that ethical issues have reached all the individuals and responsibility must be shared. However, in the case of tourism, also more concrete advice of how different actors should behave has been created. World Tourism Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, has created one prominent although very extensive and normative code of conducts. The Global Code of Ethics (World Tourism Organization, 2005) contains ten different themes of which most essential ones in consideration of this study are presented in the following paragraphs. Ethics cannot be easily defined and views vary according to the definer. Even though some themes presented by WTO can be questioned, this is the reason why in this study, its code is used as a basis of the discussion.

Three main dimensions of “sustainable tourism”, ecological, economic and socio-cultural sustainability, also construct the very basis of WTO’s code. According to WTO, all the public and private stakeholders should cooperate in the implementation of the principles and monitor their application.

WTO underlines, that tourism should contribute to mutual understanding and respect between people and societies. This dimension can be seen as representing the core of socio-cultural dimension of sustainable tourism. The understanding and promotion of the ethical values common to humanity is essential to responsible tourism. These ethical values include tolerance and respect for the diversity of religious beliefs for example. Tourism activities should also be conducted in harmony with destination’s laws and customs. In practice, tourists should take responsibility of familiarizing themselves with the host’s characteristics.

The claim that tourism should be seen as a vehicle for individual and collective fulfilment is closely connected to previous theme. Tourism should be practiced with an open mind and it should lead to self-education, mutual tolerance and learning about cultural differences. WTO’s Code also claims the equality of genders and individual rights especially for the most vulnerable individuals. In addition to these, it is also recommended, that beneficial forms of tourism should be encouraged. These might include forms of tourism connected with religion, health, education and cultural exchange.

WTO emphasizes the fact that tourism uses cultural heritage as its resource. This is the reason why rights and obligations of host communities must be recognized. Thus tourism policies and activities should be conducted with respect for this heritage, and financial resources should be used for its upkeep and development. In connection to this, tourism should be planned in a way that traditional products and folklore could survive and flourish.

All the previous themes are closely connected to socio-cultural dimensions of sustainable development. In addition to this, also other dimensions are represented in WTO’s Code. In the Code, it is claimed that ideally tourism can be a factor of sustainable development. This requires that all stakeholders should safeguard the natural environment. In this respect nature tourism and ecotourism are particularly conducive in case they respect the

natural heritage and local populations and keep mind the carrying capacity of the sites. This theme emphasizes ecological aspects.

The main reason why tourism activities are usually developed is the evident economic benefits it generates. However, in practice, the allocation of the positive economic impacts is often unjust. Here lies the basis of the economic dimension of sustainable tourism. In other words, referring to WTO, tourism should be beneficial activity for the host countries and communities. Local populations should be associated with tourism activities and they should share the benefits they generate. Tourism activities should help to raise the standard of living and meet the needs of the hosts.

## **The data and the method**

Tourism students were chosen as a target group for three reasons. First of all, it is often assumed that in postmodern world, it is most likely that younger cohorts represent postmodern values (e.g. Honkanen, 2004: 45). However, the idea cannot be taken for granted. For example Mustonen (2003: 41–43) found in his comparison of age groups that, younger people were less interested than older cohorts in environmental issues, which are often connected to postmodern. Thus it is clear that more information is needed on the topic. Secondly, tourism students will be working in various executive tasks in the tourism industry after graduating. In this matter they should be aware of the issues concerning ethics and also implementations of ethical issues. Subjects concerning ethics should also be included in the curricula. Evaluation of the education systems is however beyond the scope of this study, although worth studying in the future. Thirdly, in the public discussions, young people in Western countries are often considered eager tourists (see e.g. Collins and Tisdell, 2002). So they should have opinions based on their own travelling experience.

In this study, students represented two different institutes, two different countries and two totally different cultures. The majority of the students were tourism and hospitality students of Vaasa Polytechnic, Finland. The group of students of Himachal Pradesh University, India, was chosen for enabling the comparison.

The data concerning students' views and opinions of ethical dimensions of tourism were collected by utilizing the modification of the method of empathy-based stories (MEBS), also called sometimes as passive role-playing method (Eskola, 1991; 1998). Students were asked to write shorts essays based on two scripts formulated by the author. Totally 79 writings were received, 60 from Finland and 19 from India. Thus by quantity, the essays written by Finnish students assembled the principle data of this study. A small proportion of Finnish students were exchange students originating mainly from China.

There where two different frame stories (i.e. scripts) which differed from each others with regard to the key issues. This differentiation, or variation, is crucial when MEBS is used. Thus, to some extent, the method can be compared with classical experimental research design (Eskola, 1991; 1998). Eskola (1998) describes the method by stating that individual respondents are given one variation of the frame story and the allocation is done by random, for example. However, in this study, the data collection process was different from the conventional. Instead of the variation method used Eskola, here each and every student

was given both frame stories, and thus they wrote two different stories. The reason for this decision was that the respondents were forced to compare the two stories and thus to consider different sides of the examples presented.

The approach and modification of the method is unique to sociological tourism research. Internationally, passive role-playing method utilizing writings, MEBS in this study, has not been used widely in sociological field either. The method has been utilized mainly in Finland (see Eskola, 1991; 1998). In the Anglo-American field the method is very rarely used (Eskola, 1998: 11; 91-123). However, active methods utilizing role-playing have been used widely, in the field of tourism research especially in studies concerning tourism education (Armstrong, 2003; Richards, 2000).

Eskola (1991; 1998) presents arguments with regard to using the method of empathy based stories. First of all, collecting data by utilizing the method is said to be relatively easy and MEBS can be adapted to many kinds of research problems and to different field of study. Secondly, using the method can also be considered ethical in respect of respondents being able to concentrate on their task without additional external pressures (Eskola, 1998: 44-47; 1991: 44). However, like any method, also MEBS holds several problems which must be taken into account. Ideally MEBS should encourage writers to enable their own imagination (Eskola 1991: 45). However, this is only the ideal situation. One reason why the method has not been widely utilized could be that gaining sufficient data and thus relevant results cannot be guaranteed. Writings do not necessarily concern the topic to the extent that the researcher wishes. Thus the results might remain superficial and stereotypic. However, Eskola (1998: 79) states that also interview answers are equally stereotypical and that stereotypes are part of everyday life and thus they should not be intentionally avoided. Eskola also emphasizes that it is important to recognize the aspects and value of the data behind these stereotypes. However, the fact that the data might only be based on a few superficial writings must be recognized. Thus the researcher's interpretations and theoretical implications turn out to be pivotal.

The method of empathy-based stories does not offer ready-made solutions but rather possibilities (Eskola, 1991: 47). Rather than giving straightforward answers, the answers tell about what people actually know about the topic concerned (ibid.: 43). Eskola (1998: 49) compares MEBS to factor analysis and states that the method can be used to produce small narratives. He refers to postmodern where the meaning and importance of metanarratives have diminished (compare to Lyotard, 1985). Thus in postmodern time, the purpose why these kinds of methods can be used is not to search for final truth but to find small ideas which might increase knowledge and create further questions. Coffey and Atkinson (1996: 190-191) suggest that researchers should not obsessively stick to some particular choices. This was one evident reason why the method of empathy based stories in this study was slightly renewed and developed further to suit better the research questions.

The frame stories given to students were as follows:

Frame story 1: X and Y (from Northern Europe) are going to spend their next winter holiday (two weeks) in Goa. They have one child (three years old Z). X and Y are going to book their holiday well ahead. When X and Y were students and before Z was born, they travelled together mainly independently. This time they are

going to rely on large well known tour operator and have a package holiday. The trip will be first longer holiday experience for Z. The family has not any particular plans for their holiday. Most likely they will just relax and try to forget their stressful work back home and probably rent a car or bikes for a few days.

Frame story 2: X, Y and Z are students (girls) and very good friends. They are going to go to India for about two months next winter. X has travelled to India once before, but for Y and Z the trip will be first to Asia in general. X and several friends have suggested some interesting places worth visiting. X, Y and Z have also read a lot of magazines, guidebooks (especially Lonely Planet) and internet web-sites. Nevertheless, they do not have any special plans. They are going to travel spontaneously around India by trains and buses, and maybe visit other countries as well.

First frame story delivered to the students of Vaasa Polytechnic was slightly different from the one above due to obvious sociocultural reasons. However, the basic idea of the story remained the same. Finnish students finally wrote their essays on X, Y and Z travelling to Canary Islands, which is a classic example of conventional mass tourism destination. The variation had to be done because Indian students most likely are not aware about the importance of Canary Islands or the “South” (see Selänniemi, 1996 for the discussion on the South) for Finnish tourism. For Indians, Goa is the destination which most likely represents mass tourism as it is usually understood in the West. Second frame story was similar in India and in Finland.

In this study, respondents were also asked to fill a small questionnaire. It contained only a few essential questions and thus it was thought that the benefits of including the form would rise higher than possible disadvantages (see Eskola, 1998: 72). The questionnaire did not contain hints or phrases which could direct students’ writings into some particular direction. One reason for including the questionnaire was that after answering to few general questions on tourism, students were assumed to be concentrated more into the topic. Other reason was that without the questionnaire comparisons between the Indians and the Finns would turn out to be more complicated and based only on writings. In this context, also future studies were considered. Although in this study the writings were not systematically and straightforwardly connected to background questions, this as well as utilizing the same questionnaire, would be possible in the future. Again, as well as the first frame story presented above, also the questionnaire for both target groups differed from each others. Even without consulting statistics, it is known that people in Finland travel remarkably more than Indians. For this reason, some of the questions concerning travelling habits were varied (see Appendix).

Students were given the following guidance. As well as in the case of questionnaires, here the idea was that the students would not get any hints about what and how they should write. The content of the Finnish version was identical to this English version used in India despite that Indians were asked to write in English. Finnish students wrote their writings mainly in Finnish.

Please read through the following frame stories. After reading, write freely two small stories based on these frame stories. You can freely elaborate and develop your

own thoughts further. The main idea is to write what you personally think. Write in English. You have 30 minutes time to write these stories. You can write your answers using these same papers, also other sides of them. If you need more paper, please ask your teacher. Pay attention to the following themes:

- How could this kind of tourism be as ethical as possible?
- What kind of ethical problems this particular group of tourists is likely to meet?
- Which of the examples is representing more ethical type of tourism and why?

### **Investigating the data in the light of ethics**

Eskola (1991: 20–29) presents three ways of how the data conducted by utilizing MEBS can be analyzed. These are quantification of the data, traditional qualitative approaches (e.g. classifications by the theme and type) and discursive interpretation (see also Ritchie *et al.*, 2004b: 237–238). In practice these are often inseparable and also in this study, all these three approaches were utilized. The data were examined deeply several times and the most essential themes were picked out each time. Finally the heterogeneous set of ideas could be reduced to few essential themes.

The students' writings were analysed keeping the main research questions in mind. First of all, the aim was to study how tourism students understood ethical tourism and how these views were connected with general ideas of ethical tourism? More accurately, how different dimensions of sustainable tourism, and on the other hand the most central themes of the WTO's Code were presented in the writings. Another theme under scrutiny was postmodernity. The aim was to find differences between Finnish and Indian writings in the light of postmodernity and ethical issues connected to it. The idea was not to find quantitative differences or to examine how individual students understood ethics and the task. What kind of issues they wrote about when they were given free hands and no further instructions. As Lewis (2004: 50–51) states, qualitative approach can contribute to making comparisons by understanding rather than measuring differences. According to Lewis, the idea should be identifying and explaining manifestations of the phenomena under scrutiny in different settings. In this study these settings were created by choosing two different groups of students into the analysis, Finns and Indians.

As mentioned earlier, it was assumed that the writings of Finnish students would contain more themes usually connected to ethical tourism than the writings of Indians. This hypothesis was somewhat strengthened during the research process. By interpreting the writings of Finnish students, a few clear dimensions or themes that can be connected to the subject of this study, were found. The data included also a few other themes which however were not relevant when the aims of this study were concerned. For example in the writings concerning the second frame story, most of the Finnish students wrote about the easiness of the form of travel concerned. However, travelling being easy and harmless does not have much to do with ethical issues, which are under the scope of this study. The reason why numerous answers happened to be erratic might actually be the method.

Because the students were able to write anything they wanted, the original purpose of the given task might have been forgotten.

The writings written by Indian students differed substantially from the writings of Finnish students. Most of the Indian students did not write about ethics *per se*. However, the method used in this study enables supplementation of the data and this possibility was utilized (see Ritchie *et al.*, 2004a: 85). Finally a new data utilizing the same frame stories and same questionnaire were collected to test whether the answers and writings of Indian students would differ from to ones in the first data. The test was worth doing but however, the contents of the new data were somewhat similar and thus finally only the first data were used.

It would be possible to argue that the definition of ethics is strongly dependent on the person who is defining it. However, here the main idea was to consider ethics as presented earlier, first through the WTO's code and secondly through the ideas of postmodern ethics. Even though the concept of ethics is multidimensional, there are some ethical principles which are universal (see WTO, 2005). Either ethical questions occurring inside postmodern habitat are not new, instead they are beyond the discussion on modern and postmodern (Bauman, 1996: 211). In this respect, the almost total absence of discussion which could be connected with the themes of WTO's code and general discussion on ethic in the writings of Indian students was rather surprising. There were no noteworthy differences between the writings based on the different frame stories.

Here it must be mentioned that also in the Finnish data, the writings of the exchange students were least connected to ethics. As mentioned in the beginning, this is in line with the assumption, which can be connected to postmodern habitat; ethical issues, which are said to be typical to Western postmodern world, are not necessarily visible in the same form elsewhere.

The writing task and instructions given to students can be considered relatively easy to understand. Thus the difficulty cannot be a principle reason why the writings of Finnish and Indian students differed so remarkably from each others. Now here it must be noticed that in this study, the point of view was indisputably Western. This could well be criticized but on the other hand, to some extent ethnocentric approach is unavoidable because postmodern theories considered here are mainly Western based.

Nevertheless, despite the lack of ethical discussion in the writings, in the questionnaires Indian students wrote about the topics which beforehand would have been desired to occur in the writings. Almost all the students mentioned "tourism as the fastest growing industry" and its importance to economies, for example. Some even mentioned "eco-tourism" or "sustainable tourism", although very cursory. When asked, almost all of the students stated that the reason why they study tourism is its position as a big industry and its immense economic benefits. Finnish students despite a few exceptions had started to study tourism because they were interested in the subject. Considering the answers, it would be interesting to study how Indian and Finnish students would be placed in materialist/postmaterialist - scale (see Inglehart 1997).

Tourism students all over the world are taught the same basics which can be found in the elementary literature. These are well visible in the questionnaire part of the Indian data.

Thus it seems that the absence of references to essential issues in the writings of Indian students could be that students could not connect these issues into imaginary scenarios presented in the frame stories. It would have been possible to change the topic of the writing task to sustainable tourism or simply ask what they think that ethical tourism is. However, it was thought that by doing so, answers would have been too much similar to these taught basics and thus ideas connected to more abstract “ethics” would have been absent.

Thus, even though or rather because of the writings of Indian students (marked with the letter “I” onwards) did not contain ideas of ethics to the some extent that writings of Finnish students, the utilized method including the questionnaire revealed differences between the East and the West. The answers of Indian students in the questionnaire were relatively superficial and clearly based on common views which had been most likely gained from the studies. (The quotations are presented here in exactly the same form as they were written by the students in the writings (WI) and questionnaires (QI).)

“The field tourism is one of the fastest emerging fields in India and abroad. It has lot of potential and scope of growing in coming years...” (QI)

“I want to study the ways in which tourism can became a major foreign revenue earner...” (QI)

“Tourism is industry without pollution or very less pollution that can be tackled with better management of tourism destination that’s why it is called “smokeless industry”. More over if tourism increase between different countries that provides better understanding between them with a better understanding between different countries dream of happy and peaceful world can be fulfilled.” (QI)

“Tourism industry is the fast growing industry it can be only fast if it is properly maintained for the future generation. So we should promote eco-tourism and sustainable tourism.” (QI)

“As tourism is a fast growing industry so more investment should be made in this field as it leads to the growth of economy and it will be helpful in development of our country.” (QI)

“Tourism is a fastest growing industry in the world. It also gives employment to many people. Tourism is an industry which help the developing countries to develop their economy by develop tourism.” (QI)

“Tourism is really a good live to learn about everything, so I will suggest to every friend of mine to join tourism as their future, because I have a very good knowledge about tourism in the world after completing my study in tourism.” (QI)

## The first frame story

Essential themes which could be found from the writings of Finnish students (marked with the letter 'F' in the quotations, 'W' refers to writings and 'Q' to questionnaire) were environmental issues, cultural aspects of tourism, use of local services, respectful behaviour and impacts of tourism. The distribution of these themes varied substantially between stories based on different frame stories.

In the case of the first story, the situations where the word "ethics" were used were very heterogeneous. It was interesting to notice that usually when ethics was mentioned, the connections with issues commonly connected with ethics were relatively rare. For instance, one student wrote that the example tour would be more ethical because it is good to travel with a child. Another student wrote that the kind of travelling described in the frame story would not be ethical, because the main thing for the example family is to escape somewhere (compare to Rojek, 1993). Thus it can be assumed that some students wanted to mention ethics only because it was the topic of the task. Of course travelling with a child might be ethical from some point of view, but in this study the discussion was not expanded thus far.

However, despite some exceptions, in several writings the word "ethics" was placed correctly into the essential discussion. One respondent for example wrote the following comment:

"Tourism might displace the locals' culture and settlements. Large tour operators do not pay account in ethical problems, although they maybe do so more and more. The tour might be more ethical if the family respected hosts' manners and aimed at leaving money to the destination country." (WF)

In this citation, the impacts of tourism, respectful behaviour and the use of local services were mentioned. This tells something about the respondent's ability to connect at least to some extent to these issues in the right context. This quotation was well in line with WTO's Code, for example. Impacts of tourism were connected to changes in local culture and settlements. These impacts are clearly visible in every established resort in the South.

The visibility of physical impacts might be the reason why impacts of tourism were mentioned mainly in the writings based on the first frame story. It does not require deeper understanding of sustainability to notice how for example tourists and locals tend to live and operate in different areas (see Selänniemi, 1996: 184-194). In the case of Goa, which is not so well-known destination and where none of the respondents had visited, the impacts of tourism were not noticed according to the data. In general, most of the comments about the impacts were negative and about "overpopulated Canary Islands". However, two Finnish students noticed the perspective which has been also discussed in the literature (see e.g. Butcher, 2003; Krippendorf 1989: 125-128; Selänniemi, 1996: 231-236): Conventional tourism could be more sustainable than individualized "new" tourism.

"They stay in tourism areas and won't stress the environment. On the other hand they overpopulate the area even more." (WF)



“Because the holiday is fully planned and the family stays basically in the same place, the “footmark” remains in the certain area.” (WF)

The writer of the latter offered the most extensive story of all the students. It was interesting that she had never travelled abroad and she had actually studied restaurant management as a major instead of tourism. Thus it can be assumed that understanding deeper structures of sustainability is not necessarily linked with either the subject of the studies or the actual travelling experience. To some extent ethical issues are known even though values attached to them would not occur in the behaviour. However, as mentioned briefly above, previous travelling experience may have some impact on the ability to recognize the essential issues concerning ethics and sustainability. In the dataset of students of Vaasa Polytechnic most of the people had at least once travelled abroad. Only four students out of 61 had never travelled abroad. About third of the students travel at least once a year.

However, in the data of Indian students, practically all had travelling experience only inside India. In the writings of Indian students concerning the first frame story, issues which were mentioned concerned basically easiness of travelling and preliminary knowledge of the destinations. Like in the case questionnaire answers presented before, answers reflected clearly the orientation of the curricula which in the case of tourism students in Himachal Pradesh University is very marketing orientated (see Mtashimla, 2005). It can be assumed that students identify themselves through their studies and are necessarily not encouraged to keep up criticism and deeper discussion on the other dimensions of tourism.

It seems that at least according to the questionnaire part of the data Indian tourism students are relatively business orientated. By interpreting the data it seems that students are eager towards doing business, and even though they in general are in a sense deeply religious, it does not prevent them aiming at economic welfare. Religion and secular life are somewhat kept separate. Of course there is also a practical reason for this; in India the social welfare system is remarkably different from the welfare system in Finland, and thus people are forced to search for ways to cover the essential expenses (see Drèze and Sen, 2002).

Physical environmental problems are most often regarded as the most severe negative impacts of tourism. In the case of the first frame story in the Finnish data, the environment was directly or indirectly mentioned only a few times. In some cases, however, some more general comments on impacts on tourism could be interpreted referring to environment:

“The Canary Islands is a mass tourism destination, travelling to which is not of my favour, because authenticity and naturalness of the destinations have most likely suffered due to tourism.” (WF)

“Now it should be remembered that one is not at home. Instead, there is always someone who is forced to clean the marks of the tourists when they have left the destination.” (WF)

“The Canary Islands is an overexploited destination which is bombed with the masses of tourists every year.” (WF)

The environment, if mentioned, was usually discussed together with impacts. One student, for example, made an interesting contribution, and combined independent travelling with ecological values and stated that “packaged tour might develop ethical problems in this matter”. This is a very common way of thinking and since the very classics (e.g. Boorstin, 1977; Poon, 1993; Turner and Ash, 1975) similar generalizations have been made in the discussions where mass tourism have been criticized.

In the case of the first frame story, many Finnish tourism students mentioned the importance of knowing about the hosts’ culture although not to the same extent as in the case of the second frame story. Cultural aspects of tourism are practically the only topic which was visible in both Finnish and Indian data. A typical sentence in the Finnish data was as follows:

“It is worth familiarizing oneself with the destination’s culture, because it is always good to enhance one’s point of view”. (WF)

It was interesting to notice that the discussion on using the services of local enterprises was mentioned only in a few writings in the Finnish data. In the Indian data this kind of discussion was totally absent. It can be assumed that in addition to Indian students, neither did Finnish students understand well enough the structures of tourism in the destination areas. Some writings however contained ideas which are well in line for example with WTO’s Code. Some of the students for example connected multinational companies to packaged tourism. The point of view in these cases was that in mass tourism destinations multinational companies are in control and thus money will not stay in the destination.

The last essential theme which was found from the writings was respectful behaviour. This theme can be connected to all the dimensions of sustainable tourism and it is indirectly included in all the major themes presented by WTO. Respectful behaviour is also linked with the “common sense” discussed earlier together with postmodern ethics. According to several students, respectful behaviour can be connected with respecting customs and habits of the locals. This, of course, should be the core of the whole discussion on ethical tourism. However, in the case of the first frame story only a few students somehow mentioned that tourists should behave respectfully. In the case of the second frame story considerably more students included this theme into their writings. It can be assumed that the students in Finland are able to recognize the cultural differences between Finland and India, but it seems that established destinations in the South are considered merely as tourist resorts without any particular connections with culture differences. This point of view was clearly reflected in the writings of Finnish students. Here the strengths and on the other hand the handicaps of MEBS could be noticed. Answers did not contain deep discussion or considerations on the topic (compare to Eskola, 1998: 79-80). On the other hand, by interpreting the writings, it was possible to find themes which students consider important and what they actually know about the topic (*ibid.*; also Eskola, 1991: 43). Of course, it would have been possible to conduct regular surveys. However, although the answers would then be more variable, they would follow the ready-built question structures. By using surveys, the genuine knowledge and opinions of the students would remain blurred.

## The second frame story

Indian writings, as well as in the case of the first frame story, were surprisingly superficial and practically none of them contained discussion on the topics essential to this study. None of the students mentioned the word ethics and any of them had opinions of which one of the alternatives would be more ethical. Also direct or indirect discussion on personal responsibility and postmodern ethics was totally absent, as was assumed beforehand.

Finally slightly less than a half of the writings of the Indian students dealt with information that tourists should be searching before the trip. However, the way how the students wrote about this, was different from Finnish data. The discussion was not about evident cultural differences but rather about difficulties which tourists may confront in India. Again, a marketing point of view was emphasized. Many writings contained suggestions that tourists should consult travel agencies. Although it was not clearly stated, according to writings and questionnaire answers of Indian students, it could be assumed that they considered the travelling alternative presented in the first frame story, if not particularly ethical, at least somehow better. This point of view was emphasized in the next three quotations that were taken from the writings based on the first frame story:

“It is a good idea to take the services of tour operator and have a package holiday. As they have a child and to avoid trouble and confusion as they want to relax.” (WI)

“Option of tour operator was good as one has to face many problems while touring and they were having a child too with them now, so it’s better to have tour planned by an experienced tour operator.” (WI)

“X and Y are taking help of tour operator, the good thing they are doing is that they are planning it in advance so that they can get the best services. This is not the first time they are travelling but this is the first time that they are travelling together. They even have to take special care for their kid and plan so that he also enjoys.” (WI)

When the discussion on ethics in the light of WTO’s Code and postmodern discussion is concerned, the Finnish data contained notably more information than the Indian data. In the case of the second story, more than a half of the writings in the Finnish data included at least some discussion on the topic essential to this study. Only 13 writings did not concern the topic at all. Most of these improper writings were written by the exchange students. In the case of the first frame story, adequate writings assembled one third of the whole data and about a half of the writings were almost totally of the topic.

The differences between writings based on the two frame stories were remarkable and the reason for this was easy to interpret. Finnish students are aware of Indian cultural environment being considerably different from the one in Finland or the Canary Islands. Totally 20 students somehow considered the scenario presented in the second frame story more ethical although the arguments did vary a lot. The scenario presented in the first

frame story was more ethical in only a few writings. When the arguments were evaluated it could be stated that the students tend to connect ethics into a few essential themes. First and most often mentioned were the issues concerning cultural differences. The discussion concentrated on respecting local culture and importance of collecting enough information before the trip.

“This is more ethically correct. Girls familiarize themselves with the other culture and don’t promote mass tourism like in the case of the other story. Girls will also use local services. Ethical problems might also occur because of religion.” (WF)

Other important themes were the use of local services and comparisons with conventional mass tourism i.e. the kind of travelling described in the first frame story. In general, it seems that the students considered the trip ethical, if they expect some kind of cultural conflicts to occur. Many students wrote about these conflicts as ethical problems but still considered the scenario more ethical. Together with discussion on cultural differences several students also mentioned individual and spontaneous travelling and connected it to ethical tourism. This point of view can be connected to postmodern ethics, which contains the idea of shared responsibility. The following quotations make this observation more concrete:

“Spontaneous travelling as such is some kind of ethical feature. Girls will no doubt confront a lot of ethical questions and problems during their trip. Some of the questions will remain without answers, and own moral will become part of travelling. What is right, what is wrong, what can and cannot be done?” (WF)

“Unlike in the case of package tour, girls can influence on the contents and ethics of the trip by doing decisions by themselves.” (WF)

“If I have understood right, I would consider the second alternative ethical and thus right travelling. You take your own responsibility and survive. You decide what you want to see, experience and feel and make it happen.” (WF)

Environmental aspects did not seem to be in the centre when Finnish tourism students presented in the data thought about ethical aspects of tourism. It could for example be possible that students connect ethics with humans and sustainability with environment. However, the investigation of the data did not give evidence to this assumption.

If discussion on environment was scarce in the case of the first frame story, it was even more that in the case of the second story. Only three students mentioned environment and the discussion concerning travelling by local means of transport. Only one student wrote about the pressure that tourism causes to environment:

“The second alternative is more ethical because tourists travel by less polluting means of transport and assimilate with local culture. Thus the pressure of mass tourism to local environment and culture will not occur.” (WF)

Even though students considered the second alternative more ethical, only two students wrote straightforwardly about the impacts of tourism. Both of them mentioned economic

revenues but only one writer noticed the negative impacts. She also mentioned Lonely Planet which according to her guides the people to the same places to which also other tourists travel. Other writer stated that by travelling independently, local cultures might gain more benefits. As discussed earlier, the reason why discussion on impacts was not visible in more than a few writings can be that students are not familiar with India as a country or destination. It could be noticed that the opinions and arguments were mainly based on stereotypes formed by media, for example. The fact that the writings concerning the first frame story contained notably more discussion on impacts strengthened this assumption.

“Tourism is an important source of revenues to India, but some destinations are so popular that also negative impacts are great. Western tourists do not always remember to respect the local traditions. From Lonely Planet they can get information of popular destinations – of the ones where also other tourists visit.” (WF)

In addition to the fairly decent writings, some writings where the word ethics was mentioned were quite superficial and even contradictory to the essential issues which were pursued in this study. This is well visible in a comment presented below. This quotation as well as other similar ones might indicate respondent’s frustration with the task but it also shows that some students could not or did not want to consider the issues and concentrate on their task deeply enough.

“Ethically, there is nothing wrong with this kind of travelling, because people can travel all over the globe how they wish. But why travel to the country which is overpopulated?” (WF)

## Discussion

The fundamental aim of this study was to examine how Finnish and Indian students of tourism understood ethics when it was connected to different tourism scenarios. The problem was not approached straightforwardly by for example conducting interviews or surveys. Instead, in this study the idea was that students should not be given any hints on the topic beforehand. This way it was genuinely possible to study students’ own views and opinions, which may differ remarkably from the ones usually thought.

The method which was utilized to collect data is called the method of empathy based studies. The idea of the method is that students are asked to write short writings according to instructions given by the researcher. Students are “forced” to play certain roles and elaborate stories freely according to their own will. The conclusions are then conducted by interpreting these writings.

The research questions were kept in mind during the whole research process. The first of them was to find out what kind of issues students connect with ethics. The ethics were here defined by using WTO’s Code of conducts and discussions on postmodern ethics in the background. Second, the differences between Finnish and Indian students were searched for. In the study, students represented two totally different societies. Finnish students studied tourism in Vaasa Polytechnics located in the western coast of Finland whilst Indian

students were students of Himachal Pradesh University in Indian Himalayas. These structural differences were connected with postmodern discussion of ethics and as postmodern discussion is largely Western-based, it was assumed that in this sense Finnish data would contain more discussion on ethics *per se*. In addition to these, one important aim of the study was to evaluate the relevance of method of empathy based stories in case of sociological tourism research.

The hypothesis about Finnish students being more aware on ethical issues was strengthened during the research process. Writings by Indian students did not contain discussion on ethics. However, in the questionnaire which was conducted together with the writing task they wrote about the issues which could be connected with ethics. Nevertheless, the nature of these notices was very close to the basics which are thought to all the tourism students all over the world. In the Indian data, also the orientation towards business and tourism as an “industry” was clearly visible. These observations strengthened the hypothesis that Indian students are not familiar with the discussion on ethics in the context of WTO’s Code and postmodern discussions. However, developing countries, such as India might become more important tourist destinations in the future, and because of this it is important to spread knowledge in the issues connected to ethics of both demand and supply sides of tourism.

The Finnish data, instead, contained substantially more discussion on the most common features of ethics presented in the WTO’s code. These were environmental issues, cultural aspects of tourism, the use of local services, respectful behaviour and impacts of tourism. However, the discussion was somewhat superficial and hardly any deeper thoughts could be found. The environmental issues were connected to conventional packaged tourism, which was the topic of the first frame story on which the writings were based. Cultural issues were commonly connected with the second frame story, which contained a scenario of “individual” travelling to India. Although according to the questionnaire Finnish students had quite a lot travelling experience, they could only connect the issues with the most evident phenomena. Environmental impacts of tourism are of course more visible in the established tourist destinations in the “South” but also in other destinations physical impact should be recognized. Also in the case of cultural aspects of tourism, Finnish students were well aware of the cultural differences between Finland and India. However they did not notice that also in the conventional tourist destinations cultural impacts do occur and respectful behaviour is equally important.

As a conclusion, it can be stated that according to the data used in this study, unlike Indian students, Finnish students seemed to have some kind of basic knowledge of the issues concerning ethics of tourism. It is another question how this occurs in their behaviour. However, this knowledge could be considered rather superficial. The utilized method could have been one reason why the answers remained somewhat cursory. However, this cannot be the reason why the Indian students’ writings differed so remarkably from the writing of Finnish students. The reason must be a totally different ideology and social background. It can be assumed that in Finland and presumably in other Western countries, too, same kind of results could be attained even though the target group were not tourism students.

The method of empathy studies produced data which could not be collected by conducting surveys, for example, which inexorably give hints to the respondents. Also personal interviews would have been difficult to conduct due to economical reasons, for example. Even though some of the writings were superficial, even immature in some cases, the data revealed interesting differences between the two sets of the data. Thus it seems that the method, which has not been utilized earlier in the tourism research, and by the help of which collecting data is relatively easy and economical, should be included in the set of methods of tourism researchers.

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