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THE VALUES OF ETHICAL AND RESPONSIBLE TOURISTS

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**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

The aim of this doctoral thesis was to gain insight into ethical and responsible tourists, to understand their motivational values and to reveal the importance of these values in their holiday choice behaviour. This study has more than achieved this aim and makes unique contributions in several areas – not only has it extended what is known and understood about ethical and responsible tourist's motivation but it has also underlined the utility of the values concept to understand their holiday choice behaviour. Further contribution derives from the application of the conceptual framework of the means-end chain theory (Gutman, 1982), which has enabled this study to explore the linkages between ethical and responsible tourists' holiday choices, the perceived benefits of these choices and their underpinning values. This study has also found that, although useful, Schwartz's (1992) value theory needs further modification if used within an ethical consumer context. Most notably, limitations have been found in the value types of power, achievement and hedonism when applied to ethical and responsible tourists' holiday choice behaviour. Overall, this doctoral thesis has significantly advanced the tourist research agenda, not only by revealing the meaningful associations between ethical and responsible tourists' values and their holiday choice behaviour, but also by providing crucial information on the specific values that prompt these holiday choices.

From the key findings of this study, ethical and responsible tourists prefer to travel independently, perceive tourism to have the capacity to encourage inequitable relationships and understand how the tourism industry operates. They demonstrate sympathy for the principles of fair trade, with its emphasis on cooperation and partnership, and not only do they take active responsibility for sharing the economic benefits of their holidays they also want to make a lasting contribution to visited communities. Ethical and responsible tourists have a strong belief in their personal ability to facilitate change, not only by sharing their knowledge and experiences with family and friends but also because they believe their behaviour can demonstrate to others how to take an ethical or responsible approach to holiday choice. In addition, ethical and responsible tourists demonstrate a range of deeply held values including respect, responsibility and a duty of care towards both the planet and other people, the importance of sharing the economic benefits of tourism and a preoccupation with making sure their holiday choices are consistent with the values of equity, fairness and social justice.

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Finally I would like to dedicate this thesis to my children, Hannah and Tom, not only because they are FABULOUS, but also because they have been so patient with me over these past 6 years. This is my gift – enjoy!

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the dissertation, submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy and entitled "The values of ethical and responsible tourists", represents my own work and has not been previously submitted to this or any other institution for any degree, diploma or other qualification.

Clare Weeden
April 2008

1.0 CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context

Each year millions of people take holidays, travelling around the globe in search of self-discovery, excitement, and relaxation – all activities that assumed increasing importance in people's lives during the twentieth century and are now regarded as essential to modern life (Smith and Duffy, 2003). Now more than ever before people are travelling further, more often and to ever more remote destinations in order to relax, recuperate and recharge in the hope of more effectively managing their busy and often stressful everyday lives. In response to these trends, world tourism demand has experienced phenomenal growth since the 1950s, a situation that looks set to continue, despite current political and environmental uncertainty.

With more than 800 million international arrivals taking place during 2006, tourism is a truly global industry and therefore a significant contributor to the world's economy (United Nations World Tourism Organisation [UNWTO], 2006). Spending on travel and tourism now exceeds US $6 trillion annually, representing more than 3.5 per cent of global GDP and providing a total of 2.8 per cent of total world employment. Factoring in the direct and indirect impact of the industry, these figures represent 10.3 per cent of GDP and 8.7 per cent of global employment in 2006 (World Travel and Tourism Council [WTTC], 2006). Clearly, tourism is a major driver of economic development and viewed by many governments of the world to be a positive force for economic prosperity.

Suppliers and consumers have welcomed and also benefited from the increasing success of tourism, yet at the same time there has been a trend toward questioning the nature and speed of this growth (Curtin and Busby, 1999). Indeed, although tourism is able to facilitate economic benefit it can also potentially reinforce the social and economic disadvantages of host populations, especially within developing nations (Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000) and concerns have been raised over some key characteristics of the industry and its activities. For instance, the market structure for global tour operations is fiercely competitive and continues to be dominated by large, transnational corporations - while destination communities often welcome the involvement of these transnational investors initially, the relationship can result in high volume, low price tourism with excessive levels

of economic leakage that bring little long-term benefit to the economy (Curtin and Busby, 1999). The following quote neatly encapsulates these concerns,

> Tourism perpetuates inequality, with the multinational companies of the advanced capitalist countries retaining the economic power and resources to invest in and ultimately control nations of the developing world (Wearing, 2002:238).

Other concerns focus on the ability of tourism to perpetuate environmental, social and cultural degradation, the continuation of paternalistic attitudes and even the spread of disease (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). At a local level, tourism has been held responsible for restricting community access to natural resources, such as water, public land and beaches, and for creating social injustice through the displacement of communities, as well as facilitating the increase in travel for purposes of sex tourism (Goodwin and Francis, 2003). Socially, tourism can perpetuate seasonal and poorly paid, low status employment, as well as contribute to cultural dislocation by appealing to local young people who then turn away from more traditional livelihoods (Fennell, 1999).

The manner in which the tourism product is marketed and promoted has also been criticised, with "overzealous marketing by tourism organisations" being responsible for encouraging large numbers of people to visit sensitive environments, thereby contributing to the erosion of coastal paths, the displacement of local wildlife and increased levels of pollution and congestion (Dinan and Sargeant, 2000:2). Concerns such as these have prompted fierce debate among and between consumers, suppliers, industry associations, advocacy groups and academics, and led to calls for all stakeholders to exercise a greater sense of responsibility, not only for the impact of tourism development but also with regard to the industry's business practices.

Because much of the criticism has focused on the negative impact of mass tourism, various types of 'alternative' tourism have been proposed, all intended to offer a "more socially and ecologically benign alternative to mass tourism development" (Fennell, 1999:9). Examples of these alternatives include 'new', 'eco', 'soft' and 'sustainable', but unfortunately, and regardless of the motivations of the operators and advocates involved, these alternatives are often dismissed on the basis that the industry's use of these terms,

> …represents an attempt to distance the activities associated with the new forms of tourism from what are presumed to be the unsustainable activities pursued by the mass (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:92).

In addition, these alternatives are, by their very nature, often small-scale and may encourage tourists to go off the beaten track into more vulnerable environments. In other words, not only do they not address the problems of mass tourism, they may in fact compound the problems associated with it. Scepticism has also been expressed by consumers as well as advocacy groups for what they see as a cynical marketing opportunity for tour operators – a chance to differentiate their products and enjoy a price premium through labelling them 'eco' or 'sustainable'.

Nevertheless, and regardless of such criticism, some of the more recent forms of tourism do in fact share a genuine concern for the impact of tourism development, imply a desire to maximise the benefit of tourism for destination communities and demonstrate a willingness to promote community cooperation in the provision of tourism services, particularly when operating in the developing world (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). As always in tourism, the terminology used to describe these different approaches is confusing, largely undefined and misunderstood, but leaving that aside, the more credible forms of 'new' tourism actively seek to develop a responsible attitude towards tourism and its development, and are known variously as eco, community-based, fair trade, pro-poor, or ethical and responsible tourism.

Whilst they may have different and individual emphases, these 'new' tourism approaches do in fact share a common origin and this is the principle of sustainable development, which first came to public attention with the World Conservation Strategy in March 1980, and the subsequent creation of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED). Out of the WCED came 'Our Common Future' (1987), mostly referred to as the Brundtland Report, which highlighted the importance of a sustainable approach to future world economic development (WCED, 1987) and was instrumental in initiating debate about the importance of sustainability in tourism development. In time, sustainability within tourism was advocated as a positive alternative to the negative and potentially

destructive impact of mass tourism, on the understanding that it sought to encourage tourism development that was compatible with local cultures, managed in an environmentally sound manner and brought economic benefit to the local population (Dinan and Sargeant, 2000). These principles can be found in many of these new forms of tourism - pro-poor tourism for example, emphasises the importance of facilitating three types of local benefit from tourism development - economic benefit, quality of life benefit (such as physical, social or cultural improvements in the local area) and the qualitative benefits commensurate with community participation and involvement in tourism (Meyer, 2003).

Another example is ecotourism, and whilst the term is often "riddled with confusion" (Jaakson, 1997:34) seeks to provide,

> …purposeful travel to natural areas to undertake the cultural and natural history of the environment, taking care not to alter the integrity of the ecosystem, while producing economic opportunities that make the conservation of natural resources financially beneficial to local citizens (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1987, in Jaakson, 1997:35).

Of course, ecotourism is more than just a name – it constitutes an approach to tourism that prioritises care of the environment at the same time as being beneficial to the local residents. Holden and Sparrowhawk (2002) suggest the core foundations of ecotourism come from Hetzer's (1965, in Holden and Sparrowhawk, 2002) research that advocated a more responsible form of tourism (than mass tourism, for example); it should cause minimum environmental impact, have a minimum negative impact on and maximum respect for local cultures, and should maximise economic benefit to local people whilst bringing maximum satisfaction to the tourist. Such objectives indicate a benevolent, or ethical approach to tourism, emphasising as they do the desire to facilitate the development of benefits beyond those of the personal needs and expectations of the individual tourist.

Another term is sustainable tourism and for any holiday product to be described as sustainable it should adopt certain key principles, such as making optimal use of environmental resources whilst maintaining and conserving the natural heritage and biodiversity, respecting the sociocultural authenticity of local communities as well as conserving their built and living heritage and traditional values and contributing to inter-

cultural understanding and tolerance. Finally, operators providing sustainable tourism products are expected to develop long-term economic relationships, ensure economic benefits are fairly distributed, provide stable employment opportunities and thus contribute to poverty alleviation in host communities (WTO, 2004, in Lansing and De Vries, 2007). Although laudable in intent, this is a long list of requirements and it remains unclear to what extent the industry follows these guidelines closely.

As an international organisation designed to promote the development of responsible and sustainable tourism, the UNWTO has recently devised a Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, which is intended to promote tolerance and respect and to encourage the industry to adopt ethical values. The following passage, taken from Article One of the Code, illustrates the UNWTO's belief in an ethical and responsible approach to tourism,

> The understanding and promotion of the ethical values common to humanity, with an attitude of tolerance and respect for the diversity of religious, philosophical and moral beliefs, are both the foundation and consequence of responsible tourism (UNWTO, 1999).

Whilst the UNWTO believes the code acts as a guide for all stakeholders involved in tourism development, it remains rather bland and unclear on exactly what is meant by an ethical and responsible approach. Indeed, given the long period of time since calls were first made for an ethical approach to tourism (see Hultsman, 1995; Payne and Dimanche 1996; Font and Ahjem, 1998), it is perhaps surprising that the concept of ethical and responsible tourism remains largely unexplained. However, there does exist one proposed definition,

> Responsible and ethical tourism is a business and consumer response to some of the major economic, social and environmental issues, which affect our world. It is about travelling in a better way and about taking responsibility for the impacts that our actions have socially and economically on others and on their social, cultural and natural environment (Goodwin and Pender, 2005:303).

This explanation is significant because it highlights equally the role of business and the consumer, thus moving the debate from a general discussion of the industry's responsibilities to an emphasis on the responsibilities of the individual tourist traveller. Indeed, as tourists become increasingly sophisticated and aware of the importance of

sustainability in everyday life so it is unsurprising that demands for a more sustainable approach to tourism have recently emerged (Mowforth and Munt, 2003).

Although ethical and responsible tourism has emerged as a significant trend in the last 5 years (Hudson and Miller, 2005) and research indicates ethical considerations to be increasingly significant in tourist purchasing behaviour (see Curtin and Busby, 1999; Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000; Tearfund, 2000b), the true picture is confusing, because in reality, only a very small number of tourists are aware of the issues, are concerned about their personal impact on host destinations and wish to 'travel in a better way'. For example, in 2003 Mintel found that only seven per cent of UK consumers explicitly sought a holiday provided by a tour operator with an ethical code of practice, whilst more than forty eight per cent did not want to think about ethical issues on holiday and were more interested in the standard of accommodation or information about the weather. Confusing the picture further, a recent report by the Co-operative Bank (2005), actually suggested that eighty per cent of UK consumers would be more likely to book with a tour operator who ensured their products did not negatively impact on the environment or on local people's lives. Clearly, what people say they will buy and what they actually buy are two different things.

It is indisputable that the concept of ethical and responsible tourism remains under-researched and largely misunderstood. Equally under-researched are the UK consumers who actively seek out holidays that allow them to show respect for local communities, enable them to share the economic benefits of tourism directly with local people and who want to mitigate any environmental impact, all components of ethical and responsible tourism. Indeed, such consumers remain largely anonymous - even though general tourists' ethical concerns have been the subject of several studies (see Mintel, 2001; Mintel, 2004; Tearfund, 2000b; Tearfund, 2001) no research exists that empirically examines the ethical and responsible tourist. Indeed, very little is known of this group of people apart from the fact that there are relatively few of them. For example, it is currently unclear not only what their concerns are with regard to the impact of their holidays, but also why they want to travel in an ethical and responsible manner and what motivates them to incorporate ethical considerations in their holiday choice.

1.2 Research aim

The aim of this thesis therefore is to gain insight into ethical and responsible tourists, to develop a detailed understanding of their concerns about the impact of their holidays and to further academic knowledge about their motivation in the context of ethical decision-making. Ethical and responsible tourists have not been the focus of empirical study before now and it is hoped that this study will yield useful insight into those who want to enjoy themselves on holiday but are not prepared to do so at the expense of either the destination community or the natural environment. Additionally, the research aims to further advance the tourist research agenda not only by recognising the importance of the ethical and responsible tourist, but also by extending the somewhat limited range of literature on the subject of ethics within the context of tourism.

1.3 Thesis structure

The thesis will be formed of the following chapters. Chapter two sets out the key ethical philosophies and perspectives, drawing on the classical frameworks for a discussion of both applied and theoretical ethics. It briefly discusses the differences between morality and ethics before turning to a more detailed consideration of the basic tenets of teleology, deontology, existentialism, virtue theory and Rawls' theory of social justice. These philosophies are each critically discussed before the chapter moves on to a discussion of the relatively sparse literature regarding the major ethical discourses in relation to tourism.

Chapter three takes a critical perspective to the literature regarding ethical decision-making in general consumer research. Specifically, this chapter reflects on the additional complexity connected with understanding consumers in an ethical context, most notably with regards to the attitude-intention-behaviour relationship, ethical obligation, perceived consumer effectiveness and helping behaviour. From this, the chapter moves onto a detailed and critical presentation of Kohlberg's (1969) theory of cognitive moral development, Crandall's (1980) social interest and Forsyth's (1980) taxonomy of ethical ideologies before extensively addressing the literature regarding consumers and prosocial behaviour. The chapter continues with a detailed review of five of these consumer types, namely, the socially responsible consumer, the green consumer, the fair trade consumer,

the ethical and responsible tourist and the ecotourist. Chapter three concludes with a brief summary on the connections between tourist decision-making and prosocial behaviour.

Chapter four critically discusses the literature surrounding values, their definition and formation, indicating the common methods used to measure them before addressing in more detail the studies which have explored the use of the values concept in environmental and other prosocial behaviour. This chapter discusses the contribution of Rokeach (1973) and Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) to the values literature and incorporates an explanation of Schwartz's (1992) later work on the motivational value types, higher order value types and the bipolar value dimensions. This chapter takes an extensive look at the literature regarding research that has used the values concept to explore and explain prosocial behaviour, ethical consumption, social and political activism, moral reasoning and judgement. Chapter four ends with a discussion of the literature examining the values concept in tourist studies before finally explaining the means-end chain theory, a research method commonly used to examine the role and importance of values in consumer behaviour.

Chapter five presents the key research paradigm that underpins the methodological considerations of this thesis. It explains in detail the method chosen and the rationale for this choice before extensively describing the different stages involved in adopting this research method. The chapter goes on to explain the recruitment strategy, giving specific details of how the participants were recruited, the method of appeal, and the number of interviews carried out. This chapter continues with a consideration of data saturation and the ethics of research and transcription, before discussing in detail the trustworthiness of the data and any limitations and biases associated with the methods used. The chapter ends with an explanation of how the data were coded and analysed.

Chapter six presents the empirical findings and a discussion of these findings. To enable the reader to understand how the data were analysed the chapter begins with an extensive explanation of the approach adopted. Having explained this approach the chapter continues with a description of the attributes and benefits from the empirical findings and these are presented individually. The findings are presented using hierarchical value maps, all of

which are displayed either in chapter six or in the Appendices C and D, and which visually display the connections between the attributes, benefits and values of the respondents.

Each attribute is discussed individually with the accompanying explanation and discussion of the benefits and interpreted values and incorporates a discussion of the findings in the context of the literature review, most notably by using Schwartz's (1992) list of modified values. This discussion incorporates qualitative quotes from respondents to emphasise the points made by the narrative. The chapter then presents a more detailed discussion of the values that are revealed by the hierarchical value maps, focusing on the most often revealed values, before extensively discussing the implications of the findings regarding an increased understanding of the values of ethical and responsible tourists.

Chapter seven presents the final conclusions of the study and a discussion of implications for the tourism industry, before outlining several recommendations for future research.

2.0   CHAPTER TWO

KEY ETHICAL DEBATES

Human beings and their behaviour are governed by moral and ethical values and it is these values that inform their opinions about what is right or wrong, good or bad, with regard to how they choose to live their lives. Values are not fixed but fluid, can change as a result of experiencing a particular behaviour or incident (Smith, 2000), and inform decisions in everyday life. More specifically, and in the context of this study, values influence lifestyles and frequently emerge in purchasing behaviour. It is philosophical theories that frame and underpin individual and social values and whilst the issues faced by tourists in their holiday choices may be more to do with practical or applied ethics than philosophical discussion, it is important to examine the underpinning moral principles that inform the choice behaviour of those tourists who want to travel in an ethical and responsible way.

As a branch of philosophy, ethics is generally concerned with the reasoning behind discussions of what is good and right for both individuals and society. The fundamental principles underlying this ethical reasoning are highly complex and with so many (sometimes conflicting) philosophical interpretations, it is not only difficult to understand these different approaches but it is particularly challenging to make them meaningful in everyday life. This is a key reason why discussions surrounding ethics and tourism have so far been neglected and significantly under-researched (Fennell, 1999; Smith and Duffy, 2003; Goodwin and Pender, 2005).

In addition to this problem of complexity there has been, in recent decades, a growing awareness of a different type of moral challenge that has been generated by a changing and modern world (Fox and DeMarco, 1986).   In response, changing consumer attitudes have resulted in new approaches to moral dilemmas, and direct action movements, as just one example, now cover the spectrum of concerns from protecting the environment, campaigning for indigenous and minority rights to calls for a more ethical approach to tourism.   Indeed, tourism encapsulates many of these moral concerns and has been criticised not only for its approach to international development but also its emphasis on attaching economic values to people and culture.

Whilst there have been calls for more philosophical guidance in understanding issues such as these and for help with developing ethical frameworks to help solve them it remains unclear how a general and society-level unease about these moral issues becomes a specific and individual concern for the consumer. In addition, whilst ethical and responsible tourism is often proposed as the answer to some of these concerns, there is little academic attention paid to the connection between these concepts and their theoretical origins (Fennell, 2006). These are the key issues that this chapter aims to address, starting with an introduction to the major ethical discourses that underpin philosophical debate, before presenting the somewhat limited debate that has so far taken place in tourism research with regard to ethics, their underlying philosophies and how they have been addressed in the literature.

2.1 Morality or ethics?

The terms ethics and morality are often used interchangeably, with different philosophical perspectives choosing to emphasise one or the other according to their beliefs. The term 'ethics' derives from the Greek *ethikos*, and often refers to ways we behave in society, hence 'ethical behaviour' and is addressed in much of Aristotle's virtue theory. Morality on the other hand, derives from the Latin *moralis*, which is more concerned with which actions are right or wrong rather than the character of the person who performs these actions (Vardy and Grosch, 1994).

Although exact differences are sometimes hard to present, it is possible to interpret morality in terms of an individual code, for example personal morality, whereas ethics is perhaps more usually associated with professional actions, for example in questions of medical ethics or as seen in codes of conduct (Smith, 2000). However, whilst Smith (2000) adopts a distinction between ethics as moral theory and morality as practical action, this chapter will make a similar but preferred distinction between theoretical and applied ethics. The former will encompass and conceptualise the key philosophical debates, whilst the latter will contextualise the theory with practical application. The terms morality and ethics will be used interchangeably throughout.

Much of the literature with ethics at its core divides the subject into two distinct pathways - theoretical ethics and applied ethics, as shown in Figure 2.1, with Fennell (1999) clearly placing tourism ethics within the context of applied ethics. Conventionally, theoretical ethics is concerned with the abstract theoretical underpinning of moral judgements whilst practical or applied ethics can be used to inform judgements in real situations. Whilst these two approaches may appear to be quite separate it is perhaps more useful to view them as two ends of a continuum, from the general to the particular (Almond, 1995), as is also shown in Figure 2.1. Looking at Figure 2.1 again, it appears that theoretical ethics can be further divided into metaethics and normative ethics, with the latter possibly receiving more attention because of its perceived utility in the application of ethics to business (Agarwal and Malloy, 2000; Fennell, 2003).

Figure 2.1: A framework of moral philosophy
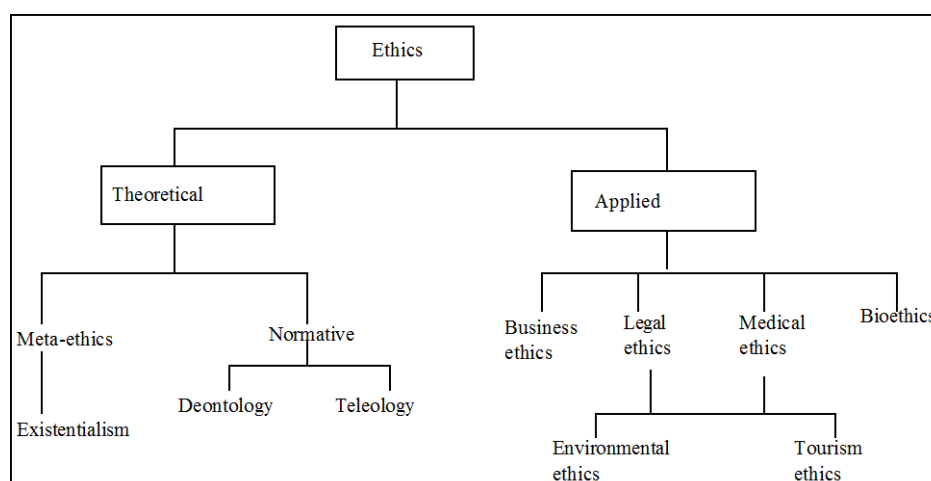
Source: Adapted from Honderich (1995, in Fennell, 1999:248)

2.2 Teleology

Much of the literature regarding ethics condenses the dyadic approach (Vardy and Grosch, 1994; Fennell, 1999; Bradburn, 2001; Fukukawa, 2003) offered by the two major philosophies of teleology and deontology. The teleological perspective rests on a single theme, that "what is ethically good is what achieves the best end" (Agarwal and Malloy, 2000:144). With regard to what is or what constitutes 'good' however, the teleological doctrines differ according to how it is specified. For example, if the good is taken as the striving for human excellence in various forms of culture, it is called perfectionism (found in Nietzsche and Aristotle), and if the good is taken to mean pleasure, it is known as

hedonism (Rawls, 1973). Utilitarianism proposes that what is important is the balance of good over evil for the greatest number, whilst relativism (for example, cultural relativism) suggests that the determination of the best end depends entirely upon the situation (Agarwal and Malloy, 2000).

Utilitarianism, as one of the most commonly used teleological theories, proposes that the ends of an action always justifies the means and the ethically right action is whatever maximises the benefit for all in society.   What makes it right or wrong therefore, depends on the consequences of the action as opposed to either the means by which it is achieved or the action itself (Almond, 1995) and can be viewed from a micro as well as a macro perspective.   Put another way, consequentialism is a form of cost-benefit analysis (Bradburn, 2001), with some members of society benefiting while others lose out, a situation often encountered in major tourism developments, and a theme explored in more depth using social exchange theory (Ap, 1992). Certainly utilitarianism has been used to justify displacement of individuals or indigenous communities (the micro perspective) by tourism development because economic and possibly social benefits enjoyed by the larger community (or the whole country - the macro view) could be seen to bring about a greater good (Smith and Duffy, 2003).

Table 2.1 below summarises the key features of utilitarianism that make this an appealing approach to moral decision-making, particularly in a cross-cultural setting such as tourism. It is important to note that utilitarianism is often criticised because when looking after the happiness of the majority it is the individual (or minority group) who may be disregarded. A further criticism is that teleologists differ on the question of whose good ought to be promoted. For ethical dilemmas encountered in tourism for example, it might be difficult to determine whether the greatest good should be for the host or the tourist group, not forgetting that these groups themselves are far from being homogenous in nature. In addition, using the rational cost-benefit analysis that utilitarianism offers, it is often the economic and macro perspective that is used to justify tourism development, with any social consequences tending to be minimised.

A further criticism of taking a teleological view of ethics in tourism is that there is widespread ignorance amongst tourists of the consequences of mass tourism and tourism

development - if people are unaware of the consequences of their actions it is unclear whether they can be held responsible for them (Tam, 1995). This is criticism also noted by Barnett *et al.* (2005), who highlight that consequentialist appeals are common in ethical consumption campaigns. The idea that consumers are just one link in the chain of global production relationships is crucial to the consequentialist argument, but this approach emphasises the importance of knowledge and education.

Table 2.1: Positive features of utilitarianism

Features	Explanation
Universality	Everyone agrees that pleasure is good and pain is bad so there is a universal foundation for agreement
Rationality	Utilitarianism is deemed rational in its approach to moral judgements – by adding together the pleasure and simply subtracting the pain of a particular activity, the good can be rationally weighed against the bad. This is sometimes called the balance of the hedonic calculus.
Impartiality	Due to its rationality, utilitarianism can be non-judgemental about individuals' personal activities as long as they do not harm the general level of happiness.
Versatility	It is sensitive to particular social contexts because it takes into account that what might be beneficial in one place may not be in another, which makes it particularly useful for all types of tourism development debates.

Source: adapted from Smith and Duffy (2003:57)

For example, if consumers are unaware of the consequences of their purchasing behaviour then the consequentialist appeal will fail. This interpretation clearly underlines the importance of educating tourists about the impact of tourism in order for them to understand the potentially negative consequences of their holidays. In reality this may be too difficult for the individual tourist, not only because of the large amount of information they would need to absorb but also because of the complex nature of the tourism supply chain. Additional problems may stem from the belief that holidays are generally regarded in western society as essential hedonistic activities, rather than 'worthy' causes, and that tourists tend to believe they 'deserve' a break from what might be seen as everyday concerns.

Whilst utilitarianism may be one of the most popular ethical discourses for deciding objectively and rationally the outcome of ethical dilemmas in tourism (also known as the

hedonic calculus), it is another teleological theory, that of hedonism, that is more often associated with tourism. Certainly, from the hedonist perspective an individual's goal should always be that which involves the least pain and the greatest pleasure, but while tourists might not deny that enjoyment and happiness is a primary motive, whether all tourists feel comfortable about their holidays being associated with the search for "pure unadulterated and unconstrained pleasure" (Smith and Duffy (2003:55) at the expense of the host community is yet to be established.

2.3 Deontology

As an alternative viewpoint, deontological ethics, from the Greek word 'deon' meaning duty (Vardy and Grosch, 1994) prioritises rules and duties in ethical decision-making. Deontologists believe that decisions are either morally right or morally wrong, and that the ends never justify the means (also called non-consequentialism). The key principles of deontology are set out in Table 2.2, and like teleology, several different perspectives share a common theme.

Table 2.2: The key deontological principles

| There should be rules and morals in society that should be fair to everyone and that should universally apply |
| These rules should hold universally even over the passage of time. A decision made today should not have a predictable adverse comment in the future. |
| All members of society under deontology should be treated with equal respect. |

Source: Bradburn (2001:8)

This theme emanates from the belief that socially and individually it is important to abide by certain principles, and unethical behaviour for deontologists would be the breaking of rules that have been collectively agreed, such as expected norms of behaviour (Agarwal and Malloy, 2000). These norms can be observed in a society's legislation, religious beliefs and values as much as in organisational and personal codes of conduct.

A prominent deontological theorist, Emmanuel Kant believed that duty was essential, but more importantly it was motive that should be the key decider regarding a moral or ethical

act (Chryssides and Kaler, 1996). For Kant, morality should never be governed by self-interest - people should do the right thing, for the primary purpose of doing good. In other words if people do what they think is right in order to gain social approval then they have not acted with the correct motive, they have acted in self-interest. Applying this argument to tourism, it might be argued that some tour operators' codes of ethics are not truly morally motivated in the Kantian sense when used for purely promotional purposes. However, the utilitarian response to this would be that as long as the business adheres to a set of ethical principles the motive is immaterial and it is the consequence of the action that is important, not the motive.

Significantly, because deontology is concerned with how people *should* act, many of the codes of ethics in use in tourism have a deontological perspective; they tell people what to do rather than present a consequentialist rationale (Malloy and Fennell, 1998; Fennell, 2000). Although these codes are often criticised for being generically vague and merely public relations tools they do in fact provide a practical translation of theoretical debates into guidelines for everyday decision-making (Malloy and Fennell, 1998). However, their use highlights one of the primary criticisms of the deontological perspective - that it absolves people from taking personal responsibility for their ethical or unethical actions. In other words, it allows them to hide behind rules and regulations, and Agarwal and Malloy (2000:145) cite Kierkegaard (1962) on this point,

> …on principle a man can do anything, take part in anything and himself remain inhuman and indeterminate…everything becomes permissible if done on principle (Agarwal and Malloy, 2000:145).

For Kierkegaard, truly ethical decision-making derives from the individual acknowledging their responsibility for choice, rather than obeying an external imposition of rules and duties. In their critique of the futility of codes of ethics to guide human behaviour, Fennell and Malloy (1995) developed an ethical framework for ecotourism (see Figure 2.2) incorporating a combination of deontology, teleology and existentialism in order to be more effective in understanding and also reflecting the complexity of the different stakeholders involved (Fennell and Malloy, 1995:164). Similarly, Barnett *et al.* (2005) suggest that the traditional dyadic approach, of proposing consequentialist solutions to ethical dilemmas is too restricting and ultimately unworkable, not only because of the need

to gather and consider vast amounts of information but also because people are not the rational actors that deontology requires them to be. Their comment is that most ethical frameworks are highly abstract and therefore leave little room for the idiosyncrasies of human nature and conduct.

Figure 2.2: A model of ethical triangulation
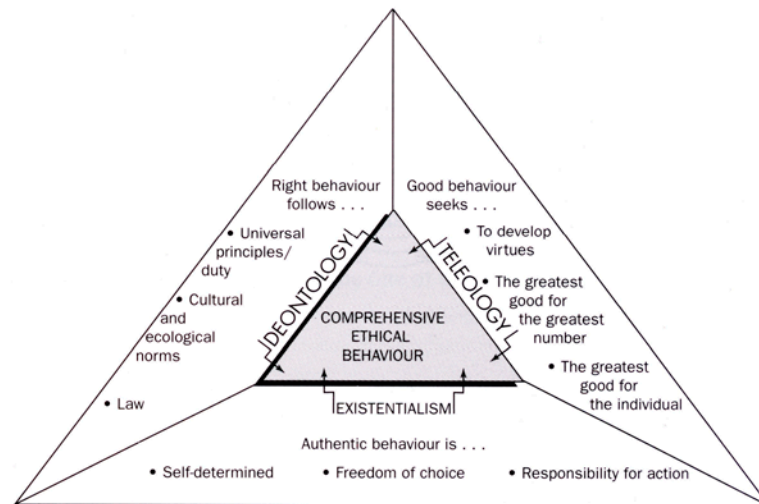
Source: Fennell (2003:191)

2.4 Existentialism

On this point it appears there is some agreement with neither deontology nor teleology helping in a choice situation because both perspectives are seen as too rational and therefore de-humanising (Agarwal and Malloy, 2000). This point echoes that raised by Solomon (1992) who completely dismisses both the deontological and teleological perspective for their slavish attention to rules and rationality, and condemns them for absolving the individual of any choice responsibility. Guignon (1986:88) agrees, suggesting that an existentialist perspective is better because existentialists,

> …might be better equipped to evaluate different ethical standpoints and their applicability to specific contexts of action than the slavish rule-follower or the cool cost/benefit calculator (Guignon, 1986:88).

Existentialism is a very recent ethical discourse and associated with influential thinkers such as Simone de Beauvoir, Sartre, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche and Heidegger. It differs from normative ethics by suggesting that an act is right or wrong based upon a person's free will, responsibility (and authenticity) and that this free will is bound up in a contradictory set of factors. These are that on the one hand humans are finite and physical beings with a

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limited set of possibilities, whilst on the other hand they are constantly striving to make sense of and gain meaning from their existence (Guignon, 1986).

Indeed, existentialism is usually cited as being to do with the 'meaning of Being', or trying to understand what it means to be human. This subjective or individual understanding of the world means that existentialists concern "themselves with the question of the nature of being in understanding human existence" (Fennell, 2003:178). Faced with these rather large questions about existence, existentialists propose that certain emotional feelings are revealed to people (despair, purposelessness, anxiety and anguish) as the burden faced by those seeking to take responsibility for their lives (Guignon, 1986). Guignon explains the attraction of existentialism thus,

> The appeal of existentialism lay not in any unified doctrine, but in its powerful criticisms of the complacency and hypocrisy of contemporary life, and in its stress upon individual autonomy and responsibility. Its concentration on the concrete issues of human life - on questions of freedom, commitment, the complexity of life-situations, death and authenticity – was taken by many to be an antidote to the arid and impersonal theorizing of the time (Guignon, 1986:73).

As a concept, existentialism has often been applied to tourism but this is mostly due to the companion concept of authenticity whose precise meaning has been much debated (Wang, 2000). For the tourist, existential authenticity can be interpreted as a counterpoint to the loss of self and identity in modern life and is seen as a key motivational force for those seeking self-discovery. In other words, tourists may seek an 'authentic' self to remind themselves of their own existence through an 'authentic' tourist experience. Of course, defining what exactly constitutes an authentic or inauthentic experience in the context of tourism is highly complex and discussion to date has covered topics as diverse as the commodification of culture, the politics of destination image and the idea of wilderness (Smith and Duffy, 2003).

In addition, while existentialism is criticised for being merely subjectivism, it appeals to those people who believe that individuals have the capacity (and also a responsibility) to realise his or her potential and that this can be achieved by cultivating a moral orientation to life (Guignon, 1986). If searching for a moral code however the individual may be better off adopting a teleological or deontological perspective as it is the 'agony of thinking'

involved in choice that distinguishes existentialism from most modern ethical theorising (Guignon, 1986).

Following the theme of individual responsibility it might be appropriate here to introduce John Rawls, a keen proponent of the importance of individual justice as evidenced in the following quote,

> Each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override. For this reason justice denies that the loss of freedom for some is made right by the greater good shared by others. It does not allow that the sacrifices imposed on a few are outweighed by the larger sum of advantages enjoyed by many. Therefore in a just society the liberties of equal citizenship are taken as settled (Rawls, 1973:3-4).

As a distinct critic of the utilitarian doctrine of the greater good, Rawls (1973:4) believed that social justice could provide a way to manage the rights and duties within society because in this way "the benefits and burdens of social co-operation" would be evenly distributed. However, aware of the potential for self-interest to cloud moral judgement he suggested that individuals assume a 'veil of ignorance' (his 'original position') because self-interest would then be removed from the equation. Part of his argument against the utilitarian approach to social justice, was his strong belief in the plurality of values – that society necessarily exhibited a range of values which made it important for him to make sure that collective good did not take priority over individual rights (Barnett *et al.,* 2005).

2.5 Virtue theory

The question of whether ethical decisions are an individual or collective responsibility has also been the topic of much debate in ethics literature. Theories that propose individualism are based on the assumption that the good of the individual comes first, with the good of the community second, whilst the proponents of communitarianism would suppose the alternative (Vardy and Grosch, 1994). For Aristotle, one of the founding fathers of philosophical discussion, neither extreme is sensible, advocating instead the balancing of the individual's interest with their responsibilities towards the community.

The ethical discourse most often associated with Aristotle is virtue theory, which argues that an individual's action in a given moral situation will stem from character traits developed throughout the course of their life, such as courage, justice and temperance (Morse, 1999). In other words, the focus of a person's moral life is on developing a 'good character' because from good character comes good or moral and ethical acts and from these actions the development of a good character is reinforced (Morse, 1999). This point is also supported by Cafaro (2001, as cited by Barnett *et al.,* 2005) who notes that ethical issues in consumption cannot be reduced to simple rules or calculations of outcome and proposes virtue ethics to be useful in dealing with the complexities of these considerations.

For Aristotle, the purpose of all life was to contemplate the 'Good" and he asserted that all activities should be directed at pursuing that end for the sake of the individual as much as for the good of the community. He tried to rise above cultural inconsistencies that are sometimes evident in the arguments of moral relativism by suggesting that all humans strive to attain a full and happy life, regardless of their origin, as noted by Smith and Duffy (2003),

> For Aristotle, the proper human life is an ongoing project that seeks to fulfil our full human potential through our striving to act according to the virtues and to make virtuous choices (Smith and Duffy, 2003:44).

Certainly his belief that a virtuous life can be attained by choosing a reasonable and reasoned path between any extremes of behaviour is plausible – by recognising the need to remain balanced, humans can steer away from extremism in all forms. Aristotle's drive for balance (the 'golden mean') finds certain parallels in the ethical and responsible attitude to tourism because of the clear link between individual values and the values of society, or social responsibility (Smith and Duffy, 2003). Indeed, as already noted, responsibility is a theme that recurs throughout discussions of ethical tourism and for Aristotle responsibility for living a good life is always an individual choice.

This is close to Sartre's existential view that "we are what we are by what we choose to do" (Trusted, 1987:112) and that people cannot hide behind a weakness of will for absolving them from responsibility. Certainly, living a virtuous life according to Aristotle's principles can ensure that "we will act in a responsible and appropriate way towards

others" (Smith and Duffy, 2003:45) and encouraging and supporting individuals to make 'a difference' through their holiday choices is important because "as ethics is concerned with human behaviour, there is an element of responsibility for those involved in tourism experience at all levels" (Fennell and Malloy, 1995:170). For Goldberg (2000:681) virtue, responsibility and justice are interconnected. He suggests,

> ...virtue must be concerned with helping to foster the conditions that extend fairness and concern to every member of society. The simple fact of human existence is that none of us can live satisfying and meaningful lives in the midst of others' suffering (Goldberg, 2000:681).

To many academics, ethical responsibility is a key issue for discussion. One such academic is Brown (2005), who examined the importance of individuals taking responsibility within their personal lives. His reasons for promoting greater individual responsibility are that this encourages certain attributes to develop, specifically utility, self-respect, autonomy, human flourishing and fairness, as illustrated in Table 2.3 below.

Table 2.3: Five rationales for promoting individual responsibility

Rationale	Explanation
Utility	Individual responsibility tends to promote happiness and desire satisfaction
Self-respect	Encouraging individuals to take greater responsibility for their own lives can enhance self-respect
Autonomy	Taking individual responsibility demonstrates competence at being free-thinking agents
Human flourishing	Individual responsibility is an essential part of what it means to lead a good life
Fairness	Assigning responsibility to individuals can often provide a fair outcome in situations where there are conflicts of interest

Source: Brown (2005:24)

Although his work primarily concerned social welfare planning, Brown highlights that if people are not encouraged to take personal responsibility for their actions, over time they will forget how to exercise it. Relying on others to make decisions for them regarding the ethical implications of tourism development (for example), will remove an important link

between conduct and consequence, and therefore eliminate individual responsibility for any inequity and unfairness that may result.

Against this view, Barnett *et al.* (2005) cite work by Young (2003) on anti-sweatshop campaigns in the US. Young's (2003) study revealed that individuals could be over faced by the enormity of their task if reminded that their purchase may be the result of slave labour or at least unfair working practices. In other words it is not always useful to apply what Barnett *et al.* (2005:13) term "over stringent and unworkable models of ethical conduct", not only because people do not always change their behaviour when told of the consequences of their purchasing but also because of the many different ways in which consumption is meaningful to people.

Their point is that simplistic consequentialist campaigns designed to draw attention to the chain of suppliers for example, may work against ethical consumption because implying individual responsibility for activities in distant contexts can be a responsibility too far and actually overburden consumers. Ultimately this overburdening may drive them to ignore the issues and continue their normal consumption habits.

The emphasis that Aristotle and Sartre place on personal development is also found in Foucault's work where he refutes the Kantian emphasis on merely following rules. Instead, Foucault prefers to believe that individuals treasure self-improvement and continuously strive towards a virtuous life, what he calls *travail ethique* (Smith and Duffy, 2003). Tribe (2000) too, in adapting Aristotle's vision, advocates the importance of developing a disposition towards good action as opposed to correct action (as cited in Jamal, 2004). This notion of good action as opposed to correct action, and the element of individual choice bring into strong relief the power structures and established ideologies experienced by both the tourist and the host communities. The humanistic and existentialist perspective is thought to be particularly relevant here because in order to understand others it is important for individuals to reflect upon their own thoughts and actions continuously through life (Hatton, 2001).

2.6 Ethical debate in tourism research

Turning to the literature concerning ethical debate in tourism, not only is there relatively little evidence of ethical debate in tourism research what scant discussion there has been has only emerged within the last decade (Fennell and Malloy, 2007). Fennell (2006) suggests one reason for this is the relative youth of the industry with the result that moral concerns have only recently emerged. These moral concerns include the potential for economic leakage, social and environmental impacts as well as the disproportionate power relationships often found in tourism (all discussed in the introduction to this thesis). However, such an over-emphasis on the purely negative impacts of tourism has resulted in researchers and the media adopting an 'anti-tourism' stance (Lea, 1993:702) that has encouraged the prevalence for tourists to become what Butcher (2003:6) calls "angst-ridden". For Butcher, this anti-tourism has developed into "a new school of 'ethical' tourism" (Butcher, 2003:8), or New Moral Tourism where,

> …the association of tourism with innocence, fun and adventure, has been challenged by a mood of pessimism and a sense that moral regulation of pleasure-seeking is necessary in order to preserve environmental and cultural diversity (Butcher, 2003:7)

Butcher (2003) is suggesting that guilt rather than enjoyment has become an over-riding concern for many tourists, but his critique of New Moral Tourism and the New Moral Tourist rather dismisses human complexity and seems to perceive tourists to be passive victims easily manipulated into feeling guilty over their comparative wealth, their open access to leisure time and their emphasis on hedonistic activity on holiday. In other words, he ignores the fact that some tourists may take a positive approach to calls for a more ethical tourism, making more responsible changes to their future travelling behaviour.

Of course, the situation is not uni-dimensional – although some tourists may welcome Butcher's protection and argument, others may not. In other words, generalising about tourists, their motivation and their behaviour can be misleading – they are clearly not a homogenous group and nor are they always passive in their consumption of, and attitude toward, tourism. Much as it is understood that modern-day tourists are demanding a more individual, less mass experience (Butcher, 2003) so it is important to remember that

individual demands can be generated by a myriad of motivations and cannot be grouped together under a single heading of "guilt".

Nevertheless, Butcher (2003) is right to claim that debates about tourism remain morally loaded. However, not only does it seem that researchers (and others) are unclear about the true extent of the moral dilemmas in tourism there is also no single agreement as to how to solve them - as evidenced by the debate surrounding 'alternative' tourism. In fact, even though recent events in business have precipitated the emergence of the corporate conscience and corporate social responsibility (Fennell and Malloy, 2007) there have been few serious attempts to develop an understanding of the ethical dilemmas in tourism through the perspectives offered by ethics and philosophy.

It could be argued that scholars have been reluctant to examine tourism through the lens of ethical frameworks because the extensive range of perspectives suggests a universally agreed or uncontested solution is most likely to be unreachable (see Smith and Duffy, 2003). This is especially true in tourism where there exist so many different stakeholders, cultural values, behaviours and norms. Indeed, different perspectives will likely produce different solutions to the same problem, yet Smith and Duffy (2003) urge that it is precisely the use and application of ethical frameworks that can allow a deeper understanding of these ethical issues,

> … the ethical frameworks offered by philosophers rarely if ever provide definitive answers to moral problems but are better treated as discursive resources that can help us to articulate and express these problems (Smith and Duffy, 2003:3).

Further discussion is prompted by Fennell's (2006) observation that tourism research has been less effective in connecting real-life ethical dilemmas in tourism and tourist behaviour to their philosophical origins. He believes this is because researchers have focused too heavily on the impacts of tourism as "the traditional root of ethical issues in tourism " (Fennell, 2006:1).   This lack of connection is also noted by Tribe (2002) who discusses Hultsman's (1995) view that every discussion of ethics in tourism ought to adopt a holistic approach, that is, be an opportunity for "philosophical enquiry into values *and* as practical application of moral behaviour" (Tribe, 2002:310) (Researcher's own italics). In fact, more than a decade ago Hultsman (1995) noted the increasing proliferation of calls

for an operational perspective to ethics in the delivery of tourism yet at the same time suggested that "any code of ethical practice…needs to be grounded in a more paradigmatic footing" (Hultsman, 1995:554).

Similarly, it is more than fifteen years since Lea (1993) noted surprise that ethical debate had not been included in tourism research, particularly given the importance of ethics in both development studies and environmental literature and the similarity of these issues with concern over tourism's increasing development and impact. The situation has largely remained unchanged, but even though tourism research has continued to shy away from engaging deeply with philosophical discussion there has been some examination of ethics in tourism, most notably in areas such as codes of conduct (see D'Amore, 1993; Wight, 1994; Mason and Mowforth, 1995; Payne and Dimanche, 1996; Fennell and Malloy, 2007), ethics and the environment (Holden, 2003), the role of ethics in ecotourism (Fennell and Malloy, 1995; Fennell, 1999) ethics in tourism education (Tribe, 2002) and the ethics of tourism development (Smith and Duffy, 2003). Additional research has examined the role of ethics in hospitality education (Wheeler, 1994), the ethical orientations of US hotel managers (Whitney, 1989; Whitney, 1990; Ross, 2004a), the perceived ethical dilemmas involved in the treatment of disabled staff in tourism and hospitality environments (Ross, 2004b) and the competitive opportunities for ethical tour operators (Weeden, 2002).

Looking in more detail at tourism research that has successfully engaged with a philosophical approach, Smith and Duffy (2003) discuss the application of ethical perspectives in tourism within the context of tourism development, grounding their discussion in both sociological and political discourse. Indeed, they claim significance for their work as "the first to deal explicitly and in its entirety with the ethics of tourism development" (Smith and Duffy, 2003:3) wanting to make it more than just an exercise in applied philosophy. Indeed, they strongly assert that engaging with the deeper, more complex areas of thinking is essential in order to address the inequities and imbalances in tourism, recognising however, the difficulty of articulating ethical or pro-social values within a society dominated by economic value (Smith and Duffy, 2003).

This perhaps helps to explain why the majority of the research involving ethics and tourism has tended to centre on codes of conduct. These codes, derived from the narrow

perspective of business ethics (Tribe, 2002) were initially promoted for both their financial and marketing benefits (see D'Amore, 1993) - this emphasis on improving commercial performance might explain why codes have often been dismissed as mere PR activity, or 'ethical wash'.

However, looking at the literature published since the early 1990s it appears that the approach to ethical discussion within tourism research has started to mature, with several key researchers moving away from examining the operational and behavioural aspects of ethics (such as codes of practice) to fully engaging with the underpinning philosophical perspectives (see Tribe, 2002; Holden, 2003; Smith and Duffy, 2003; Fennell and Malloy, 2007). As just one example, in *Codes of ethics in tourism*, Fennell and Malloy (2007) take an intensive look at the theory, practice and synthesis of codes of conduct specifically to offset such a philosophical deficiency.

They do this in part by discussing Heidegger's views on calculative and meditative thinking; the calculative approach assumes humans, animals and nature are mere commodities and resources for consumption, whereas meditative thinking seeks to understand the meaning behind action by looking at the bigger picture, or the "horizon against which an object exists" (Fennell and Malloy, 2007:4). The former is a short-term perspective lacking in "groundedness", whereas behaviour rooted in philosophical rationale, or the meditative approach, is "much more apt to bring about positive outcomes for all stakeholders" (Fennell and Malloy, 2007:5), by encouraging tourism planners and other stakeholders to consider the context of tourism instead of just the more common short-term, cost-benefit calculation associated with consequentialism.

This is a significant step forward, not least because Fennell and Malloy (2007) hope such rhetoric will not only stimulate further debate and research on ethics in tourism, but also encourage the development of a more responsible and sustainable industry. Like Smith and Duffy (2003) however they sound a note of caution on this aspiration,

> Foremost in the minds (and actions) of many who participate in the tourism trade is one prime directive: to make money. Elevating self-interest to such a lofty height has a tendency to blur all other values that might be used to provide a balanced approach to human-human and human-ecology interactions (Fennell and Malloy, 2007:148).

In fact, such clearly stated references to values, only serve to highlight that few tourism researchers are involved in bringing attention to the role and importance of values within the tourism research that actively addresses ethical philosophy and tourism. Indeed, although a crucial part of ethics is about "value clarification," (Tribe, 2002:310) the values concept has been virtually ignored in the ethical tourism research area.

Therefore, if incorporating ethical philosophy into discussions about ethics in tourism is intended to encourage an ethical and sustainable approach to tourism, and it is human values that underpin these philosophies, examining the values concepts will be insightful in understanding those tourists who take an ethical and responsible approach to their travels. At present there is a notable gap in the literature that examines the links between tourists, their values and the underlying ethical philosophies. In addition, if the view is taken that for tourism to be ethical it has to be ethical in action as well as thought (Tribe, 2002), possibly the time has come for researchers to stop theorising and to start investigating, especially in regard to the tourist. Even those who advocate and adopt philosophical underpinnings to their research have not so far looked at the tourist – although Smith and Duffy (2003) consider the ethical dilemmas that derive from tourist behaviour they do not do so to any great extent, preferring instead to look at the wider ethical considerations with regard to tourism development. Indeed their discussion of values remains at the societal rather than individual level.

In fact, it is only Holden (2003) who incorporates an examination of tourist behaviour within the context of ethical philosophy but as his research only explores tourists' relationship with nature there remains a research gap with regard to how tourists manage their additional ethical concerns beyond that of the environment in tourism. Surely, his argument that the time has now come to understand how tourists behave towards the environment through the use of ethical philosophy (Holden, 2003) can also be extended to address the question of how tourists might manage the more general ethical issues in tourism choices given the current anti-tourism rhetoric in the UK.

2.7 Summary

This chapter has introduced the reader to the complex ethical discourses underpinning philosophical debate, specifically addressing the major tenets associated with teleology, deontology, existentialism and virtue theory in order to further explore ethical dilemmas common to tourism. The chapter has revealed that utilitarianism is often invoked when arguing for tourism development, although using such a cost-benefit approach can lead to the needs of individuals being overlooked for the sake of the greater good. An additional concern with taking a teleological approach is the importance of awareness – it is argued that tourists can only be held accountable for the impact of their holidays if they are actually informed and aware of the issues involved. Indeed, the complex nature of the tourism industry with its many components may compound tourist confusion, preventing them from further understanding or even being aware of the problems associated with their holidays.

The chapter has also discussed the potential utility of the deontological perspective to address ethical issues in tourism. Deontology assumes that individuals (and society) should uphold all rules and norms of behaviour and that the ends never justify the means. A review of the literature revealed that the majority of codes of ethics in tourism take a deontological rather than consequentialist perspective, but this approach is also criticised for absolving individuals from taking any choice responsibility. Additionally, deontologists believe that people should do the right thing for the primary purpose of doing good, but critics argue that this is expecting too much from humans who do not always take a rational approach to their behaviour.

Taking the existentialist viewpoint would however appease critics of both teleology and deontology because this perspective places stress on individual autonomy and responsibility. In addition, this concept has much to offer the tourist searching for experience because of its emphasis on authenticity in the understanding of what it means to be human. In fact, the emphasis on personal responsibility is very significant here because a major finding of the review revealed that, regardless of which perspective is addressed, the notion of individual responsibility lies at the heart of many discussions regarding ethics and moral behaviour. For example, whilst teleology is criticised for prioritising the

collective good, deontology is also criticised because its emphasis on rules and duties can absolve the individual of responsibility for ethical or unethical behaviour. Even existentialism, with its emphasis on self-discovery and individual responsibility is derided by some for being merely subjectivism. On the other hand, Rawls' (1973) theory of justice argues that the rights of individuals should never be overridden for the greater good and Aristotle's virtue theory proposes that a balance should be struck between an individual's interest and their responsibilities towards the community. The conclusion at this point is that responsibility, both collective and individual, will play a major part in discussions of ethical tourist behaviour in this study.

On the point of ethical debate in tourism the chapter has revealed that although there is some literature regarding ethics in tourism, much of this has stayed firmly within the theoretical rather than empirical arena. In addition, it is worth noting that the number of researchers directly addressing ethical philosophy in tourism remains low, with much of the literature concentrating either on codes of ethics or the ethics of tourism development. This further indicates that not only are the majority of tourism researchers unclear about the true extent of moral debate in tourism but also they appear reluctant to explore these issues, possibly because of the extensive effort required in the application of ethical philosophy to tourism.

However, and regardless of the lack of research explicitly concerned with ethics in tourism, it is clear that tourism in general, and holidays in particular, engender specific moral concerns. It has been argued that the preoccupation with the negative impacts of holidays has caused tourists to become guilt-ridden and anxious (Butcher, 2003). Conversely, it has also been argued that it is difficult for individual tourists to ignore society's emphasis on economic value, adopt a more meditative approach and prioritise personal responsibility for a more ethical approach to tourism.

Finally, this chapter has noted the emergence of calls for further investigation of the values concept, which has mostly been ignored in debates regarding ethical philosophy and tourism. Indeed, although there have been calls for a deeper understanding of and engagement with ethical philosophical in tourism, few researchers have taken this forward and there is little empirical research that incorporates ethical theory, the concept of values

and their significance to the tourist. To conclude therefore, if it is imperative to engage with philosophical debate in tourism, and if human values underpin these philosophies, then it is proposed that further understanding of how tourists relate to the ethical dilemmas in tourism will be gained by conducting empirical research that considers all of these points.

3.0   CHAPTER THREE

ETHICAL DECISION-MAKING, MORAL JUDGEMENT AND THE PROSOCIAL CONSUMER

Having discussed the literature regarding ethical philosophy and its application within tourism, it is now important to turn to the literature on ethical decision-making, thus making a direct link to the thesis. As there is currently no empirical research into the decision-making of ethical and responsible tourists the researcher has stepped outside the tourism literature and reviewed research concerning ethical and other prosocial consumers, to establish what insight, if any, can be gained and applied with regard to the ethical and responsible tourist. The chapter will therefore discuss the nature and scope of ethical decision-making before examining the literature regarding individuals' moral development, their moral judgement and the consequent link with particular ethical ideologies. The chapter will then give an overview of ethical consumption before continuing with an extensive review of the literature regarding socially responsible, environmental, fair trade and ethical consumers. The chapter will continue with an explanation of what is currently known about the ethical and responsible tourist, with particular emphasis on their underlying motivations and concerns, before concluding with an evaluation of such research and recommendations for further study in this area.

3.1 Ethical decision-making

The decision-making of ethical consumers whilst currently popular, received relatively little attention until the early 1990s, when Marks and Mayo (1991) observed that there was little connection in the literature between a philosophical interpretation of ethical behaviour and the decision-making of the consumer. In addition, although it was thought that consumers were concerned about ethics in their purchase decisions, there was insufficient evidence about the form this would take, when it would happen and what influences were important (Burke *et al.,* 1993). A decade and a half later, it is clear that the situation has changed and the quite considerable literature on ethical consumer behaviour takes a now-familiar dyadic approach and divides the topic into two areas - firstly, ethical consumerism and secondly, consumer ethics.

With regard to the former, ethical consumerism (see Strong, 1996; Boulstridge and Carrigan, 2000; Carrigan and Attalla, 2001; Auger *et al.,* 2003) discusses the motivations and characteristics of ethical consumers, whilst the latter, consumer ethics (see Vitell and Muncy, 1992) centres mostly on unethical consumer behaviour such as piracy, shoplifting and fraud (Fukukawa, 2003). Given that the focus of this study is the ethical and responsible tourist, this chapter will discuss ethical consumerism.

Whilst much of the research concerned with general consumer behaviour has applied the traditional decision-making models (see Nicosia, 1966; Howard and Sheth, 1969), there have been more recent calls for an updated approach, one that is more relevant to ethical consumers and the context of their purchase behaviour. For example, research suggests that ethical consumers need to make more effort in their purchasing because of the complexity of the issues involved thereby rendering traditional models inappropriate and ultimately unsatisfactory (Shaw and Shiu, 2003).

Other research into the choice decisions of ethical consumers has focused on the predictive utility of models such as the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980) and its later modification, the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1985). Both these models have the attitude-intention-behaviour relationship at their core and despite their widespread application in general consumer behaviour, neither model is a strong predictor of ethical purchase behaviour, even when incorporating additional variables such as ethical obligation, self-identity and past behaviour (Kurland, 1995; Shaw *et al.,* 2000; Jackson *et al.,* 2003).

However, because "those concerned about ethical issues may be guided by a sense of obligation to others and identification with ethical issues ….. such as providing a fair price for fair trade producers" (Shaw *et al.,* 2000:889) it is important to consider the concept of ethical obligation in more depth. As might be expected, consumers acting in an ethical context are influenced less by self-interest than by a sense of ethical obligation to others (Shaw and Shiu, 2003). Ethical obligation, an expression of an individual's ethical rules that reflects "their personal beliefs about right and wrong" (Shaw *et al.,* 2000), is also relevant where consumers demonstrate helping behaviour, such as giving to charity. For example, a recent study by Hibbert *et al.,* (2005) on purchasers of the Big Issue magazine,

found that people's propensity to buy the magazine was significantly influenced by whether they believe they could make a difference (Hibbert *et al.,* 2005) to the vendor's life by doing so. This is a significant finding that has continuing resonance throughout consumer behaviour research, and is also known as perceived consumer effectiveness (see Kinnear *et al.*, 1974).

In addition to the presence of personal effectiveness and ethical obligation to others, it is clear that a person's ethical orientation will also affect their judgement in ethical choice situations. A recent attempt to clarify what this latter might include suggested that an individual's background, moral development stage, situational factors, ethical ideology and approach to ethical judgement all have significance in how individuals view and subsequently make ethical decisions (Bardi Kleiser *et al.,* 2003). Moral development and ethical ideology in particular deserve greater consideration at this point, not least because of their explicit link to the development of an individual's ethical understanding and personal moral perspective.

3.2 Moral development and judgement

Firstly, and building on Piaget's (1932) work on the development of children's social play and moral development, Kohlberg's (1969) theory of cognitive moral development (CMD) suggests that just as individuals go through stages of intellectual and emotional growth so they also go through a hierarchy consisting of six stages of moral development. These stages are grouped into three levels of moral reasoning - pre-conventional, conventional and post-conventional (in Fennell, 2006). The pre-conventional stage reflects an egocentric approach to decisions, where the person will seek to avoid punishment or pursue pleasure, whilst the conventional stage suggests their reasoning is influenced by approval either from significant others or society. It is important to note that the locus of control for both these initial stages is external. The final and most advanced post-conventional stage indicates that the decision maker has moved beyond external influence and relies heavily on internal drives, following self-chosen ethical principles (Fukukawa, 2003). Notions of what is right is based on what the community feels is right rather than what has been traditionally or externally imposed and the last stage, stage six, is based on a universal

perspective – what is just is that which is just for all human and ecological life (Fennell, 2006).

Kohlberg's theory of CMD focuses on community-based notions of justice (see Fennell, 2006) and Fennell cites Gibbs (1977) in support of this,

> At this point in the hierarchy, the decision maker has developed a moral sense that extends beyond his or her own needs, and beyond the expectation of family or social mores. Moral reasoning is cosmopolitan in nature and is characterised by a deep sense of personal commitment. The psychological locus of control is internal and the philosophical correlate is existential (Gibbs, 1977, in Fennell, 2006:258).

How individuals progress through these stages will depend upon their education and experience but if or when their cognitive schema is challenged they will reassess their beliefs in light of what they have seen, read or experienced. Certainly, personal experience is known to have a role in the development of moral understanding in a tourism context. For some tourists on holiday in a developing country, coming face to face with poverty for the first time can have a profound influence on them, transforming their holiday choices from that moment (see Weeden, 2005).

According to Kohlberg, such experiences result in people moving into a higher or more complex level of moral reasoning, although fewer than 10% of the population reach this post-conventional stage (Fennell, 2006). Gibbs (1977) criticised Kohlberg's assertion that all six stages were sequential in nature – although he agreed that the first four stages demonstrated sequential development, he asserted that stage five and six (the post-conventional stage) could occur as the result of discovering hypocrisy and societal corruption at any stage of a person's development. For Gibb, the post-conventional stage is not a natural next step on from stage four but represents an existentialist approach, where an individual deliberately detaches from the implicit or accepted worldview and adopts "a detached and questioning posture" (Gibb, 1977:56), thereby exhibiting an existentialist approach to life with its emphasis on meaning and a search for authenticity.

Of course, not only is it important to understand how an individual progresses through their personal moral development it is also essential to understand an individual's attitude

to social interest and the needs of others. This is of particular importance in tourism because whilst there are many tourists who are only interested in satisfying their immediate personal needs, the ethical and responsible tourist is aware of and is concerned about the impact of their holidays on others. In an effort to understand the complexity between social and personal needs, Rim (1983) adopted Crandall's (1980) Social Interest Scale specifically to explore the relationship between social interest, ethical ideology and values. Rim (1983) defined social interest as a "valuing of things other than the self" (Rim, 1983:52) and cited Crandall for further explanation,

> Such valuing is based on the human capacity to transcend the limits of the self and to identify with the needs and concerns of others. (Crandall, 1980 in Rim, 1983:52).

Crandall (1980) noted that social interest supplemented rather than contradicted self-interest and continued,

> The different facets of social interest are manifested in cognitive, affective, motivational, and behavioural processes. Thus social interest will influence a person's attention, perception, thinking about others, feelings such as empathy and sympathy, and finally motives and overt behaviour relating to cooperation, helping, sharing, contributing and so on (Crandall, 1980: 481).

This concept may have important implications for researchers interested in ethical and responsible tourists because those with a highly developed sense of social interest exhibit an emphasis on the values of altruism, helping, sharing and cooperation, and the need for togetherness and belonging (Crandall, 1980: 482). Further exploration of the presence of these values might therefore provide an extended understanding of the motivations of the ethical and responsible tourist.

A very different interpretation of ethical motivation comes from Forsyth's (1980) taxonomy of ethical ideologies, seen in Table 3.1 This concept suggests that individuals can be categorised according to their ethical orientation, which are entirely independent of their personal moral development. His identification of four distinct ethical perspectives – situationism, absolutism, subjectivism and exceptionism – was based on two basic factors. The first was " whether a person espouses idealistic or non-idealist values and believes moral rules are universal or relative" (Forsyth, 1980:176). In other words, some people

will always use universal rules to make their ethical judgements whilst others do not. The second factor depends on the extent of the individual's idealism, with at one extreme individuals believing that desirable consequences can be obtained with the 'right' action, whilst at the other extreme, individuals being prepared to compromise as inevitably, ideal consequences are sometimes mixed in with undesirable outcomes (Forsyth, 1980).

What Forsyth (1980) is suggesting is that human beings may adopt one of four different approaches to making ethical decisions and where people fit into these approaches depends upon whether they support idealistic or non-idealist values and whether they believe moral rules to be universal or relative. Comparing these to the traditional schools of philosophy, those high on relativism could be termed moral sceptics, with intuitionists believing that morality should depend on the context rather than an absolute principle, with subjectivists arguing that moral standards depend on personal perspectives. Those individuals who are low on relativism – absolutists - can be seen as deontologists whose beliefs stem from universal rules, with the exceptionists being teleologists taking a pragmatic approach to ethical decision making.

Table 3.1: Taxonomy of ethical ideologies

RELATIVISM

		HIGH	LOW
IDEALISM	HIGH	Situationists - reject moral rules, advocate individualistic analysis of each act in each situation; relativistic.	Absolutists - assume that the best possible outcome can always be achieved by following universal moral rules.
	LOW	Subjectivists - appraisals are based on personal values and perspective rather than universal moral principles; relativistic.	Exceptionists - moral absolutes guide judgements but pragmatically open to exceptions to these standards; utilitarian.

Source: Forsyth (1980:176)

Whilst Forsyth did not accept that personal moral development was a significant factor in ethical ideology, Rest (1986) believed Kohlberg's (1969) model of cognitive moral development (CMD) had much to offer regarding an individual's ethical maturity and growth. Rest defined morality as,

> … rooted in the social condition and the human psyche. It arises from the
> social condition because people live in groups, and what one person does can

affect another…The function of morality is to provide basic guidelines for determining how conflicts in human interest are to be settled and for optimizing mutual benefit of people living together in groups (Rest, 1986:1).

The premise of much of Rest's (1986) work is that people are interested in living within a cooperative social organisation and as a result empathy is acquired early in life, caring and mutually supportive relations with others are highly valued and individuals like to think of themselves as decent, fair and moral (Rest, 1986). It is important to note however that according to Rest (1986) moral development and behaviour is not a single unitary process – for example, a person can have a very strong moral intent but not follow through with action.

Rest's greatest contribution to understanding moral development and judgement however, is the Defining Issues Test (DIT, 1979, in Rest, 1986) that has been used in more than 500 studies (Ostini and Ellerman, 1997). The DIT combined Kohlberg's theory with certain test techniques to assess the moral judgements of individuals within the context of organisational, rather than consumer ethics. The focus on organisational ethics and decision-making is significant because there are few examples of decision-making models being used in ethical consumer research (an exception being the extensive range of research led by Deirdre Shaw using the theories of reasoned action and planned behaviour). Additionally, although the supplementary variables of ethical obligation, values and ethical orientation are thought to be relevant in ethical purchasing behaviour the development of new models of ethical consumer behaviour that incorporate them has been scarce.

Of course, part of the problem may lie in the fact that making a judgement based on ethical principles is always problematic, given that "situations faced in real life are not simple and do not lend to the application of a single theory, or a set of theories, every time" (Fukukawa, 2003:384). In theory, ethical principles are used as a guide to help people in choice situations but in reality decision-makers may not utilise one ethical theory but rather evaluate a whole set of alternatives. Indeed, they will often make a final judgement based not only on the ethicality but also on the consequences of the decision (Fukukawa, 2003). Such a contention underscores yet again the complexity of personal moral codes, the variety of factors inherent in ethical decision-making and the challenges associated with

understanding how and why ethical consumers make their purchasing decisions (Cornwell *et al.,* 2005).

3.3 Ethical consumption and consumer typologies

Having presented a review of the existing literature on ethical orientation, moral development and helping behaviour, this chapter will now further discuss the ethical consumer, looking specifically at what is already known about them, their provenance and also their subsequent connection with ethical and responsible tourists.

There is a noted lack of consistency in the research surrounding ethical consumers, with the result that not only are the characteristics of the ethical consumer difficult to determine but also efforts to define this group have sometimes been controversial (Cherrier, 2005). Additionally, whilst there is no shortage of studies into consumers who demonstrate various levels of concerns about consumption there is a notable lack of consensus as to what defines these people and what their concerns are. Having reviewed the literature the only points that can be made with conviction are that ethical consumers are not homogenous, and their purchasing behaviour encompasses a variety of political, social, religious and/or environmental motivations. In addition, while some individuals might be happy to term themselves ethical, others may not, even though they may exhibit similar consumption choices.

Such ambiguities run throughout the literature, yet what is often forgotten in the research is that these consumers share a common trait – they are concerned about the impact their consumption habits have on the wider community. For Harrison *et al.* (2005) this is the essence of ethical purchasing - those consumers who merely express personal concern for health or welfare (through organic purchasing for example) are not ethically motivated. It is only those people who are concerned about the wider environmental and social implications of their consumption that can be called ethical consumers, a theme that has resonance with Rim's views on social interest.

Of course, such complexities and ambiguities have not deterred academics (and others) from developing consumer typologies, but these are often limited, not least because of the

complex terminology ascribed to such behaviour and the many different concerns of these consumers. Indeed, although Table 3.2 below reveals an extensive number of studies into the prosocial consumer, a deep understanding of these consumers' concerns and their purchasing behaviour has remained somewhat elusive until relatively recently.

Table 3.2: Typology of prosocial consumer behaviour

Typology	Author(s)	Date of study
Socially conscious consumer	Anderson, W.T.Jr, and Cunningham, W.	1972
Responsible consumer	Fisk, G.	1973
Ecologically concerned consumer	Kinnear, T.C., Taylor, J.R. and Ahmed, S.A.	1974
Socially conscious consumer	Webster, F.E.Jr.	1975
Socially conscious consumer	Brooker, G.	1976
Environmentally responsible consumer	Tucker, L.R.Jr.	1980
Socially responsible consumer	Antil, J.H.	1984
Socially responsible consumer	Roberts, J.A.	1995
Green consumer	Schlegelmilch, B.B., Bohlen, G.M. and Diamontopoulos, A.	1996
Ethical consumer	Strong, C.	1996
Ecologically concerned consumer	Roberts, J.A. and Bacon, D.R.	1997
Fair Trade consumer	Strong, C.	1997
Green consumer	Wagner, S.A.	1997
Environmental consumer	Kalafatis, S.P., Pollard, M., East, R. and Tsogas, M.H.	1999
Ethical consumer	Shaw, D. and Clarke, I.	1999
Green consumer	Straughan, R.D. and Roberts, R.A.	1999
Environmentally responsible consumer	Follows, S.B. and Jobber, D.	2000
Ethical consumer	Carrigan, M. and Attalla, A.	2001
Ethical consumer	Tallontire, A., Rentsendorj, E. and Blowfield, M.	2001
Ecological/ environmentally /socially conscious consumer	Laroche, M., Bergeron, J. and Barbaro-Forleo, G.	2001
Ethical simplifier	Shaw, D. and Newholm, T.	2002
Organic consumer	Vindigni, G., Jannsen, M.A. and Jager, W.	2002
Ethical consumer	Auger, P., Burke, P., Devinney, T.M. and Louviere, J.L.	2003
Ethical consumption	Carrigan, M., Szmigin, I. and Wright, J.	2004
Ethical consumer	Uusitalo, O. and Oksanen, R.	2004

(Source: Author)

Regardless of such limitations, it is important to discuss the provenance and history of this research, not least because it will illustrate many of the difficulties associated with researching the prosocial consumer.

Turning to the research regarding those consumers who incorporate moral choices into their purchasing behaviour, studies have used various terms, such as 'socially conscious' (Anderson and Cunningham, 1972; Webster, 1975; Brooker, 1976), 'environmentally concerned' (Tucker, 1980; Minton and Rose, 1997; Wagner, 1997; Kalafatis *et al.,* 1999; Straughan and Roberts, 1999) 'socially responsible' (Roberts 1995), 'Fairtrade' (Strong, 1997) and 'ethical consumers' (Shaw and Clarke, 1999; Carrigan and Attalla, 2001; Tallontire *et al.,* 2001; Uusitalo and Oksanen, 2004). Further examples of the different labels given to similar consumers are shown in Table 3.2 above, and whilst not claiming to be an exhaustive list, it demonstrates particular trends in the chronology of the literature.

For example, the socially responsible consumer was discussed during the 1970s and early 1980s, the environmental (or green) consumer was the focus of attention in the 1990s, while fair trade and ethical consumers have emerged in the last decade. Such nuances in terminology have produced much confusion, not least amongst consumers, who themselves represent a wide spectrum of consumption anxieties. For example, people may express particular attitudes towards specific products through the purchasing of fair trade products, or they may exhibit a general concern about all types of mass consumption by adopting a lifestyle of voluntary simplicity.

However, it is important to review in some detail the research into prosocial consumers because they will exhibit a direct link to ethical and responsible tourists. The following section of this chapter will therefore discuss the key prosocial groups, namely socially responsible and environmental consumers and fair trade and ethical consumers, before concluding with a discussion of what is currently known about ethical and responsible tourists and their underlying motivation and concerns.

3.4 Socially responsible and environmental consumers

This section will discuss research that attempts to understand the socially responsible and environmental consumer. These two categories of consumer are examined separately but in the same section because the differences between these two groups of consumers are often not clear and the terminology used to describe them is often ambiguous and confusing. In addition, similar attitudes and behaviours are at the heart of the research and therefore the implications of their findings remain inexact.

3.4.1 Socially responsible consumers

Examining these terms chronologically, socially responsible consumers emerged as the first consumer group to attract academic interest, with research connecting responsible personality characteristics and consumer behaviour initially appearing in the late 1960s. Whilst Anderson and Cunningham (1972) were among the first to put a name to these consumers, so-called because they wanted companies to acknowledge their social and environmental responsibilities alongside their business and financial objectives, marketing research had earlier tracked their emergence due to a need to develop "potentially more sensitive criteria for market segmentation" (Anderson and Cunningham, 1972:24). Such early studies evaluated the rise of social activism and other prosocial behaviours in order to develop a more thorough understanding of the consumer and therefore more effective marketing strategies, as evidenced in the following quote by Engel *et al.* (1969, cited in Anderson and Cunningham, 1972:24),

> With growing consumer sensitivity to social and environmental problems, market segmentation based on consumers' social orientation is emerging; markets will be evaluated [increasingly] according to the degree to which consumers accept the consumer-citizen concept and buy as individuals concerned not only with their personal satisfactions, but also with societal [and environmental] well-being (Engel *et al.,* 1969, cited in Anderson and Cunningham, 1972:24).

A plethora of similar studies were produced in the 1970s and 1980s, such as Kinnear *et al.* (1974) Webster (1975), Brooker (1976) and Antil (1984) with the overall conclusion being that socially responsible consumers were more likely to take a long-term view, not only of their own consumption needs but also the needs of wider society, highlighting an

underlying ecological concern. The majority of these studies focused on proenvironmental behaviour (such as recycling), and cited the influence of George Fisk, who in 1973 had expressed concern over the global implications of mass production and consumption in the advanced nations of the world. His influential paper highlighted the need for individuals to take responsibility and limit their personal consumption in order to encourage a rational and efficient, rather than extravagant and unnecessary, use of the world's resources (Fisk, 1973). By doing this, not only did he highlight the connectivity between ecology and the use of global resources and criticise the growing importance of marketing by calling attention to the likely consequences, but he also initiated the debate about what would happen if society continued to ignore the ecological imperatives of excessive global consumption.

Fisk warned that unless individuals (and therefore society) reduced their consumption to responsible levels, profound climate and weather changes would bring into question the ultimate habitability of planet earth. He also emphasised the importance of all stakeholders (business, government and consumers) working together to curb excessive consumption by citing Margaret Mead's view of responsibility,

> …responsibility will include planning for lifestyles which are feasible economically and which will contribute to the sense of justice and dignity of all the people of the earth (Mead, 1970, as cited in Fisk, 1973:25).

Highlighting the connections between personal and social responsibility, justice and fairness to all has resulted in Fisk (1973) being regarded as highly influential in describing the context for ethical consumption, although his work did not empirically address the consumer. Turning now to empirical research that *did* attempt to profile and understand the prosocial consumer, Anderson and Cunningham (1972) earlier classified socially conscious consumers by examining the relationship between their personality, their socioeconomic status and their attitudes towards socially responsible activities. They adopted the Social Responsibility Scale (earlier developed by Berkowitz and Daniels, 1964, in Anderson and Cunningham, 1972) to measure an individual's level of social responsibility. This in turn had been based on an instrument developed by Gough *et al.* (1952), which had revealed responsible individuals to be characterised as those who demonstrated,

…deep concern over broader ethical and moral problems…. a strong sense of justice, with a rather high, but somewhat rigid, set of self demands and standards (Gough *et al.,* 1952, as cited in Anderson and Cunningham, 1972:25).

Anderson and Cunningham's (1972) work revealed those who scored highly on the Social Responsibility Scale were more likely to be pre-middle age, in a higher socio-economic group and to have reached (relatively) higher occupational attainment than those who scored less highly. In addition, they found socially conscious people more likely to be open minded, less conservative, more tolerant (less dogmatic), more likely to make financial donations to religious or educational organisations, be active members of the community and show an active interest in and knowledge about local and national politics. Significantly, they found psychographics more reliable than demographics in predicting such behaviour.

Kinnear *et al.* (1974), who researched ecologically conscious consumers, noted however that Anderson and Cunningham's (1972) work explored only non-consumption activities such as voting, community work, assisting in schools and so on. In other words, the study did not measure attitudes towards or even actual purchasing behaviour, a discriminating factor of considerable importance to Kinnear *et al.* (1974) who noted verbal expressions of ecological concern did not accurately reflect the depth of ecological concern, and nor were they an accurate predictor of actual purchase. Significantly, however, they also found ecologically concerned consumers to be open to new ideas, to exhibit a desire to understand how things work, intellectual curiosity, and a high level of perceived consumer effectiveness (PCE) (Kinnear *et al*., 1974).

Whilst they were critical of Anderson and Cunningham's (1972) earlier work, Kinnear *et al.'s* (1974) study agreed that personality variables were better predictors of prosocial behaviour than socioeconomic variables, but finally concluded there to be no significant relationship between a consumer's demographic characteristics and their level of ecological concern. This conclusion further indicates that future research attempting to understand the prosocial consumer should focus on how and why their concerns develop, rather than attempt to define them using demographic characteristics.

Returning to the chronological development shown in Table 3.2 (see page 39) the socially conscious/ecologically concerned consumer continued to be the subject of some scrutiny throughout the 1970s with later studies profiling consumers who acted upon their concerns, thus avoiding the potential attitude-behaviour inconsistency. One such study defined the socially conscious consumer as,

> …a consumer who takes into account the public consequences of his or her consumption or who attempts to use his or her purchasing power to bring about social change (Webster, 1975: 188).

Webster's (1975) study is useful in that it neatly summarises the relatively limited research at that time, noting the socially conscious consumer was likely to be well-educated, reasonably affluent and middle class, likely to be cognisant and supportive of local norms but not conformist, and believe they can influence both their community and the world around them to positive effect. From previous studies, Webster (1975:190) developed a set of hypotheses based around what he called "the social involvement model" and used this as the basis for his study, which examined what might be called pro-environmental behaviour today. This model expected the socially conscious consumer to be well informed about ecological issues and how to prevent them, likely to be active in the community socially, politically and charitably and also be socially responsible in all areas of their lives, including their consumption behaviour.

In line with Kinnear *et al.* (1974), he also incorporated actual measures of behaviour (in this case, recycling behaviour) to assess whether concern was acted upon. The reported findings of Webster (1975) indicate a significant contribution to the research through his suggesting the socially conscious consumer to be different from the socially responsible consumer, as is evidenced in the following quote,

> …it is the socially responsible consumer, not the socially conscious consumer, who is involved in community affairs and who has internalised, and whose life is influenced by, accepted social values (Webster, 1975:193).

For Webster, the socially responsible consumer was more conformist to traditional social values and activities whilst the socially conscious consumer was likely to engage in purchasing activities that may not be popularly accepted but nonetheless were consistent

with their own standards of responsibility. In addition, Webster (1975) found these latter consumers less ready to judge the values and actions of others and to believe big business had too much power. In conclusion,

> The socially conscious consumer …is actually engaged in behaviour that is somewhat counter to the norms of the community (Webster, 1975:193).

Brooker (1976) later discussed a perceived similarity between Webster's (1975) socially conscious consumer and Maslow's self-actualiser noting that both appeared to be independent decision makers, tolerant of others' values and actions and somewhat 'counterculture' or unconventional, and " ruled by laws of their own character rather than by rules of society" (Brooker, 1976:108). Again, Brooker (1976), concurring with Kinnear *et al.* (1974), asserted demographics to be less important than personality in explaining socially conscious behaviour, with socioeconomic status not at all relevant to behaviour. This finding contradicts Webster (1975) who found that education and income were significant in positively influencing recycling behaviour.

A later study by Antil (1984) examined the socially responsible consumer and was informed by the following definition of socially responsible consumption,

> …those behaviors and purchase decisions made by consumers that are related to environmental-resource problems and are motivated not only by a desire to satisfy personal needs, but also by a concern for the possible adverse consequences of the consequent effects (Antil, 1984:20).

Heavily critical of previous studies in this area, Antil (1984) suggested it was impossible to offer a single overview of these studies because of the variety of methodologies used, the lack of attention to reliability and validity measures in the different studies and the use of small or geographically limited sample sizes. To conclude, he questioned whether knowledge of socially responsible consumption could ever be gained from such studies because,

> …socially responsible consumption is not a behavioural pattern that a consumer either has or does not have, but is exhibited in varying degrees and must be conceptualized and operationalized as a continuous rather than a bivariate variable (Antil, 1984:20).

Additionally, and concurring with Kinnear *et al.* (1974), Antil's study found demographic data to be of weak significance and therefore a poor predictor of socially responsible consumer behaviour. His findings also revealed that socially responsible consumers have a high degree of perceived consumer effectiveness (PCE), are less conservative, are open to new ideas and change, willing to spend time and effort being socially responsible and have a high degree of environmental concern and knowledge. Antil's (1984) findings also revealed that although characteristics of traditional social responsibility were present they were not present to any great degree, a finding that shares commonality with Webster's (1975) socially conscious consumer. Most significantly, Antil's (1984) study discovered that consumers who exhibited a high level of social responsibility were more likely to be involved in community and service organisations, considered they were influential in their community, were more critical of government and business and had a more liberal outlook than those who had a low level of social responsibility.

More than a decade later, Roberts (1995:98) tackled this rather "schizophrenic profile" of socially responsible consumers, suggesting that ecologically conscious consumers were actually a subset of socially responsible consumers. For Roberts, the socially responsible consumer was someone whose concerns encouraged them to actively boycott those companies who they believed had a poor record on activities such as investing in South Africa, or those who were involved in the weapons industry, tested products on animals or held discriminatory human resource policies. Roberts (1995) offered the following definition of socially responsible consumers,

> …those who purchase products and services which he or she perceives to have
> a positive (or less negative) impact on the environment or uses his/her
> purchasing power to express current social concerns (Roberts, 1995:98).

Roberts (1995) also criticised past studies by suggesting the overwhelming focus on environmental concern in many of the studies did not take account of the increased social consciousness that had emerged in North America during the 1990s and was therefore less than useful in furthering understanding of this group. He too noted the weak relationship between demographics and socially responsible behaviour, believing more knowledge could be gained from investigating the potential contribution from perceived consumer

effectiveness (PCE), and the importance of values such as liberalism, environmental concern and alienation.

His extensive US study yielded four distinct cluster types – 'Socially Responsibles' (32% of adult population), 'Middle Americans' (45%), 'Greens' (6%) and 'Browns' (17%). The Browns were unconcerned about the environment, reported the least ecologically and responsible behaviour of all the clusters and also had the lowest PCE. As might be expected, the Greens focused their energy on ecological behaviour and reported few instances of socially responsible behaviour. Significantly they had the highest PCE of all the clusters, while Middle Americans reported little ecological behaviour, showed concern for both ecological and socially responsible behaviour but had lower PCE than the Socially Responsibles. This latter were the most socially conscious of all the clusters, and had high PCE but were less concerned with ecological issues.

The fact that several of these studies (see for example Kinnear *et al.,* 1974; Antil, 1984; Roberts, 1995) note the importance of perceived consumer effectiveness (PCE) in socially responsible behaviour is particularly worth discussing, because they indicate individuals who believe they can make a contribution to pollution control (as just one example) demonstrate higher than average environmental concern. It was Henion and Wilson (1976) who first noted the similarities between what Kinnear *et al.* (1974) and Webster (1975) called PCE, and the personality construct 'locus of control'. They explain,

> Locus of control is the degree to which a person is believed to have either internal or external control of his reinforcements. According to Rotter (1966), an internally-controlled person is one who perceives a "reward" he receives as being a direct result of his own behavior. An externally-controlled person perceives a "reward" he receives as being a result of forces outside himself and largely independent of his own activities (Henion and Wilson, 1976:132).

In other words, personal consumer effectiveness (PCE) serves as an indication of an individual's locus of control - those with a high degree of internal control believe they have the power to directly or indirectly affect outcomes in their lives, whilst those with a high degree of external control are less effective at coping with their environment and ascribe outcomes to external factors beyond their control (Whalen *et al.,* 1991). The role of PCE clearly deserves further attention, especially in studies concerning prosocial

behaviour. Indeed, Roberts (1995) concluded his study by suggesting that PCE was "the most promising variable in explaining variations in ecologically conscious behaviour" (Roberts, 1995:112), a point echoed in a later study on ethical consumers by Cowe and Williams (2000) who interpreted a lack of perceived consumer effectiveness as a pervading sense of consumer powerlessness. They also suggested that perceived consumer effectiveness may be a key variable in the 'ethical gap', or attitude-behaviour inconsistency, and called for further research in this area.

3.4.2 Environmental consumers

Following on chronologically from studies that examined socially responsible consumers came research that focused purely on the environmental, or green consumer, and research into this group continues today. This is partly because green consumers continue to be a significant purchasing group, although recent research very often addresses environmental decision-making within the wider ethical umbrella (see Young *et al.,* 2007). Indeed, with the now-widespread use of the word 'ethical' to describe a diverse range of prosocial behaviours, very often these two words (green, ethical) are used interchangeably. One example of this comes from a recent ESRC press release regarding an on-going study into decision-making and sustainable technologies, "Consumers find that being green or ethical is a very hard, time consuming, and emotional experience" (Young *et al.,* 2007). In other words, semantic challenges regarding the ecologically conscious/ socially conscious/ socially responsible consumer continue to confront those researchers aiming to understand the green consumer.

The continuing emphasis on environmental consumers (as opposed to wider prosocial behaviour) might also be attributed to their activities being easier to delineate, although this perspective is refuted by Gilg *et al.* (2005:481), who suggest "Green consumption is a term that has come to mean all things to all people". Whatever the reason, and regardless of the range of activities undertaken to achieve their consumption goals, green consumers primarily consider the environmental consequences of their purchases (Lang and Gabriel, 2005). This seemingly more straightforward explanation might attract those academics somewhat overfaced by the philosophical/classification discussions noted earlier.

Of course, a huge increase in media attention has also contributed to continued interest but, whatever the reason, it is clear that the environmental consumer has been the subject of much academic attention from as long ago as the 1960s - although Table 3.2 (see page 39) indicates Tucker (1980) to be the first author to focus completely on the environmental consumer, the truth is that by 1980 more than 12 major studies had been conducted (for full details see Tucker, 1980). The majority of these studies took a US or North American perspective, which is significant given that the green consumer movement actually emerged in Europe in the early 1980s before spreading to North America (Lang and Gabriel, 2005). Indeed, it was not until the 1990s that attention first started to be paid to the green consumer in the UK (see Schlegelmilch *et al.,* 1996) when levels of societal environmental consciousness first peaked.

As with research into the socially responsible consumer, early work on environmental consumers focused on investigating non-consumption activity such as energy conservation and political activism (Follows and Jobber, 2000) but later research sought to investigate consumption activities such as recycling, buying organic food and the purchasing of green energy (see for example, Schlegelmilch *et al.,* 1996). It could be argued this was partly due to the consequentialist message regarding mass consumption being taken by the media in the late 1980s and early 1990s, with the inevitable result that the UK market redefined itself to meet the increased demand for green products. As a result, not only were consumers more able to express their environmental concerns in their purchases but researchers then had more opportunities to investigate them.

Of course, there were and still remain, some significant limitations to the nature of some of this research, not least because it was designed from a marketing perspective and profiled the green consumer for purposes of segmentation and targeting (see Roberts, 1996; Minton and Rose 1997; Roberts and Bacon, 1997). As noted by Diamantopoulos *et al.* (2003) these studies adopted a range of variables (such as cultural, personality and demographic) but tended not to address *all* components of environmental consciousness, namely knowledge, attitudes and behaviour, instead preferring to focus on only one of these, with the result that weak relationships were often inevitable. In order to address this weakness Diamantopoulos *et al.* (2003) researched all components and concluded that while socio-demographic variables were useful in profiling UK consumers in terms of environmental

knowledge and attitudes, they were not conclusive with regard to behaviour. Indeed, there was little utility from a managerial perspective of adopting socio-demographic measures to profile the green consumer, a conclusion found in much of the research in this area (see Laroche *et al.,* 2001).

Subsequent attempts to find explanations for proenvironmental behaviour explored the utility of additional variables. For example, Follows and Jobber (2000) examined the link between individuals' values and the influence of these values on intention and subsequent purchase of environmentally friendly products. In order to do so they adapted Schwartz's (1992, based on Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987) value typology, concluding that values were important determinants in attitude formation for environmental purchasing behaviour and therefore useful in furthering an understanding of the green consumer. Another example, provided by Straughan and Roberts (1999), replicated earlier research that linked demographics and psychographics to environmental consciousness and perceived consumer effectiveness (Roberts, 1996b in Straughan and Roberts, 1999), but with the additional constructs of altruism and liberalism. They concluded that perceived consumer effectiveness was the single most important factor in proenvironmental behaviour, followed by altruism and then liberalism. They also noted the importance of both environmental awareness and knowledge in environmental attitudes and consumer behaviour, a theme continued in Diamantopoulos *et al.* (2003) who cited Bohlen *et al.* (1993) on this point,

> …in order to be 'green', it may be argued that individuals require an understanding of the consequences of their behavior (Bohlen *et al.,* 1993, as cited in Diamantopoulos *et al.,* 2003:467).

In other words, knowledge of environmental issues positively influences a consumer's intention to buy green and when consumer knowledge is high, consumers form positive attitudes towards environmental protection (Paladino, 2005).

Other studies explored the utility of Dunlap and Van Liere's (1978) New Environmental Paradigm (NEP) (Roberts and Bacon, 1997; Lück, 2003), a 12-item scale that measured endorsement of a worldview with environmental concern at its heart. The NEP superseded the Dominant Social Paradigm (in the US) that had grown out of an innate belief that man

was superior to and 'above' nature, that earth was a limitless resource and human beings were immune to ecological constraints (Lück, 2003). The NEP was an alternative to this set of beliefs and values, promoting the importance of restricting consumption, protecting the integrity of ecosystems and living in harmony with nature. The NEP incorporated variables such as a steady state economy, limits to growth and a balance with nature - all issues consistent with increasing public consciousness of the growing ecological problem, and was considered reliable in studies attempting to differentiate members of environmental groups from the general public (see Roberts and Bacon, 1997).

However, its efficacy also had limitations, namely that people not only needed to be aware of the consequences of their behaviour but also needed to feel responsible for protecting the environment (Roberts and Bacon, 1997), an obvious link to the importance of perceived consumer effectiveness. More recently however, Lück (2003) found the NEP was not useful in a tourism and nature-based setting, as it did not distinguish any significant relationships between demographics, environmental values and attitudes.

Given the marketing opportunities offered to companies providing environmentally friendly products it is unsurprising that studies eventually moved from profiling the green consumer to investigating whether such consumers were likely to pay more for green products. One such study by Laroche *et al.* (2001) investigated the importance of consumer attitudes, values and behaviour in connection with consumer willingness to pay more for environmentally friendly products. Their study revealed those willing to pay more believed environmental issues to be of paramount importance, both on a personal and social level and they displayed a range of values consistent with concern for the welfare of others. Unsurprisingly, they believed companies had a responsibility to the environment in their business activities and whilst buying green products took more effort, they attached no inconvenience to this activity.

However, limitations to this research lie with its reliance on self-reported answers, a caveat consistent with many of the studies attempting to predict pro-environmental behaviour – that is, consumer intentions remain poor indicators of actual purchasing behaviour not only because of the attitude-behaviour gap but also due to the probable presence of social desirability bias (see Schlegelmilch *et al.,* 1996; Follows and Jobber, 2000; Laroche *et al.,*

2001; Cleveland *et al.,* 2005). It is also unclear from the research whether consumer knowledge of the environmental impact of their consumption automatically leads to more environmental purchasing behaviour.

Throughout the studies outlined so far in this chapter, the importance of both personal and social values (such as altruism, liberalism, concern for others' welfare, restricting consumption and living in harmony with nature) have surfaced consistently. However, these have mostly emerged as side issues rather than the main focus, which suggests that further research into the values of the prosocial consumer might yield some significant understanding. Indeed, this contention is borne out in the more recent studies of green consumerism, which have moved from concern with the demographic/psychographic profile to an exploration of the values perspective (see Gilg *et al.,* 2005; Grankvist *et al.,* 2007).

Gilg, *et al.* (2005) for example, sampled 1600 Devon (UK) residents, adopting environmental values, demographic and also psychographic variables to examine how different types of environmental action, such as energy saving, water conservation, waste management and green consumption were related and what factors were influential in their achievement. Their research yielded a typology of consumption – 'Committed environmentalists' (CE) were the most enthusiastic about sustainable behaviour, 'Mainstream environmentalists' were still keen but less so than the CE, 'Occasional environmentalists' rarely adopted green behaviour and 'Non-environmentalists' never undertook any green or sustainable behaviour.

Gilg *et al.'s* (2005) research indicates that those who were most committed to sustainable consumption were likely to be older, lived in their own home, voted Green/Liberal Democrat and were active members of community groups. With regard to their values, the research found that green consumers placed more importance on pro-environmental and prosocial values, (such as unity and altruism) and less emphasis on personal wealth and power. Their research also underscores the importance of perceived consumer effectiveness in activating environmental behaviour.

The most recent contribution to research on the green consumer comes from Young *et al.* (2007) whose ESRC-funded research into green consumers took the form of eighty-one qualitative interviews where respondents were asked to describe in detail the decision making process for recent purchases of electrical household appliances and other more routine shopping behaviours (ESRC, 2007). Their research uncovered three different groups of green consumers – 'Selectors', 'Translators' and 'Exceptors'. Selectors represented the largest group of green consumers in the UK but were green in only one aspect of their lives and concentrated on activities such as recycling or buying green energy. Translators were green in some aspects of their lives but did not actively seek out information and although they wanted to 'do the right thing' did not sacrifice much to achieve this. The final group, Exceptors made sustainability a priority in their lives and spent a great deal of time and energy seeking out the greenest option for all of the products they bought.

Full details of this research are not yet available and so it is difficult to fully evaluate its contribution or potential limitations, but at the very least it illustrates a continuing fascination with understanding the complex phenomenon that is the green consumer. Clearly, preoccupation with the classification of the prosocial consumer continues, and regardless of the extensive research that has taken place a deep understanding of the prosocial consumer remains elusive. It is clear from the review so far that these people are not easy to define, and whilst research has attempted to classify them according to a diverse range of variables the reality of who these people are, what motivates them and how they satisfy these motivations requires a complex and multifaceted approach, an endeavour that looks set to continue for the foreseeable future.

3.5 Fair trade and ethical consumers

As noted in Table 3.2 (see page 39) the fair trade consumer first appeared in the mid-1990s and is worthy of closer attention, not just because of the common concerns they share with ethical consumers but also because fair trade is currently the focus of some debate within tourism. As a movement, fair trade is seen as particularly relevant to ethical consumption because of its emphasis on co-operative rather than competitive trading principles, and the demand for a fair price at all stages of the supply chain and for the consumer (Shaw, 2005).

As a noted example of alternative consumerism (Lang and Gabriel, 2005), it also shares similarities with the Co-operative movement due to its emphasis on the principle of a fair exchange for producers, suppliers and consumers and its concern with the holistic needs of the supply chain, financially as well as socially (Nicholls and Opal, 2005). Tallontire (2000) defines fair trade as "trade that seeks to improve the position of disempowered producers through trade as a means towards development" (Tallontire, 2000:166), but the following quote provides a more detailed explanation of what fair trade aims to achieve,

> The aim of Fair Trade is to offer the most disadvantaged producers in developing countries the opportunity to move out of extreme poverty through creating market access (typically to Northern consumers) under beneficial rather than exploitative terms. The objective is to empower producers to develop their own businesses and wider communities through international trade (Nicholls and Opal, 2005:6).

Essentially, fair trade seeks to put fairness and democracy at the heart of all activities for both producers and consumers, at the same time as trying to transform the structure of international trade. In addition, it supports corporate social responsibility rather than profit maximisation, and seeks to ensure that processing and packaging take place in the country of origin (Gould, 2003). All this is achieved by trying to ensure that the buyer-supplier transaction is based on an equal exchange rather than on the power discrepancy normally associated with trade between the developed and developing worlds (Nicholls, 2002). The benefits of fair trade for producers includes workers being paid adequately, having access to better working conditions, and greater security through the guaranteed pricing mechanism (Gould, 2003). For consumers, the benefits of buying fair trade products include a personal contribution towards responsible and sustainable consumption, factors that seem to be increasingly important to European consumers in the twenty first century.

Evidence of exactly how important this is to consumers can be found in the sales figures attached to products accredited with the Fairtrade mark – in the UK alone, retail sales in 2006 reached £290m, up 46 per cent on the previous year (Fairtrade Foundation, 2007), and massively up from the £2.7m spent on Fairtrade products in 1994 (Fairtrade Foundation, 2005). Globally, more than £758m was spent on Fairtrade products in 2005, an increase of more than 30 per cent from 2004 (BBC News, 2006). Such success is thought to be due to improved awareness of the negative impact of globalisation, wider

media coverage of the issues at stake and increasing information being made available to consumers about fair trade principles (Strong, 1997).

Nicholls (2002) supports Strong's assertion, arguing the success of the fair trade movement is due to a combination of political, academic, cultural and informational influences working together to generate recognition of the importance of fair trade production and the human values associated with it (Nicholls, 2002). Indeed, Nicholls (2002:9) claims that fair trade, far from being a marginal concern has now "moved into the mainstream of modern consumerism", and recent years have certainly seen an acceleration of both consumer acceptance of fair trade products (Gould, 2003) and an extension in consumer awareness of the potential inequities associated with globalisation. One note of caution however, it is unclear whether a relatively small, albeit growing, pool of fair trade consumers are spending more on a wider product range or whether the rise in sales can be wholly attributed to new consumers. The reality is probably a combination of the two.

Research regarding the fair trade consumer has historically come under the banner of ethical consumerism, and often focused on attitudes and intentions, using Ajzen's (1985) theory of planned behaviour (see Shaw and Clarke, 1999; Shaw *et al.,* 2000; Shaw and Shiu, 2002; Shaw *et al.,* 2005). One of the earliest empirical studies of fair trade consumers comes from Carolyn Strong (1996) who attributed the success of fair trade products to the emergence of the "caring consumer" (Strong, 1996:7) and to a "shift in values towards concern for Third World sustainable development" (Strong, 1997:32). Strong herself hinted at the sometimes impenetrable terminology surrounding discussion of the prosocial consumer, with the following quote neatly encapsulating the interwoven and complex discourse commonly found when addressing the ethical, the environmental or fair trade consumer,

> A growing number of consumers of the 1990s are caring, environmentally and socially aware and are demanding a say in the production, processing and resourcing of raw materials of the products they regularly purchase. The environmentally-aware consumer has become ethically aware and is joined by many other consumers who believe in the principles of fair trade. As a result, the increasingly well-informed consumer is not only demanding fairly-traded products, but is challenging manufacturers and retailers to guarantee the ethical claims they make about their products (Strong, 1996:7).

Fair trade has long been seen as a significant concern for ethical consumers (see Shaw and Clarke, 1999; Gould, 2003; Alexander and Nicholls, 2006) with much of the consequent research taking grocery purchasing as its focus. Several of these studies have involved fair trade coffee and the extent to which consumers were willing to pay more (see De Pelsmacker *et al.,* 2005) with Loureiro and Lotade (2005) suggesting that it was women with a higher income, higher levels of education and more sensitivity towards environmental issues who were likely to pay a premium for fair trade coffee. These authors note respondents' concern about working practices in developing countries and thus also make a link with the value of altruism. Limitations of this research however include the female bias in respondents and an indication that willingness to pay more, a self-reported behaviour in this study, may be the result of social desirability and thus a victim of the attitude-behaviour gap.

De Pelsmacker *et al.* (2005) also comment on the attitude-behaviour gap, highlighting the discrepancy between the high numbers of people claiming to be concerned about ethical consumption against the relatively small market share for ethical products – typically less than 1% for most fair trade products, for example. A wide variety of reasons was claimed to explain such an attitude-behaviour gap and included criticism that the research was purely attitudinal, that consumers view ethical attributes as just one of a bundle of benefits along with price and convenience, a lack of availability of ethical alternatives, a lack of information about the product and/ or a disbelief of the claims made for ethical or environmental products (De Pelsmacker *et al.,* 2005).   In order to address such criticisms and get a more accurate understanding of the decision making of the fair trade consumer, research has examined the additional variable of ethical obligation, revealing that a sense of obligation to others and an identification and empathy with the issues behind fair trade motivate the fair trade consumer far more effectively than issues of self-interest, such as price and convenience (Shaw and Shiu, 2002).

In line with green consumer research, a review of the fair trade literature has revealed that more recent studies have focused on the potential of the values concept in understanding ethical decision-making (see De Pelsmacker *et al.,* 2005; Grankvist *et al.,* 2007; Shaw *et al.,* 2005).   For example, De Pelsmacker *et al.* (2005:366) cite Fritzsche (1995), who asserted, "the values of people behaving ethically [are] significantly different from the

values of people behaving unethically". This mirrors the trend set by research discussed previously, whereby researchers have reacted to the limitations of demographic and psychographic variables in predicting ethical consumer behaviour by moving towards a values-based understanding because, "People's values appear to have a significant impact on their ethical behaviour" (De Pelsmacker *et al.,* 2005:366). Additional values-oriented research is also significant because it suggests buyers of fair trade products attach more importance to the values of altruism, equality, peace and a beautiful and secure world, and less importance to inner-directed values such as self-respect and inner harmony (Littrell and Dickson, 1999, in De Pelsmacker *et al.,* 2005).

Turning in more detail to the ethical consumer, it was once noted, "current knowledge on the ethical consumer, including the Fair Trade consumer is patchy and largely dependent on commercial opinion polls. " (Tallontire, 2001:15) Although this view may have been true in 2001, it is certainly not the case in 2007, with the last six years having seen an explosion of academic interest in the ethical consumer (see Harrison *et al.,* 2005). Indeed, since Anne Tallontire's earlier comment, ethical consumers have been the subject of much research on issues as diverse as fashion and clothing choice (Shaw *et al.,* 2004; Iwanow *et al.,* 2005), organic food purchase (McEachern and McClean, 2002), consumption simplicity (Shaw and Newholm, 2002), workers' rights (Auger *et al.,* 2003), and consumer empowerment (Shaw *et al.,* 2006). As a result, understanding of what matters to the ethical consumer has been greatly furthered since an early study described them merely as "a highly principled group" (Shaw and Clarke, 1998:164). The following quote however illustrates the complexity of the ethical consumer,

> Ethical purchasers may have political, religious, spiritual, environmental, social or other motives for choosing one product over another and they frequently disagree about who is right and who is wrong. The one thing they have in common is that they are concerned with the effects that a purchasing choice has, not only on themselves, but also on the external world around them (Harrison *et al.,* 2005:2).

Other research claims ethical consumers are concerned with "matters of conscience" (Carrigan *et al.,* (2004:401) including food and drink safety, animal welfare, honest labelling and advertising claims, ethical trade, human rights and the environment (Memery

et al., 2007). In an attempt to pick apart the complexity of ethical consumerism, the Co-operative Bank (2005) divided the issues into four categories,

> Ethical consumerism is defined as personal consumption where choice has been informed by a particular ethical issue – be it human rights, social justice, the environment or animal welfare (The Co-operative Bank, 2005:7).

This tallies somewhat with Tallontire's (2001) identification of three areas of ethical concern to consumers, namely the environment, human rights and animal rights/welfare, with a very recent study arguing that ethical consumers rank these issues in order of importance when purchasing, with the environment being most important and animal rights/welfare least important (Wheale and Hinton, 2007).

Regardless of such complexities, it is clear that ethical consumption is growing in both value and volume - the latest figures available to the researcher show that in 2004, UK consumers spent a total of £25.8 billion on ethical products, an increase of 15 per cent on the previous year and compared to an increase of 3.7 per cent in UK household expenditure in the same period. Ethical purchasing now represents more than 2 per cent of UK sales with people becoming more confident in their ability to make a difference by buying ethical products - in 2004, 54 per cent agreed with the statement 'As a consumer, I can make a difference to how responsibly a company behaves', compared to 51 per cent in 1999, once again highlighting the importance of perceived consumer effectiveness in ethical consumption. In addition, increasing numbers of people are reporting their participation in activities with a broad ethical agenda, from recycling, supporting local shops and suppliers and buying from producers who have a responsible reputation, to actively campaigning on environmental and social issues (The Co-operative Bank, 2005).

It must be acknowledged however, that with such a broad remit, the consumer faces an ever more complex set of variables if wanting to make ethical decisions about their purchases, and which may have a considerable impact on whether they achieve their goals. One product that particularly illustrates the nature of this complexity is clothing. Not only do consumers consider traditional criteria such as price, availability and quality but a major conflict can arise between the relative merits of supporting home-country production as opposed to buying fair trade clothes from a developing country in order to support *their*

economy (Shaw *et al.,* 2004). Such a conflict can be confusing to all but the most informed consumer and whilst it has been recognised that ethical consumers are highly motivated to disregard the inconvenience or extra effort required to source ethical products, at times this may prove too difficult for them if little or no information is made available in the choice situation, such as often occurs in clothing choice.

On this point, recent research indicates most consumers still do not understand the ethical dimensions of the products they purchase (Auger *et al.,* 2003; Uusitalo and Oksanen, 2004) and remain relatively uninformed (Carrigan and Attalla, 2001). Indeed, Carrigan *et al.* (2004) found older consumers wanting to endorse affirmative action and willing to buy ethically but felt restricted by a lack of choice, the issue of (in) convenience and the availability of reliable information. Indeed, clear and effective information seems to be a key element in encouraging ethical purchasing, and if consumer confidence in supplier information is low then this may never be achieved (McEachern and McClean, 2002).

Newholm (2005) highlights the fact that different ethical consumers will view the same information in different ways, some approving it and some severely criticising it and so deciding what exactly constitutes effective labelling and appropriate information might not always be straightforward, for the consumer or the supplier. Other research indicates consumers are selective in their ethical consumption because of their confusion over the many ethical issues involved, the nature of routine problem solving shopping behaviour (Uusitalo and Oksanen, 2004), or consumers' being unwilling to sacrifice product performance for ethical considerations (Carrigan and Attalla, 2001; Auger *et al.,* 2003).

Looking more closely at research that attempts to define the ethical consumer, Cowe and Williams' (2000) extensive research into the UK ethical consumer, (undertaken by Mori and consisting of four focus groups and 2,000 face-to-face interviews) identified how many consumers were active purchasers of ethical products, what motivated them and what distinguished them from other segments of the population. Their research revealed five ethical consumer clusters - 'Global watchdogs' (5 per cent of sample) were ethical hardliners who regularly recycle, are and feel powerful as consumers but want more information on which to base their decisions. They are active campaigners and rarely go shopping without looking for ethical labels such as GM-free and Fairtrade, they regularly

buy and boycott on ethical grounds and also talk to their friends about the issues. The 'Do what I can' group (49 per cent of sample) have ethical concerns but do not hold them very strongly, they recycle regularly but do not discuss ethical concerns with their friends and feel they have little influence as consumers.

The 'Look after my own' group (22 per cent) are typically younger, come from lower income groups, and out of all the clusters care the least about social, ethical or environmental causes. As consumers they admit to feeling powerless. The 'Conscientious consumers' (18 per cent) are quite concerned about ethical issues but only if price and quality are removed from the decision, are active recyclers and some actively seek out information although in general they do not feel powerful. The final group, the 'Brand generation' (6 per cent) are most consumerist, being interested in brand names, product quality and value for money. They are likely to be younger and while they rarely support local shops or recycle waste they feel powerful as ethical consumers and want more information about companies' ethical behaviour.

Whilst this study emphasises the heterogeneity of the ethical consumer, and the myriad approaches towards ethical issues and consumption, it also highlights the importance of perceived consumer effectiveness by noting, "Consumers who feel their choices will not have an impact are less likely to factor ethics into their purchasing decisions" (Cowe and Williams, 2000:29). Other important findings included a noted lack of information about company behaviour, and the fact that some people were uncomfortable about being called ethical even if they had a strong affinity with, and purchased according to strongly held ethical values. The most significant difference (for the purpose of this thesis) between the clusters however was whether people were value-led or values–led. This evaluation (based on Inglehart's World Values study, as cited in Cowe and Williams, 2000) posited that value-led 'materialists' give greater priority to economic security and order in society whilst values-led 'post-materialists' are more concerned with self-expression and quality of life,

> As might be expected, the values-led consumers were significantly more likely than the value-led group to be concerned about ethical issues and persuaded to buy accordingly (Cowe and Williams, 2000:27).

Again, this indicates the values construct to be a significant factor, along with perceived consumer effectiveness, in ethical consumer research and one that deserves greater attention for the future.

More recent research has adopted a very deep approach to understanding the ethical consumer with Newholm (2005) arguing individual consumers experience a great deal of personal struggle in wanting to incorporate ethical choices into their consumption because,

> …ethical consumer behaviour and changing behaviour are mediated within a range of personal and situational contexts in ways that are unique to each individual (Newholm, 2005:116).

As life, family or economic circumstances change, so each individual consumer copes by having a fluid relationship with both society and the products they buy - what Newholm (2005) describes as a 'life project'. His case study research involved sixteen consumers, whom Newholm grouped into three distinct categories - 'Distancers' boycotted unethical products while 'Integrators' integrated ethical purchase behaviour fully into their lifestyle. 'Rationalisers' limited their ethical purchases to extreme cases, and whilst showing concern for issues prioritised quality, choice and pleasure (Newholm, 1999, in Nicholls and Opal, 2005). Newholm's study highlights the complexity faced by consumers wanting to be ethical, the compromises they adopt to pursue their ideals, and the individual approach such people bring to their consumption habits. Other significant details that can facilitate a deeper understanding of the ethical consumer include the relative selectiveness (sometimes) of their consumption (favouring either fair trade, or vegetarianism for example) and the importance in their lives of voluntary work and/or their involvement in community groups (Newholm, 2005).

The apparent fascination with developing ethical consumer typologies continued with research by Carrigan and Attalla (2001), who grouped consumers into four groups according to their ethical intentions - 'Caring and ethical' consumers actively discriminated against and for unethical and ethical companies and had the highest intention to act. 'Confused and uncertain' consumers would like to shop more ethically but are unclear how to do so because of the lack of guidance and contradictory information. The 'Cynical and disinterested' are suspicious of companies' ethical claims, have a high

awareness of the issues but are the least likely to act on them as their priorities are price, quality and brand image. The final group, the 'Oblivious,' have no understanding and no knowledge of potentially ethical issues in the context of shopping.

Although this particular study is inconclusive on whether consumers care sufficiently about ethical issues to make ethical purchases, certain obstacles to increased consumer purchasing were revealed and support assertions made earlier – consumers were confused by the complex information available about firms' behaviour and were sceptical of claims of good corporate ethics. Additionally, not only did price, quality and value outweigh ethical criteria but consumers were not convinced their behaviour made a difference (Carrigan and Attalla, 2001), thus indicating a low level of perceived consumer effectiveness.

Reviewing all of the above, it is clear that although more is known about the ethical consumer in 2008 than was known in 1998, by no means have they been the focus of extensive study. Indeed, the range of products involved in ethical consumer research has been relatively narrow and possibly a reflection on the limited range of ethical products available. However, as consumer concern grows about the impact of mass consumption on society, and more consumers elect to consider ethical factors in their purchasing decisions so too will research need to expand in order to accommodate this growth.

3.6 Ethical and responsible tourists

Having addressed research regarding the prosocial consumer it is important to turn to the ethical and responsible tourist in order to discover what is currently known about their concerns and motivations. In fact, this is largely unknown territory because although the prosocial consumer has been the subject of debate for more than 30 years the same cannot be said for the ethical and responsible tourist. In part this is due to the relative youth of the industry and the fact that concerns about the consequences of mass tourism have emerged only in the past 15 years. It is also connected to the point first noted in Chapter two – that holidays are generally considered as fun, relaxing and a time to leave worries at home, rather than an opportunity to engage with the ethical issues associated with tourism.

An additional complexity is the fact that the literature regarding prosocial consumers has not so far addressed the issue of tourism and travel, preferring instead to look at grocery, banking, fashion retailing and recycling. In reality, nothing is yet known about the prosocial consumer and how they make their holiday decision making, or indeed whether prosocial consumers and ethical and responsible tourists are the same group of people. This is a significant gap in consumer research that needs to be filled – as more people become concerned about the ethical implications of their everyday consumption so they will also become more used to incorporating ethical concerns into their holiday decision-making, making it imperative that further knowledge about this group of people is generated.

As already stated, those consumers who incorporate ethical factors into their holiday choices have not so far been of much interest to the academic community – consequently, relatively little is known about them. This is unfortunate and whilst knowledge of the ethical consumer has been extended during the past decade, ethical issues and the tourist have been the focus of only one empirical study that addressed undergraduate students' perceptions of the ethical implications of visiting Myanmar (see Hudson, 2007). Indeed, such a research situation recalls Tallontire's (2001) earlier observation about ethical consumers; there is very little empirical published research on ethical and responsible tourists apart from that generated by general consumer surveys (see Tearfund, 2000a; Tearfund, 2000b; Mintel, 2001; Tearfund, 2001; Tearfund, 2002; Mintel, 2004). These have only investigated tourists' attitudes and intentions towards purchasing an ethical holiday and do not offer a detailed understanding of either the purchasing behaviour of the ethical and responsible tourist or the motivations behind such choices, mostly due to their generalist remit.

Possible reasons for the lack of research attention may lie with the complex nature of the ethical issues involved in tourism, as well as current social attitudes towards holidays and holiday behaviour, all combining to create a perceptual barrier with regard to incorporating ethical awareness into holiday choices. For example, tourists are thought to be more interested in taking a holiday and 'switching off' from the problems associated with daily life than acting on ethical concerns. Other factors include a lack of awareness about the

social or environmental impact of their holidays and a certain amount of confusion for those who want to be more responsible but don't know how to go about it.

It is important at this stage to highlight in more detail the ethical issues that tourism raises, and to note also that the vast majority of research regarding tourists' ethical concerns has sampled the general UK public rather than specific prosocial consumers. As a reminder, and stated in the introduction to this thesis, ethical and responsible tourism is,

> … a business and consumer response to some of the major economic, social and environmental issues, which affect our world. It is about travelling in a better way and about taking responsibility for the impacts that our actions have socially and economically on others and on their social, cultural and natural environment (Goodwin and Pender, 2005:303).

As to the meaning of responsible tourism, the International Centre for Responsible Tourism explains it as tourism which,

> Minimises negative environmental, social and cultural impacts, generates greater economic benefits for local people and enhances the well being of host communities by improving the working conditions and access to the industry. It involves local people in decisions that affect their lives and life chances, makes positive contributions to the conservation of natural and cultural heritage and the maintenance of the world's diversity and provides more enjoyable experiences for tourists through more meaningful connections with local people and a greater understanding of local cultural and environmental issues (International Centre for Responsible Tourism, 2002)

All of these issues have been researched by Tearfund, a UK relief and development charity, which has been instrumental not just by being the first internationally–recognised organisation to research attitudes about ethical and responsible tourism but also in raising awareness of the issues with the general UK public through campaigns such as "Don't forget your ethics" (Tearfund, 2000a), and publications such as "Tourism - an ethical issue" (Tearfund, 2000b) and "Tourism: putting ethics into practice" (Tearfund, 2001). Raising awareness and educating the public about the potential inequities of tourism was also the intention of Voluntary Service Overseas' (VSO) WorldWise tourism campaign, as indicated in the following excerpt from a joint VSO/ Guardian newspaper travel supplement,

When you book your overseas holiday, most of the money you hand over will go straight to the tour operator and the airline. Imports of food and drink to satisfy foreign visitors' tastes take more money from the local economy. International hotel chains may not recruit senior staff locally, so locals don't benefit from employment. One source suggests that of every pound spent on a holiday in Kenya, only around 15p of it stays in the country, and probably even less will stay in the locality of the holiday. You can talk to your travel agent about booking a locally owned and run hotel with good employment policies (VSO and Guardian travel supplement, 2000).

Concerns such as these reported by VSO and the Guardian newspaper represent the very essence of tourism's potential for generating ethical problems and form the doubts in the prosocial consumers' minds about both the benefits and impacts of their holidays. With regard to how important such issues are believed to be to the general UK public, Tearfund claimed in 2002 that,

Attitudes are changing. New research from Tearfund shows that the holidaying British public wants more information about how their breaks in the sun affect local people and their environment. They do not just want to switch off on holiday. They are keen to behave in an appropriate manner and bring benefits to people in the destinations they visit (Tearfund, 2002:7).

With specific regard to responsibility in this context, Tearfund (2001) earlier claimed that more than 52 per cent of people were willing to pay an average of 5 per cent more for a holiday with a responsible tour operator, 65 per cent wanted to know how to be responsible on holiday and more than 50 per cent believed the responsibility to provide such information lay with tour operators and travel agencies (Tearfund, 2001). An even earlier study by Tearfund (2000) revealed that although 47 per cent preferred to switch off on holiday, of those most likely to take ethical considerations into account, 15 per cent of them attended church twice a month, 12 per cent regularly bought fair trade goods, 12 per cent had been on a trip to a developing country or planned to do so, 11 per cent gave more than £20 a month to charity and 8 per cent were members of an environmental, development or human rights group.

In other words, tourists who incorporate ethical considerations into their holiday choices share significant similarities with the socially conscious consumers of Anderson and Cunningham (1972) and Webster (1975). Not only are they well informed about ecological issues, and active in the community socially, politically and charitably, but also they are

responsible in all areas of their lives. In addition, the findings indicate their being somewhat counterculture, or unconventional, precisely because they are acting against the prevailing norm of mass tourism, (which does not encourage tourists to think about their impact or responsibilities), all factors consistent with the socially conscious consumer as noted in section 3.4.1 (see page 34).

Additional UK-focused research has been undertaken by Mintel (2001), who again surveyed the UK public's attitude towards the tourism industry, claiming that four consumer groups existed in respect to their attitudes towards potential ethical dilemmas in tourism. The largest group, the 'Apathetics' (48 per cent), did not have strong opinions about ethical issues, with more than half of them not wanting to be bothered with ethics on holiday. Apathetics were either aged 15-20 or over 65 years and from socio-economic groups C2DE. The next largest group, the 'Unconcerned' (22 per cent), whilst generally unconcerned about ethical issues and not wanting to think about them on holiday, strongly believed that all tourism was a positive force for local economies. This group were predominantly male, aged 25-44 and in socio-economic group C1.

The 'Researchers' (20 per cent) were more likely to read about local culture before travelling and although they believed tourism helped the local economy, over half were concerned about its impact on the local environment, with 15 per cent saying they sought a holiday with an ethical code. Researchers were predominantly pre-family or empty nesters, aged 20-64 years and from socio-economic groups ABC1. The smallest group, the "Ethically aware" (11 per cent) were very concerned about ethical issues on holiday. Worried about the impact of their holidays on the local environment, they felt tourism could ruin a local culture and were most likely to have seen or experienced things on holiday that disturbed them. The Ethically aware were likely to be aged 25-44 and from socio-economic groups ABC1 (Mintel, 2001).

This and subsequent Mintel (2004) research, indicates a link between tourists' awareness, their lifestages and their income, although as noted with ethical and socially responsible consumers, such factors do not necessarily translate into purchase behaviour. Significantly, Mintel's (2001) findings also correspond strongly with Carrigan and Attalla's (2001) research that also placed ethical consumers into four distinct groups - Caring and ethical,

Confused and uncertain, Cynical and disinterested, and Oblivious – as discussed in the previous section. It is not clear whether this information points to anything startlingly new or unexpected, apart from the fact that UK society features a range of attitudes towards ethical and responsible tourism, from the strongly ethical to the cynical or unconcerned.

Whilst this is important information, the positivist, and also generalist, nature of the Tearfund and Mintel studies has brought a quantitative perspective to the issues, very often a notable feature of early marketing research into prosocial behaviour. Such a perspective is very often demanded by industry, as they use quantifiable variables to plan for future demand and to estimate commercial opportunities. However, this positivist approach, while attempting to capture a snapshot of the whole market, tends to ignore the individual concerns of the truly ethical and responsible tourist, on the grounds that there are so few of them that focusing commercial products at this small niche market is economically unsustainable.

A further negative consequence of concentrating on quantifying market potential is an over-optimistic view of the numbers of people who are interested in buying a holiday with ethical or responsible features, with many surveys appearing to concentrate on building a case for what they believe to be an increasing demand for such holidays (see Tearfund, 2000b; Mintel, 2001; Tearfund, 2001; Tearfund, 2002; Mintel, 2004). Further examples of this includes research by responsibletravel.com, a UK-based online agency for responsible travel businesses, who in 2004 surveyed 1,002 UK adults, with a view to uncovering their attitudes towards 'mass' tour operators. Their findings indicated 88 per cent of UK adults believed these operators had a responsibility not only to preserve the local environment and culture but also to benefit local people, with 80 per cent saying they were 'more likely' to buy a holiday from a company with a responsible tourism policy (responsibletravel.com, 2004).

Another survey in 2004, undertaken by Wanderlust, a UK-based travel magazine, revealed 59 per cent of its readers were happy to pay an extra 5 per cent on their flight to protect the environment, while 24 per cent believed that tour operators and airlines should shoulder the responsibility for environmental impact, with 17 per cent saying the UK government needed to do so. A more recent poll, by Opodo.com, a UK-based online travel specialist,

indicated that an increasing number of people were opting to use their holidays for altruistic purposes (volunteering for example) and the company had seen their 'meaningful travel' section increase dramatically in terms of both supply and demand (TravelMole, 2007).

Although these surveys indicate awareness has grown, this is not necessarily translated into purchase behaviour because the actual market for ethical and responsible holidays remains remarkably small – some 7 per cent of the total UK market (Mintel, 2004). Possibly a more tempered evaluation of the current situation comes from Jane Ashton, head of corporate social responsibility at First Choice who comments,

> We're not experiencing a huge demand from the average consumer, but we do believe that awareness is increasing, and in a few years' time we will need to have integrated these [ethical] principles into our supply chain (Jane Ashton, in Addley, 2006).

In light of the findings from these and other similar studies it appears there is an assumption not only that UK consumers are increasing their awareness of the ethical issues in tourism but also that demand for ethical and responsible holidays will inevitably grow as a result. However, as we have seen with research into the green and also ethical consumer, self-reported concern can sometimes hide a lack of supporting action and this point alone highlights a key failing of the tourist surveys that rely on attitudes and intentions for their data. What is missing from these studies is a consideration of influencing factors such as social desirability bias, perceived consumer effectiveness, values and moral obligation as well as actual purchasing behaviour – all factors that have only recently been used to research the ethical consumer. In fact, just as ethical consumer research has recognised the limitations of attitude surveys to understand general consumer behaviour and moved to investigate these additional influences so tourism researchers need to recognise the limitations of general surveys in understanding the ethical and responsible tourist.

Looking in more detail at the complexity of the ethical issues for tourists' decision-making, it appears that the ethical dilemmas are similar to those precipitated by their everyday consumption. For example, many holidays are produced or provided in developing countries, where a lack of protective legislation, a lack of knowledge or experience in dealing with international trade, and the persistence of unequal power

relations can result in abuse or at the very least exploitation of the natural resources, the culture or local people, and a repatriation of profit to tourist generating countries. An additional factor is the tourist's fascination with novelty experiences and the quest for new or unusual destinations that are often located in the developing world, with the result that more and more of them are facing moral choices in their holiday decision-making (see Weeden, 2005).

Although there is no empirical research into the role and importance of values, perceived consumer effectiveness and moral obligation in prosocial consumers' holiday choices, recent significant research by Hudson (2007) applied a range of ethical philosophies to a tourist choice situation. This research presented a typical ethical dilemma faced by those tourists considering a visit to Myanmar (formerly known as Burma), a country ruled by a repressive military government,

> Tourists contemplating a visit to any country with a history of human rights abuses are faced with a similar ethical dilemma: keep yourself and your money away, or go and bear witness, facilitate the exchange of ideas, and support local businesses (Hudson, 2007).

In his research, Hudson (2007) surveyed 376 passengers (mostly undergraduate students) on board the Semester-at-Sea University immediately after spending 5 days in Myanmar. Their attitudes were sought on the moral dilemmas prompted by the arguments for and against visiting Myanmar and applied the Multidimensional Ethics Scale (MES) developed by Reidenbach and Robin (1988, cited in Hudson, 2007). Respondents were asked to reflect on their visit to Myanmar and to respond to a series of statements that incorporated four dimensions of ethical judgement – justice (the idea of fairness to all), deontology (the means justify the ends), utilitarianism (the ends justify the means) and relativism (the extent to which an action is acceptable in a culture).

The findings revealed respondents were unsure of the utilitarian argument for visiting Myanmar, remaining unconvinced of the long-term benefit to all, and whilst visiting was acceptable to their own culture, less than 35 per cent thought visiting Myanmar was ethical – indeed, 42 per cent were undecided on this point. Significantly, the research revealed an important gender difference in views, with female respondents being less comfortable with the ethical decision to visit, less likely to believe the ends justified the means and less

likely to think that it was their duty to visit. (These findings concur with previous studies that claim women to be more sensitive to ethical issues than men [see De Pelsmacker *at al.,* 2005; Loureiro and Lotade, 2005], although other research highlights a less than significant gender bias). Overall, respondents were more in favour of visiting, than boycotting, Myanmar as they believed contact with the 'free' world would do more good for the country than isolation.

Hudson's research is particularly significant in that it examines tourists' reactions to ethical dilemmas almost at the point at which they occur, an approach that has not so far been employed before. Indeed, much of the research into ethical consumption features ethical scenarios and not real-life situations. However, an important limitation of Hudson's (2007) research is that it surveyed a cross-section of tourists, as opposed to those who specifically and intentionally incorporate ethical choices into their holiday decision-making.

On a similar point, whilst the ethical and responsible tourist is still not researched or fully understood, there is in fact another tourist type that shares similar concerns with ethical consumers and that *have* been the subject of empirical research. This tourist type is the ecotourist, and whilst not the subject of this thesis it is important to give a brief overview of the research in this area in order to determine whether it can offer any insight into the ethical and responsible tourist.

Unsurprisingly, given the complexity of the tourism industry, there is no common agreement as to a precise definition of ecotourism. Generally it is interpreted as a form of tourism "…that conserves the environment as well as providing an economic benefit for local communities" (Holden and Sparrowhawk, 2002:436). The key principles of ecotourism can be traced to Hetzer's (1965, in Holden and Sparrowhawk, 2002) early research, where four central themes were identified as important in achieving a more responsible form of tourism (than mass tourism, for example). These four principles are that it should cause minimum environmental impact, have a minimum negative impact on and maximum respect for local cultures, and should maximise economic benefit to local people whilst bringing maximum satisfaction to the tourist. Such themes indicate not only that ecotourism shares similarities with the noted definitions of ethical and responsible

tourism but also constitute an ethical approach to tourism by emphasising a desire to facilitate the development of benefits beyond those of the personal needs and expectations of the individual tourist.

Having hinted at a dispute over an agreed definition of ecotourism, it is perhaps unsurprising that a similar lack of agreement exists regarding a definition of the ecotourist (see Weiler and Richins, 1995; Hvenegaard, 2002), with studies overemphasising the importance of demographic data and ecotourism activities in the search for understanding. However, as noted in previous sections regarding socially responsible, fair trade or ethical consumers, classification research is of limited value (see Acott *et al.,* 1998; Holden and Sparrowhawk, 2002; Kerstetter *et al.,* 2004), especially if researchers are seeking a deep understanding of ecotourists' concerns and motivations. For example, knowing that the ecotourists are mostly middle aged, well educated, have a higher than average income, enjoy learning about nature, like being physically active and like meeting people with similar interests (Eagles, 1992, in Holden and Sparrowhawk, 2002; Ballantine and Eagles, 1994) does not fully explain what motivates their behaviour and nor does it indicate the underlying ethical variables important in their holiday choices. As with the other types of prosocial consumers already discussed, ecotourists should not be regarded as an homogenous group, yet tourism researchers continue to treat them as such, preferring to develop a range of typologies rather than a deep understanding of what motivates their behaviour (for a useful description of some of these classifications see Priskin, 2003).

In a partial acknowledgement of the limitations of classification research, recent studies of ecotourism have focused on the role of intrinsic motivation (see Holden and Sparrowhawk, 2002) and the importance of values in forming this motivation. In fact, the most significant addition to ecotourism research (and one whose importance appears to have been overlooked in the ensuing years) comes from Acott *et al.* (1998) who a decade ago highlighted exactly this point – ecotourist research had largely ignored the importance of values in their motivation. They also suggested that future research could only be meaningful if it acknowledged the importance of ecotourists' underlying ethical principles, due to their desire to lead environmentally sustainable lifestyles. This is of particular importance not only because of the lifestyle similarities between ecotourists and the prosocial consumer (and hence the ethical and responsible tourist) but also because tourism

researchers have yet to respond to this particular challenge. Indeed, more than a decade after Acott *et al.* (1998) first highlighted this neglect, and although the values of ecotourists have been explored to some extent (see Blamey and Braithwaite, 1997; Higham and Carr, 2002; Fennell, 2003) there is currently no empirical research into the importance of ethical values to ethical and responsible tourists.

3.7 Summary

This chapter has attempted to make clear the connection between prosocial consumers, their concerns about mass consumption and the underlying factors involved in their purchase behaviour. It has noted that the traditional models of consumer decision-making do not adequately incorporate the concerns of these consumers, nor do they accommodate the sheer complexities involved in decision-making for the prosocial consumer. In addition, this chapter has shown that existing research has focused on the predictive utility of traditional consumer behaviour models at the expense of developing a deep understanding of the motivations of prosocial consumers. For example, in spite of the innumerable number of ethical consumer typologies in existence, it has been established that prosocial consumers remain somewhat difficult to define, not only because their concerns are multiple and varied but also because their purchasing behaviour encompasses a variety of motivations. The chapter has also discussed the semantic challenges related to these typologies, most notably with regard to the terminology used to describe the key prosocial groups, namely the socially responsible, environmental, fair trade and ethical consumer.

This chapter has found that socioeconomic and personality variables are weak predictors of prosocial consumption, with intentions not always translating into purchasing behaviour. As a result, traditional consumer research that adopts these variables has been shown to offer a confused, and confusing, picture of prosocial consumers. For example, the research is not conclusive regarding whether prosocial consumers are willing to pay more for ethical products, if the market is female or male dominated and so on. A further limitation is that much of the research has been attitudinal, based on small or geographically isolated samples and dependant upon self-reported behaviour, all of which have confused the picture still further. From this review it would appear unlikely that consumer research

would continue to use such measures given they are less than useful in the gathering of knowledge and furthering an understanding of the prosocial consumer. Significantly however, this review has shown the opposite to be true - even though additional influences such as values, ethical obligation, perceived consumer effectiveness and helping behaviour have all been highlighted as useful in research into the prosocial consumer, only a small number of relatively recent studies have acknowledged their influence and importance. To reiterate the point still further, although values are thought to be useful in research aiming to gain a deep understanding of prosocial consumers they have in fact been neglected in the literature thus far.

The research discussed in this chapter has highlighted that although the different prosocial consumers (socially responsible, environmental, fair trade and so on) may have different emphases according to their different motivations, they also share certain similarities. Such similarities include them being less ready to judge the values and actions of others, to be less conservative and dogmatic, to be open to change and new ideas, to be socially responsible and to consider the environmental consequences of their purchasing behaviour. The chapter has also made an explicit link between prosocial consumers' level of social interest, the importance of ethical obligation, their desire for social cooperation and belonging, and their emphasis on values such as altruism, helping and sharing. The review has also noted that constraints for prosocial consumers include a lack of knowledge and information about a company's activities or a product's provenance, the (in) convenience of purchasing ethical or green products and the fact that ethical attributes are just one element in a bundle of benefits.

This chapter has discussed the concept of helping behaviour and noted Kohlberg's (1969) significant contribution to understanding cognitive moral development, discussing how an individual's holiday experiences can impact on their moral understanding of tourism. This chapter has also highlighted the importance of perceived consumer effectiveness in active prosocial purchasing, cautioning however that consumers who act on their concerns need to be both aware of the problem and believe they can make a difference by their purchase. However, the research has shown that perceived consumer effectiveness is a significant factor in ethical purchasing, with indications that this variable may make the difference between ethical intention and ethical purchase. The chapter has also revealed that the

values construct has much to offer in the furtherance of knowledge about these consumers and highlighted that very little research to date has looked at the values construct as a central focus of study; very often they have been findings 'by-products' rather than the central purpose of study.

A final consideration of this chapter is the noted lack of detailed knowledge and understanding of the ethical and responsible tourist. Indeed, whilst there have been a good number of commercial studies into the demand for ethical and responsible holidays, a detailed understanding of what motivates the ethical and responsible tourist remains elusive. Partly this is due to the complexity of the ethical issues involved in tourism but also it is because tourism researchers have remained somewhat insular, preferring to stay within their research discipline rather than evaluate what is happening in other domains. For example, as research into the prosocial consumer has adopted the use of additional variables, such as values to explain consumer behaviour, so tourism research would also benefit from an exploration of human values in order to more fully understand ethical and responsible tourists. Such research would not only reveal what is important to them but also further an understanding as to how they incorporate these values into their holiday choices. The following chapter will address this issues, discussing the literature on human values and evaluating to what extent a greater examination and understanding of the role and importance of the human values construct in holiday purchasing behaviour can further a deeper understanding of the ethical and responsible tourist.

4.0   CHAPTER FOUR

VALUES AND DECISION-MAKING

The previous chapter ended with the suggestion that additional variables such as perceived consumer effectiveness and the role of values may need to be examined if researchers are to fully comprehend the decision-making choices of ethical and responsible tourists. Indeed, much of the recent research into prosocial consumers has recognised the importance of the values concept in revealing insight and understanding, prompting the question of whether further exploration of the importance of values in holiday choice may provide deeper insight into this group of consumers. Although Muller (1991) concedes that the relationship between values and tourist behaviour has received some attention, there has in fact been little empirical work carried out on the role of values in tourist motivation (Sharpley, 1999).   Significantly however there has been extensive literature published regarding the role of values and value systems in general consumer decision-making (Madrigal and Kahle, 1994) because values are regarded as a useful standard, or criterion for influencing choice and judgement in purchasing situations (Vinson *et al.,* 1977).

As consumers buy products that in part reflect their values and enable them to enact their lifestyles (Kahle and Kennedy, 1989) so values can be pertinent if attempting to understand consumer choice and decision-making, particularly in instances that may include moral judgements. Although at first glance choosing a holiday may not appear to require judgements of an ethical or responsible nature, Butcher (2003:106) notes, "Buying a holiday, and how one conducts oneself abroad, has, for some, become a conspicuous expression of morality". As such, values can therefore be an important element regarding insight into tourist behaviour, especially because they can "offer insight into human belief and behavior that other concepts, particularly attitudes, cannot" (Mayton *et al.,* 1994).

By investigating individual's values, insight can be gained as to why people behave in a certain way (Baker *et al.,* 2004) and because values are particularly pertinent to consumer studies within an ethical context (Shaw *et al.,* 2005) so they will therefore be useful in understanding the decision-making process associated with responsible and ethical tourists. This chapter will firstly, critically discuss the literature regarding values and their

formation, secondly, present the most significant methods that have been employed to investigate values in a decision-making context, and thirdly discuss the studies that have addressed the influence of human values in environmental and other prosocial behaviour. The chapter will conclude with a review of the literature examining values in tourist behaviour before introducing the means-end chain, a research method commonly employed to research consumer values, explaining its provenance, its utility and its role at the heart of this study.

4.1 Defining values

Values are important variables in several different areas of investigation into human behaviour, whether taking a sociological, psychological or anthropological perspective (Vinson *et al.,* 1977; Munson, 1984; Pitts and Woodside, 1984). For example, for the sociologist, values can distinguish behaviour between and across groups in society, for the psychologist, values can be individually held beliefs, and anthropologically, values are important in lifestyle and cultural patterns. This diverse utility has resulted in the values construct being used to explain a variety of human behaviour. For example, Vinson *et al.* (1977) cite early values research, including Williams' (1951) work on the role of values in occupation choice and England's (1967) work on the personal values of US corporate managers. Later, Munson (1984) cites research into the role of values in charitable donations, a theme noted and applied to a range of prosocial behaviours, including political and social activism (see Thomas, 1986; Braithwaite, 1994; Mayton and Furnham, 1994) and environmental justice and activism (see Stern *et al.,* 1993; Seligman *et al.,* 1994).

More recently, the scope and number of studies using values has increased, most notably with regard to the influence of values in food choice (Homer and Kahle, 1988; Grunert and Juhl, 1995; Dibley and Baker, 2001), and consumer decision-making in a range of fair-trade, organic or ethical contexts (Makatouni, 2002; Baker *et al.,* 2004; Shaw *et al.,* 2005; de Ferran and Grunert, 2007). Within tourism, values research has been confined until very recently to studies involving market segmentation (Pitts and Woodside, 1986; Shih, 1986; Pizam and Calantone, 1987; Muller, 1991; Madrigal and Kahle, 1994; Thrane, 1997). Within the last five years however, the values construct has been 'rediscovered' by tourism researchers, most notable of whom are Higham and Carr (2002) and Fennell

(2003) whose research concludes that values can be useful in profiling the ecotourist and their motivations.

It is possibly the intangible nature of values that makes them difficult to define (Dibley and Baker, 2001), and although there has been no universally accepted definition of values there is a general consensus as to their relevance in consumer research (Munson, 1984). Values, like all beliefs have cognitive, affective and behavioural components. That is, values are cognitions of what is desirable, they are affective in that people can feel emotional about them (approve of or disapprove of them), and they are behavioural in that they include a motivational aspect to them, which will induce individuals to act accordingly (Rokeach, 1973). Indeed, it is Rokeach who is generally cited as re-emphasising the importance of values in modern psychology research with his seminal text '*The nature of human values*' (1973), where he defined a value as,

> …an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence (Rokeach, 1973:5).

Not only does this definition indicate the choice element attached to values but it also suggests that values contain both a social and individual component thus connecting an individual's consumption choice to their particular social or cultural context. From a later examination of the values literature, Schwartz and Bilsky (1987; 1990) preferred to extend Rokeach's original statement and produced their own definition. This however, appears to ignore the individual/social perspective and instead emphasises the choice components, the possible consumption context and the ranking structure associated with values. Their definition was further refined by Schwartz (1992) and suggests,

> Values (1) are concepts or beliefs, (2) pertain to desirable end-states or behaviours, (3) transcend specific situations, (4) guide selection or evaluation of behavior and events, and (5) are ordered by relative importance (Schwartz, 1992:4).

Most notably, the ordering of values by relative importance is determined by what the individual deems worthwhile (Muller, 1991) and it is this hierarchical ordering and also the abstractness of values that differentiates them from attitudes (Schwartz, 1992).

Significantly for this study, Pizam and Calantone (1987) indicate an additional, moral dimension to the values concept and thus define them as,

> …a class of beliefs shared by the members of a society, or sub-society, concerning what is desirable or 'good' or what ought to be, and what is undesirable or 'bad' (Pizam and Calantone, 1987:178).

Posner and Munson (1979, in Munson, 1984:16) also highlight a moral dimension, suggesting that values are beliefs about what individuals consider fair, right, just or desirable, a point initially made by Rokeach (1973) in the following statement,

> Values are central to the study of comparison processes; we employ them as standards to ascertain whether we are as moral and as competent as others. They are moreover, standards employed to persuade and influence others, to tell us which beliefs, attitudes, values, and actions of others are worth challenging, protesting, and arguing about, or worth trying to influence or to change (Rokeach, 1973:13).

This link to morality is also discussed by Feather (1994) who notes that for Rokeach, values are not cold or merely evaluative, but beliefs that people feel strongly about, especially when involved in difficult moral choices or when their values are challenged or frustrated.

4.2 Value formation and measurement

With regard to the formation and development of an individual's value system, different studies adopt different perspectives. For example, Vinson *et al.* (1977) deemed that values "could be investigated at three mutually dependent and at least partially consistent levels of abstraction" (1977:45). These three levels are global values, domain-specific values and evaluative beliefs, which taken together constitute an individual's value-attitude system, as shown below in Figure 4.1.

Global values are those centrally held, enduring beliefs that guide action and judgements, are more abstract and generalisable and constitute the core of an individual's belief system. Domain-specific values are those values that have been acquired through experiences, such as social values (learned through family and social interaction), religious values (learned

through instruction, for example) and economic values (based on experiences of consumption). Lastly, an individual's evaluative beliefs are interpreted to be less abstract, more descriptive and less centrally held than global values, and although still important, concern particular product and brand attributes, thus explaining their extensive adoption in expectancy-value research predicting brand appeal (Vinson *et al.,* 1997).

Figure 4.1: Organisation of the individual value-attitude system

External environment of the individual sociocultural, economic and familial influence

| Global values (dozens) | Domain specific values (hundreds) | Evaluative beliefs (thousands) |

Central-peripheral dimension

More centrally held   Less centrally held
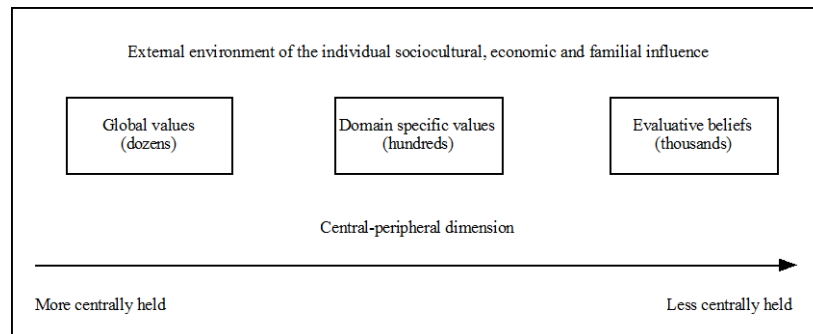
Source: Vinson *et al.* (1997:46)

Various models have been developed in order to measure consumers' values systems in the belief that consumers do not buy product attributes but are instead mindful of the consequences (benefits) of such purchases, whether desirable or undesirable (White and Kokotsaki, 2004). One of the most prominent measures is the Rokeach Value Survey (RVS) (Rokeach, 1973) which distinguishes between 18 terminal values and 18 instrumental values (see below, Table 4.1) and can be used to ask individuals to order each value in relative importance according to their significance as guiding principles in their lives.

In his list of values, Rokeach differentiated between what he called preferable modes of behaviour, and end-states of existence, or, between means- and ends-values, which he termed instrumental and terminal values (Munson, 1984). Terminal values (e.g. self-respect, pleasure) can be explained as the preferable end-state, or desired mode of existence, whilst instrumental values (e.g. helpful, honest) are seen as helpful in achieving terminal values, in other words they are the means to an end. Terminal values are thought to be more stable and acquired early in life, whilst instrumental values are susceptible to change as a consequence of life's experiences (Prakash, 1984).

Table 4.1: Rokeach's list of values

Instrumental Values	Terminal Values
Ambitious (*hard working, aspiring*)	A conformable life (*a prosperous life*)
Broadminded (*open-minded*)	An exciting life (*a stimulating, active life*)
Capable (*competent, effective*)	A sense of accomplishment (*lasting contribution*)
Cheerful (*light-hearted, joyful*)	A world at peace (*free of war and conflict*)
Clean (*neat, tidy*)	A world of beauty (*beauty of nature and arts*)
Courageous (*standing up for your beliefs*)	Equality (*brotherhood, equal opportunity for all*)
Forgiving (*willing to pardon others*)	Family security (*taking care of loved ones*)
Helpful (*working for the welfare of others*)	Freedom (*independence, free choice*)
Honest (*sincere, truthful*)	Happiness (*contentedness*)
Imaginative (*daring, creative*)	Inner harmony (*freedom from inner conflict*)
Independent (*self-reliant, self-sufficient*)	Mature love (*sexual and spiritual intimacy*)
Intellectual (*intelligent, reflective*)	National security (*protection from attack*)
Logical (*consistent, rational*)	Pleasure (*an enjoyable, leisurely life*)
Loving (*affectionate, tender*)	Salvation (*saved, eternal life*)
Obedient (*dutiful, respectful*)	Self-respect (*self-esteem*)
Polite (*courteous, well-mannered*)	Self-recognition (*respect, admiration*)
Responsible (*dependable, reliable*)	True friendship (*close companionship*)
Self-controlled (*restrained, self-disciplined*)	Wisdom (*a mature understanding of life*)

Source: Rokeach (1973:359-340)

Rokeach further stated that terminal values also contain both personal and social elements, with individuals potentially exhibiting different priorities. In other words, some will favour personal values over social values, and vice versa, which may then impact on both their attitudes and their ultimate decision-making. Of the eighteen terminal values, Rokeach identified five to be social values – national security, a world at peace, equality, a world of beauty and freedom – arguing that personal values are in direct competition with social values and people will vary in the priority they give to each. In other words, some people would consistently favour social values, even at the cost of their personal values (Braithwaite, 1994).

Later studies do not distinguish between terminal and instrumental values and although both categories have been accepted and used in many different research studies, there is

some confusion over their exact difference. For instance, some terminal values can be instrumental for other terminal values and instrumental values can also become ends to other instrumental values (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1990). In further support of this contention, Schwartz and Bilsky (1990) cite Heath and Fogel's (1978) work, where individuals could not distinguish clearly between these two separate categories.

In fact, criticism of work associated with Rokeach is not limited to the terminal/instrumental values debate - the Rokeach Value Survey (RVS) whilst used extensively in value research (Munson, 1984) has also been the subject of condemnation, not least because of the difficulty respondents have in ranking large numbers of values and the time taken to complete such an activity (Madrigal and Kahle, 1994). There has also been some discussion regarding the relevance of the values in the RVS to a consumer behaviour context (see Beatty *et al.,* 1985 in Madrigal and Kahle, 1994:23) and Homer and Kahle (1988) even question the appropriateness of the RVS as a measuring instrument. To address some of these concerns, their research preferred the List of Values (LOV), which consists of a shorter list of 9 values – a sense of belonging, excitement, fun and enjoyment in life, self-fulfilment, being well-respected, warm relationships with others, security, accomplishment and self-respect (Madrigal and Kahle, 1994).

The University of Michigan Survey Research Center originally developed the LOV with values chosen from Rokeach's eighteen terminal values, Maslow's hierarchy of values and a combination of other value scales (Kahle and Kennedy, 1989). In this case, the terminal values were chosen as they were thought to have more relevance to consumer behaviour, and to be of a higher abstraction than instrumental values. Other, more pragmatic, reasons for using the LOV, rather than the RVS, include it being shorter and therefore more practical in a research setting and more relevant to (and therefore have more influence over) daily life and behaviour (Homer and Kahle, 1988).

Mitchell (1983 as cited in Kahle *et al.,* 1986) developed an additional list, the Values and Lifestyle Segmentation (VALS) Model, at SRI International. The VALS methodology classified consumers into nine lifestyle groups on the basis of their answers to 30 (sometimes 33, sometimes 36) demographic and attitudinal questions (Kahle and Kennedy, 1989). Kahle *et al.* (1986) acknowledge the extensive adoption of the VALS framework by

commercial companies but highlight the lack of empirical research into its applicability and robustness.

Given some of the noted limitations of these models Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) derived their own typology of values, using the content domains of values rather than single values, proposing that the primary content of a value will be based on the motivational concern that it expresses (Schwartz, 1992). This typology was premised on the understanding that values represent three basic and universal requirements that all individuals (and societies) adhere to and which underpin their value systems, thus motivating people to achieve them. These are, the biological needs of individuals, the social needs derived from interpersonal interaction, and the social needs required for group survival.

Table 4.2: Schwartz and Bilsky's list of values with associated motivational goals

Primary motivational type and value
Self direction - Freedom, Creativity, Independent, Choosing own goals, Curious, Self-respect
Stimulation - An exciting life, A varied life, Daring
Hedonism - Pleasure, Enjoying life
Achievement - Ambitious, Influential, Capable, Successful, Intelligent, Self-respect
Power - Social power, Wealth, Authority, Preserving my public image
Security - National security, Reciprocation of favours, Family security, Sense of belonging, Social order, Healthy, Clean
Conformity - Obedient, Self-discipline, Politeness, Respecting parents/ elders
Tradition - Respect for tradition, Devout, Accepting my portion in life, Humble, Moderate
Spirituality - A spiritual life, Meaning in life, Inner harmony, Detachment
Benevolence - Helpful, Responsible, Forgiving, Honest, Loyal, Mature love, True friendship
Universalism - Equality, Unity with nature, Wisdom, A world of beauty, Social justice, Broad-minded, Protecting the environment, A world at peace

Source: Schwartz (1992:6/7)

They suggest that values are cognitive representations of these universal requirements, that individuals learn them through the processes of socialisation and cognitive development, they articulate them using culturally shared terms and that these values have both an individualistic and collective perspective (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1990). From these three basic human requirements, initially eight distinct motivational value types were derived but later amended to include an additional three values, those of spirituality, benevolence and universalism and the amended list is shown in Table 4.2 above.

Table 4.3: Explanation of Schwartz and Bilsky's modified list of values

Value type	Explanation
Self-direction	The goal for this value type is independent thought and action. Derived from the need for control and mastery (Bandura, 1977; Dec, 1975; White, 1959) as well as a need for autonomy and independence (e.g.: Kluckhohn, 1951).
Stimulation	Derived from the need for variety and stimulation and related to the needs underlying self-direction. Some link also with thrill-seeking, excitement, novelty and challenge in life.
Hedonism	Originally called 'enjoyment' to incorporate two values from Rokeach's list, happiness and cheerful. More sharply defined as pleasure or sensuous gratification for oneself.
Achievement	This is about personal success through demonstrating competence and necessary for survival, both individually and socially. Results in a need for social approval, rather than internal standards of excellence.
Power	Interpreted here as the attainment of social status and prestige and the control or dominance over others and resources (authority, social recognition, wealth etc.). Focus on social esteem, emphasises the attainment, preservation of a dominant position with the social system.
Security	The motivational goal of this value type is safety, harmony, stability of society and relationships. Can serve both individual (healthy) and collective interest (national security).
Conformity	The defining goal of this value type is to reduce impulses and actions that are likely to upset or violate social expectations or norms. Emphasises self-restraint, especially in connection with close others.
Tradition	Traditional modes of behaviour become symbols of a group's solidarity, worth and future survival, and often take the form of religious beliefs, rites and other norms of behaviour. The motivational goal of this value type is respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs that a culture or religion might impose on individuals and society.
Spirituality	Theologians, philosophers and sociologists emphasise that people look for meaning in life to counter the seeming emptiness of everyday existence. If this is true and looking for meaning in life is a basic human need then the motivational goal of this value type is meaning and inner harmony through the transcendance of everyday reality.
Benevolence	The defining goal of this value type is preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people who are in frequent close personal contact. Benevolence focuses on concern for close others in everyday interaction. Mostly requires a sophisticated level of thought.
Universalism	The motivational goal of universalism is understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature. These goals are thought to derive from the survival needs of groups and individuals that become apparent when they come into contact with people from outside their primary group and become aware of the scarcity of natural resources. People may realise that failure to accept others who are different and treat them justly will lead to life-threatening conflict and failure to protect the natural environment will lead to the destruction of those resources on which life depends.

Source: Adapted from Schwartz (1992: 5-12)

In addition to specifying the content structure of values the original theory also identified a set of dynamic relations among and between them. In other words, actions taken in the pursuit of these goals can have a variety of consequences, be they psychological, practical or social in nature, resulting in the potential for conflict (or compatibility) among the value types. For example, Schwartz and Bilsky's research pointed to compatibility among value types that supported smooth social relations (security, conformity, tradition), those that favour self-enhancement (achievement, hedonism) and among those who believe in their personal uniqueness for success (power, self-direction). Importantly, there was also evidence of conflict between those who value concern for others against those who favour pursuit of personal success (prosocial vs. achievement) (Schwartz, 1992). A full explanation of the motivational value types is shown above in Table 4.3.

An important consideration for the newly identified values of universalism and benevolence is that whilst collective cultures demonstrate great concern for members of their own in-group, they show relatively little concern for those outside their group. Conversely, those from individualist societies (such as the UK for example) show more of an equal emphasis on benevolence and universalism (Schwartz, 1992). Grunert and Juhl (1995) later noted that Schwartz (1992) removed 'spirituality' from the list of distinct value types because it could be satisfied through a range of activities.

4.3 The use of the values concept in prosocial contexts

Although the previous chapter has already introduced the values concept it hinted at rather than fully explained how an individual's value orientation can contribute towards an understanding of prosocial behaviour. This is what the remaining part of this chapter will address, initially discussing how knowledge of an individual's values can provide insight into their prosocial behaviour before examining in greater detail the extent of values research in tourist studies.

Pro-environmental consumer behaviour is just one example of prosocial behaviour and the values concept has often been used to investigate and understand consumers' actions in this context. For example, Axelrod's (1994) research identified the personal values prominent in guiding individuals' decisions within an ecological context and is of

particular consequence because it examined conflict of interest such as when the pursuit of an individual's material or economic gain causes detrimental environmental consequences. In support of his argument, Axelrod cited Hardin's (1968) 'commons" dilemma, where an individual impact may be small, but if the whole community were to engage in a similar activity, then the harm to the resource - "the commons" -would of course be very much greater.

Axelrod's work was built on a combination of the two ethical/value classifications devised by Stern *et al.* (1993) and also Merchant (1992). Stern *et al.*'s work presumed that the pursuit of environmental protection would stem from one of three value orientations – egoistic, social-altruistic and biospheric. Those displaying an egoistic value orientation would regard environmental protection in terms of their own personal benefit whilst those displaying social-altruistic values would judge any environmental decisions on the basis of costs and benefits for the wider social group.   In addition, those displaying a biospheric value orientation would place the perceived costs and benefits to the particular ecosystem or environment at the heart of their decisions.

Along similar lines, Merchant (1992, in Axelrod, 1994) had earlier also suggested three value groups for environmental contexts – the egocentric, homocentric and ecocentric. Egocentrics will maximise self-interest because what is good for the individual will also benefit society as a whole. Homocentrics will adopt social justice as their guide on the basis of the consequentialist perspective of "the greatest good for the greatest number" and ecocentrics believe that society's belief systems should be predicated on the unity, stability and harmony of the ecosystem. Both Stern *et al*. (1993) and Merchant (1992) note that pro-environmental behaviour can be the result of different motivations as well as different emphases on personal and social values.

Building on both of these approaches, Axelrod (1994) developed a values taxonomy based on beneficial social, economic and universal outcomes. For example, those who were economically oriented were more likely to make ethical judgements or take part in environmental protection when it is linked to some tangible benefit, such as buying unleaded fuel if it is cheaper than leaded fuel. Socially oriented individuals would be most likely to take part in a protective measure if it benefited society as a whole whilst

universally minded people were likely to take part in protective behaviour purely because it was a personal goal they valued highly. Based on this taxonomy, Axelrod (1994) concluded that economically minded people were less likely than universally minded people to take part in environmental protection activities, and that when it came to ecological concern, those with a universal value orientation were more likely to protect the environment even if this incurred personal sacrifice.

Returning to the work of Stern *et al.* (1993) who incorporated Schwartz's (1977) theory of altruism (in Stern *et al.,* 1993) into their taxonomy of value orientations (egoistic, biospheric, social-altruistic), they suggest that people need to be aware of consequences in order to adopt pro-environmental behaviour, even if those consequences lie in the future. In addition, their research is significant in that it considered the impact of gender on pro-environmental behaviour. This research was prompted in part by inconsistent findings in this area (as noted in a previous chapter of this thesis) as well as earlier work by Gilligan (1982, in Stern *et al.,* 1993) who suggested that women may be more altruistic than men due to their occupying a different stage in their moral development. Stern *et al.* (1993) found however no evidence to support this claim and instead asserted that different beliefs about the consequences of environmental degradation, the effect of socialisation and even becoming a parent can all cause dissimilarities but that these are not related to innate gender differences. The role of gender in prosocial behaviour thus remains unclear.

A further study involving values and environmental behaviour is that of Follows and Jobber (2000) who set out to investigate the role of values in the value-attitude-intention-behaviour hierarchy. Their research found that individuals holding strong universalism and benevolence values were more likely to hold positive environmental attitudes and therefore a concern for the welfare of others could indirectly result in the intention to purchase environmentally responsible products. Similarly, the more conservative an individual the less likely they were to hold positive environmental attitudes, and therefore less likely to buy environmentally responsible products. Most significantly, this latter finding fully supports Schwartz's (1992) modified list of values, which conjectured that self-transcendence values would conflict with self-enhancement values because,

…acceptance of others as equals and concern for their welfare interferes with the pursuit of one's own relative success and dominance over others (Schwartz, 1992:15).

In this instance, Schwartz (1992) proposed that self-transcendence and self-enhancement would form a two-dimensional structure within the circular conceptualisation of the motivational domains – see Figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2: Theoretical model of relations among motivational types of values, higher order value types and bipolar value dimensions
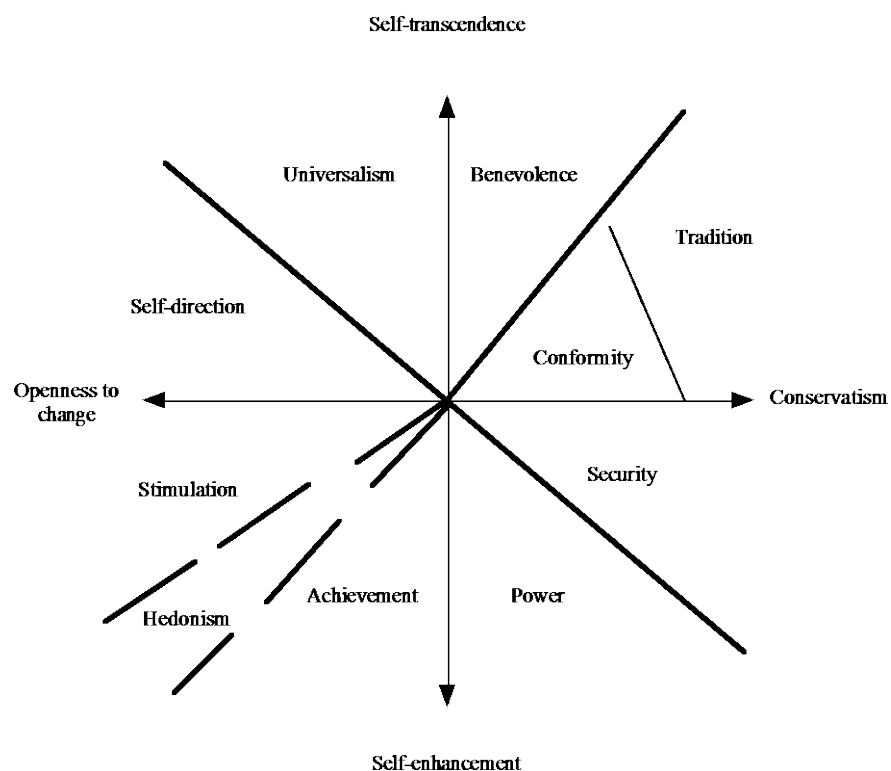
Source: Schwartz (1992:45)

The arrangement of values in this circular fashion indicates that values represent a continuum of motivation. Precise locations of the partition lines are arbitrary and values next to each other contain a little of the values on both sides of the partition line (Schwartz, 1992). To further explain, the self-transcendence section contains values which motivate people to transcend individual, or selfish concerns and to promote the welfare of others, whether close or distant, and of nature. In contrast, the self-enhancement section contains values that motivate people to enhance their personal interests, such as hedonism, achievement and power. These people might be expected to consider products in terms of

how a product will directly affect them, even at the expense of others, with behavioural outcomes being a trade-off for consumers between environmental factors and individual consequences (Follows and Jobber, 2000).

Moving away from the extensive literature regarding values and the environment, a recent study by Shaw *et al.* (2005) applied the Schwartz list of values to examine the decision-making processes of ethical consumers in the context of grocery shopping. This research asked participants to rate Schwartz and Bilsky's (Schwartz, 1992) fifty-six values in order of importance, on a seven-point scale, when they went grocery shopping (see Table 4.2 for the complete list of these values). The most significant findings in relation to this specific group of consumers, about which relatively little is known as regards their underlying values, revealed that the value types power, tradition and spirituality were considered unimportant and that additional values, such as capitalism and consumer power were considered important in ethical decision-making.

Overall, the value type universalism was considered most important for these shoppers, which is unsurprising given the importance attached by ethical consumers to prosocial concerns such as economic, environmental and social responsibility (Shaw *et al.,* 2005). Regarding the dynamic nature of values, and recalling Schwartz (1992), prosocial values conflicted strongly with the power value because,

> The desires for dominance and control conflict with participants' strong universalism values such as 'social justice' (Shaw *et al.,* 2005:196).

In addition, although the value capitalism was considered to be a negative value, consumers used it to guide their shopping habits, principally by turning it to a positive avoidance of supermarkets and other multi-nationals whose poor company ethics they found questionable. With regard to consumer power, participants also believed they could use their power positively to benefit others and protect the environment by purchasing ethically produced products (Shaw *et al.,* 2005). This research concluded with the observation that whilst Schwartz's list of values has received wide support in the literature, it is not context-specific and is therefore unlikely to be meaningful in all situations. As such they call for further research into the role of values in studies that strive to understand the ethical consumer.

Continuing with studies that specifically address prosocial consumer behaviour, earlier research by Thomas (1986) highlighted a significant correlation between values and social behaviour, such as church attendance, choice of political candidates, cheating in the classroom and so on. Thomas' (1986) research focused on the relationship of values to social activism, in this context using Hessell's (1972) explanation of social activism as,

> …a process of deliberate group effort to alter community or social structures for the common good (Hessell, 1972, in Thomas, 1986:180).

Thomas' (1986) review of studies that used Rokeach's Value Survey, revealed that equality was the value that best discriminated activists from non-activists, where the latter placed lower priority on a comfortable life and national security than on a world at peace or a world of beauty. He also discovered that activists gave higher priority to freedom and mature love than non-activists and lower priority to family security, happiness and pleasure. His research (again using the RVS) concluded that equality and freedom were the only two values uniquely associated with social activism, placing the values of freedom and equality at the centre of understanding such behaviour.

Turning to political activism and membership of political parties, Braithwaite (1994) discusses Inglehart's (1971) concepts of materialism and postmaterialism and whilst she believes they relate more closely to attitudes than values, she highlights some similarities between these concepts and Rokeach's equality-freedom model. That is, she suggests parallels can be drawn between materialism and national strength and order, and postmaterialism and international harmony and equality. In this context, Braithwaite points out that materialist values are the priority of those who have experienced economic or physical insecurity and place emphasis on order and stability, whereas postmaterialist values are prioritised by those who enjoy greater security and therefore place emphasis in their lives on "ideas, brotherhood, greater citizen involvement in decision-making at government and community levels, and environmental protection" (Braithwaite, 1994:84).

Mayton and Furnham (1994) also studied the relationship between political activism and values, noting that universalism and self-direction value types were positively related to political activist behaviour, whereas value types hedonism, security and power contained

values negatively related to political activism. Their work built on Rokeach's belief that political activism was a function of extreme emphasis being placed on the values of freedom and equality, and supported Thomas' (1986) observation that equality consistently differentiated activists from non-activists. Their research concluded that the self-transcendent nature of the universalism value type indicated that people with this orientation would hold broad concern for the enhancement of others and be comfortable with the existence of diversity and,

> …as conceptualized by Schwartz, this type clearly represents the understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people (Mayton and Furnham, 1994:124).

Indeed, they go on to suggest that placing a high priority on the value universalism would be fundamental for anyone interested in social issues, whether these are to do with human rights, social justice or political activism.

The link between human values and justice is made explicit in the work of Feather and his (1994) paper summarises previous work that link the value surveys of both Rokeach and Schwartz with the stage theories of moral development associated with both Kohlberg and Rest (discussed in Chapter three). Feather's (1994) research addressed the role of values in justice–related behaviour, specifically with regard to moral judgement, belief in a just world, distributive justice (in the context of allocation decisions for example), and the nature of deservingness. Indeed, as Feather (1994) himself notes,

> Studies of moral judgment are relevant to the study of justice because the specification of these stages involves an appeal to different principles and values that people employ when thinking about moral dilemmas and when deciding on a fair way of resolving them (Feather 1994:132)

With regard to the study of moral judgement, Feather (1994) found that principled behaviour of this nature involved an emphasis on values concerned with harmony, reason and tolerance and a reduced commitment to values concerned with deference to conventional authority and rules of conduct. He also addressed the concept of belief in a just world where a just world is one in which people get what they deserve (after Lerner, 1980, in Feather 1994). Feather reports that belief in a just world is positively related to conservative social attitudes, to the Protestant work ethic, to deference to authority and to

conformity to the rules of groups, institutions and society as a whole, beliefs that he suggests are located in Schwartz's (1992) conformity domain.

Ostini and Ellerman (1997) also address potential connections between human values and moral judgement noting that little previous research had been conducted linking these two fields. Their 1997 work combined Kohlberg's (1969) six stages of moral development with Schwartz's (1992) list of values, with the expectations that as stage two moral reasoning involves egoism and simple exchange it would be positively related to the value types of hedonism, power and self-direction but negatively to benevolence and universalism. Stage 3 reasoning was expected to emphasise interpersonal acceptance and conformity to group norms and this would correlate positively with value types conformity and benevolence, especially politeness, loyalty and love. Stage four emphasises law and duty to social order and was expected to correlate to power, tradition and conformity value types. Stage five concerns a consensus of rules and predicted to relate to universalism, and the individual values of social justice, equality and responsible behaviour, whilst stage six emphasises universal and abstract ethical principles and was predicted to relate to universalism and self-direction and to the individual values of social justice, wisdom, self-respect, inner harmony and equality (Ostini and Ellerman, 1997:694).

Despite such positive predictions, their research found only weak relationships between the measures of values and moral reasoning, and indeed many of the predictions were not found. However, overall, their results provided some evidence that mature moral reasoning is motivated by principle rather than conformity to authority, tolerance rather than tradition, benevolence rather than security and hedonism, and a general orientation to others rather than self (Ostini and Ellerman, 1997).

This orientation to others rather than self brings this chapter back to the concept of social interest (as discussed in Chapter three) where the valuing of things other than the self is the main feature of Adler's concept of social interest. Rim's (1983) study combined Adler's concept with Forsyth's ethical perspectives, revealing that those with a high degree of social interest were idealists, whilst those low on the social interest scale (SIS) were relativists. This supported Crandall's (1980) earlier findings that high SIS scorers preferred values consistent with concern for others for example, family security, peace and salvation.

Those with a low SIS score appeared to prefer values that were more indicative of self-centredness, such as wisdom, accomplishment and a comfortable life. Significantly the studies dispute the importance of the value *equality*, with Rim finding a negative correlation between equality and SIS with Crandall finding a positive correlation.

Not mentioned previously is the issue of responsibility as discussed in the work of Schröder and McEachern (2004). Their study focused on the potential value conflicts associated with animal welfare and ethical food purchase in Scotland. Although they did not investigate the nature of values or their provenance, they discuss the issue of responsibility, in particular that consumers tended to delegate responsibility to others for decisions about animal welfare. For example, the consumers in their study delegated responsibility for ethical standards and conformity to these standards to the supply chain, including regulations enforced by central government.

Schröder and McEachern (2004) found three possible reasons for this delegation, firstly that individuals experienced frustration, either at their lack of knowledge or confusion regarding animal welfare, secondly, they felt powerless to effect change, believing that individual actions would make no difference and thirdly, they believed that it was not their role as consumers to make change but the role of government or pressure groups to force through welfare changes in the supply chain. The authors also highlight that people who allow governments to determine standards trust governments' implicitly to represent them well, thus suggesting Schwartz's (1992) value type of conformity, where trust in and respect for authority is entirely consistent with a belief in a just world.

4.4 The values concept in tourist studies

At this point it is useful to remember that Chapter three highlighted the usefulness of the values concept to understand the decision-making of the prosocial consumer, and also indicated its potential for researching ethical and responsible tourists. In addition, it was noted with some surprise that relatively few studies had pursued a values perspective for research in the prosocial area, aside from environmental consumer behaviour. Chapter four has now underscored this point further with a deeper discussion of the literature regarding values in general consumer decision-making and a note of the relative neglect of

values in research concerned with ethical consumers' decision choices. Indeed, whilst it has been established that values are particularly pertinent to consumer studies within an ethical context (Shaw *et al.,* 2005) it appears that very few researchers have recognised the potential of the values concept to reveal a deep insight and understanding of these consumer's purchasing choices.

Of course, it goes without saying that the potential of the values concept to offer deep insight has also largely been ignored within tourism research. Indeed, whilst this chapter demonstrates that literature focusing on values and pro-environmental behaviour is relatively well established, the same cannot be said for the application of the values construct in tourism research. In fact, it must be acknowledged that with only a few notable exceptions (see Blamey and Braithwaite, 1997; Higham and Carr, 2002; Fennell, 2003), tourism researchers have neglected the potential for this concept to uncover deeply held beliefs, with much of the research into values and tourism being used more superficially, most notably in taking a marketing perspective to tourist segmentation and the prediction of destination choice (see Pitts and Woodside, 1986; Madrigal and Kahle, 1994; Thrane, 1997).

Values have also been used to address holiday choice (Pizam and Calantone, 1987) international tourist profiles (Müller, 1991; McCleary and Choi, 1999) tourist personality types (Madrigal, 1995) and ecotourists (Blamey and Braithwaite, 1997). More recently, values have been identified as notable additions to tourist motivation research (Gnoth, 1999; McIntosh and Thyne, 2005). However, whilst values, attitudes and behaviour have been well researched in the outdoor recreation literature, the link between values and tourist behaviour remains largely unexplored (Higham and Carr, 2002; Klenosky, 2002).

One notable exception is Madrigal's (1995) examination of the link between personal values and tourist personality type, where he discusses the role of locus of control. As discussed elsewhere in this review, locus of control refers to the extent to which an individual is willing to accept responsibility for what happens to them. Madrigal (1995) notes that internally oriented individuals are self-motivated and believe they are able to influence events and control outcomes in their lives, whereas externally oriented people tend to feel powerless and look to external sources to solve their problems. Internally

oriented people value self-fulfilment, accomplishment, fun, excitement and warm relationships with others whilst externally oriented individuals value security, belonging and being well respected. His findings further reveal that internally motivated tourists are more likely to be independent rather than group travellers, with independent travellers being differentiated by their valuing of self-fulfilment, accomplishment and warm relations with others (Madrigal, 1995).

With much of the research into tourists' values utilising either the Rokeach Value Scale (Pitts and Woodside, 1986; McCleary and Choi, 1999) or List Of Values (Madrigal and Kahle, 1994; Madrigal, 1995), it is not surprising that this research has centred on the use of values to measure and predict tourist behaviour. In other words, the research has tended to ignore the potential of the values concept to probe more deeply into consumers' purchasing choices - by concentrating on its use as an additional predictive variable, research has rather wasted the significant potential of the values concept to probe deeply into an individual's underpinning motivations. This is a highly significant point, and one also noted by Klenosky *et al.* (1993), who suggest that rather than *predicting* consumer behaviour, it is more important for research to *understand* the relationship between consumers and the product or services they buy.

In order to achieve such deep understanding their research utilised not only the values concept but also chose the values-oriented research method of the means-end chain theory to further explore the connections between values and purchase choices (Gutman, 1982). Given Klenosky *et al.'s* (1993) belief of the potential of the means-end chain theory to add deep insight and understanding of how consumers make purchasing decisions based on their values and beliefs, and also given the previously discussed connection between values and environmental consumption, further consideration of the application of this theory will be useful here. The following section will therefore explain the origin of the means-end chain theory, how it has been used in consumer research and also tourism studies, and will conclude with an evaluation of why this method is thought to be useful in research seeking a deep insight into the decision-making of ethical and responsible tourists.

4.5 Values research and the means-end chain theory

According to Zins (2001:124), "means-end type models have their roots in cognitive psychology and neuro-psychology," that were later adapted to hierarchical value concepts for marketing research. The means-end chain theory, originally developed to enable explicit connections between consumers' values and their purchase behaviour, enables researchers to explain the 'how' and the 'why' of consumer choice (Klenosky, 2002), by explaining the linkages between an individual's values and their purchasing behaviour (Manyiwa and Crawford, 2001). It is a particularly insightful methodology for researching consumer preferences and choice behaviours because it provides a cognitive framework for uncovering individuals' deeply held and intangible motivations, and allows researchers to link these underlying factors to specific product choice (Dibley and Baker, 2001).

The means-end chain theory has utility on different levels - not only does it positively link a research method with a conceptual model but it also enables researchers to identify the values that underpin an individual's consumption choice and behaviour. As noted by McIntosh and Thyne (2005:260), the means-end chain theory,

> …has benefits as both a qualitative research method and a conceptual model for understanding the meanings that tourists or hosts associate with the purchasing, consuming, or experiencing of tourism products and services, and the personal values that underlie their behaviour (McIntosh and Thyne, 2005:260).

Given this statement, and the fact that values were noted in a previous chapter as useful in understanding prosocial consumer choice, exploring the values concept using the means-end chain theory will to explain the personally meaningful connections between ethical and responsible tourists' values and their holiday choice behaviour. Such information will enable tourist researchers to develop a more extensive understanding of the importance of the values concept to these tourists and therefore an extensive understanding of these tourists' holiday choices, hitherto unexplored.

For Gutman (1982), the means-end chain helps to explain not only how consumers achieve their desired end states by representing the processes that occur between values and

behaviour but also the rationale as to why certain consequences, or benefits, are important to them. This explanatory power is what makes the means-end chain different from more traditional multi-attribute models of consumer choice (Gengler *et al.,* 1999).

Figure 4.3: The means-end chain theory model
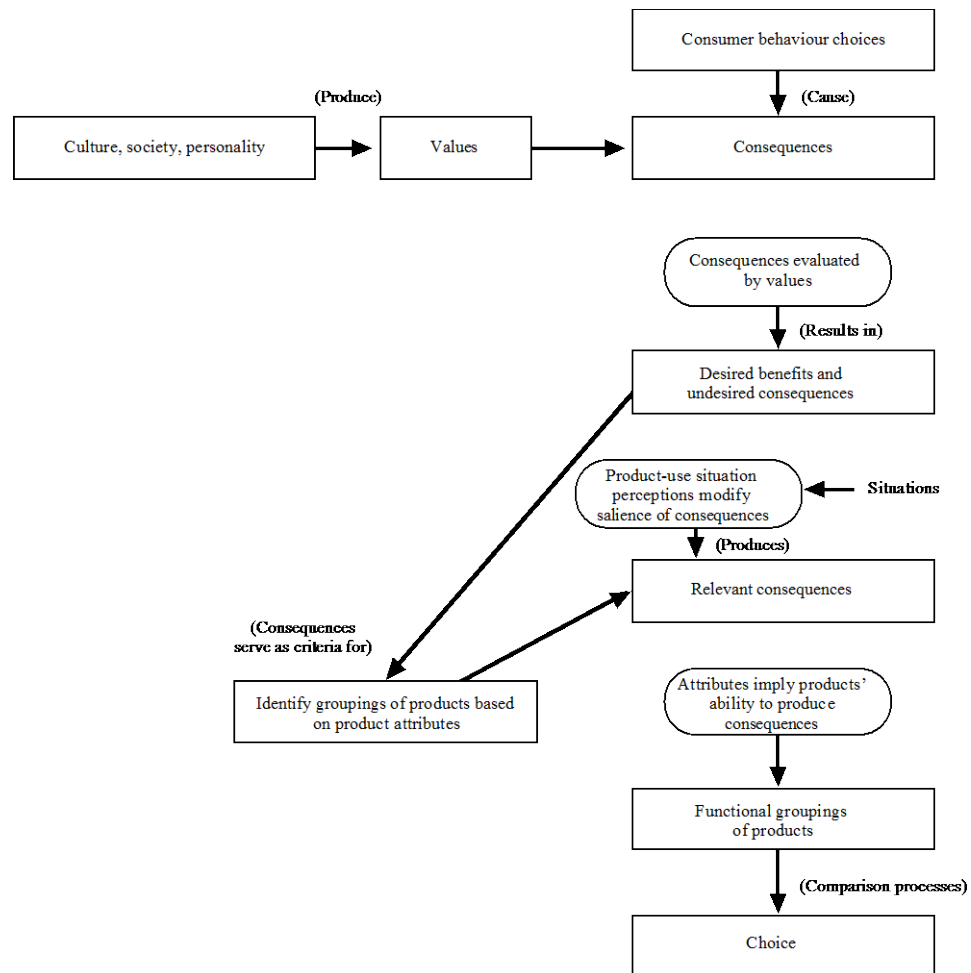
Source: Gutman (1982:62)

The model, or theory (see Figure 4.3 above), is based on two assumptions – firstly that values play a dominant role in guiding choice behaviour and secondly that consumers cope with the choice and diversity of products that can satisfy their values by grouping them into sets or classes to reduce this complexity (Gutman, 1982). There are also two further assumptions regarding consumer behaviour that are essential to this model, firstly that all behaviour has a consequence and secondly that consumers learn to associate specific consequences (or benefits) with particular actions (Gutman, 1982). These consequences can be either physiological (satisfying hunger through buying a sandwich for example) or psychological (self-esteem associated with buying new clothes), can be negative or

positive, direct, as in satisfying hunger or indirect, where others notice our new clothes. They can have both instant and long-term consequences (Gutman, 1982).

The theory also centres on the premise that products and services have meaning for consumers and that these meanings are considered in purchasing decision situations (Baker *et al.,* 1992; Klenosky, 2002). This indicates a more in-depth relationship between the consumer and the products that he or she chooses (Reynolds and Gutman, 1988). However, it is not the products' attributes which have meaning for consumers, rather it is the consequences or benefits of using or consuming the products which are important to, or have personal relevance for, the consumer. In turn, these consequences and/or benefits obtain their importance from the personal values they help individuals' reinforce through their purchase and consumption behaviour. It is this sequence (from attributes to values) that represents the 'means-end chain' (Klenosky, 2002). For further emphasis on this point, the means-end chain theory,

> …specifically focuses on the linkages between the attributes that exist in products (the "means"), the consequences for the consumer provided by the attributes, and the personal values (the "ends") the consequences reinforce (Reynolds and Gutman, 1988:11).

In other words, this model assumes that there are three levels of abstraction associated with the consumption of products and services - attributes (A), consequences (or benefits) of consumption (C) and values (V) (Baker *et al.,* 2004:998). These elements are often represented as linked chains in a hierarchical value map as shown in Figure 5.2 below.

Figure 4.4: The attribute-benefit-value chain.
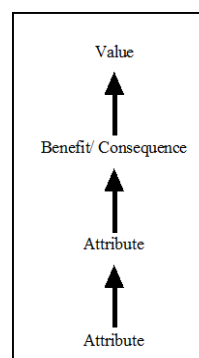
Source: Adapted from Baker *et al.* (2004:999)

The model also supposes that the higher the level of abstraction the closer and more direct is the relationship to the consumer. In other words, consequences (and/or benefits) will be more important to the self than attributes, and values will be more significant than personal consequences (and/or benefits) (Reynolds *et al.,* 1995). In other words, attributes are considered to be the concrete characteristics of a product but can also include more subjective and intangible elements such as service or quality. Of course, with regard to holidays, the situation is extremely complex, given the composite nature of the holiday product. For example, the transport, accommodation and transfers may be concrete, but the experience of relaxation or 'having fun' will be intangible and entirely subjective, making it highly challenging to elicit attributes considered desirable by the ethical and responsible tourist.

For consumers, product or service usage results in consequences and/or benefits that reflect the perceived costs or benefits associated with attributes, and may constitute a wide area of interest in this study due to the nature of tourism and holidays. For example, consequences can include tourists' personal perception of costs and benefits, a consideration of externalities (flight emissions for example) or the costs and benefits experienced by local residents in the holiday destination. In their attempt to rationalise or simplify this potentially large and complex level, Baker *et al.* (2004:998) divide consequences into two types,

> …functional consequences that include direct, tangible outcomes derived from consumption, and psychosocial consequences involving intangible, personal and less direct outcomes (Baker *et al.,* 2004:998).

They indicate that psychosocial consequences are either personal (how do I feel about my holidays causing flight emissions?) or social in nature (how do others feel about my holidays causing flight emissions?).

At the far end of this chain, values are the final end state that people (and tourists) seek to satisfy through their behaviour (Baker *et al.,* 2004). In essence therefore, the means-end chain theory can present the researcher with a method of understanding how products gain relevance and desirability for the consumer through the links and associations they have to the higher-level construct of values. Not only are individuals' consumption preferences

and choice behaviours directly linked to their values and value systems but also it is the personal meanings that consumers derive from certain products that form the basis for their preference and choice (Reynolds *et al.,* 1995). In other words, values, or personal life goals (Baker *et al.* 1992), explain why people act in certain ways (Baker *et al.* 2004), and because the means-end chain theory enables the researcher to identify the links between product choice and consumer values it is considered a most suitable method of research for this thesis.

In other words, what makes the means-end chain theory particularly appropriate and also different from other consumer behaviour models, is that it identifies the interconnected meanings between bundles of attributes, bundles of benefits and personal value satisfiers. As a result, it offers particular insight into how individuals' satisfy their values through a product's attributes (Baker *et al.* 1992), providing an understanding of the values that ethical and responsible tourists seek to prioritise, and satisfy, in their holiday choices. Two further benefits of this method are that not only will it identify the key motivating factors underpinning their holiday purchases but it will also provide critical information on the specific values that prompt such holiday choice behaviour. This is particularly important because there is currently an extremely limited understanding of the values of ethical and responsible tourists.

At this stage it is useful to remember that whilst the values concept has been used to varying extent to explore environmental and ethical consumers' purchase behaviour, the application of the means-end chain theory within the prosocial context features relatively scarce. In fact, even in general consumer research the means-end chain has featured strongly only since the mid-1990s (see Claeys *et al.,* 1995; Reynolds *et al.,* 1995; Ter Hofstede *et al.,* 1999; Dibley and Baker, 2001; Manyiwa and Crawford, 2001). Whilst recent research has adopted it to explain changing patterns of consumption and consumer attitudes to organic food choice (Makatouni, 2002; Baker *et al.,* 2004; White and Kokotsaki, 2004), research that uses the means-end chain theory to examine links between values and tourist behaviour is limited to studies of destination choice (Klenosky *et al.,* 1993; Madrigal and Kahle, 1994; Klenosky, 2002), ecotourists (Frauman *et al.,* 1998), accommodation and activity choice (Thyne and Lawson, 2000), and the motivations of museum visitors (Thyne, 2001).

4.6 Summary

This chapter has revealed that values are difficult to define but that they transcend situations and have been used in studies to reveal individuals' deeply held beliefs. Several lists of values have been developed, notably the Rokeach Value System (Rokeach, 1973) and List of Values (see Kahle and Kennedy, 1988), but it is Schwartz's (1992) typology of values that is the most comprehensive, and also the most used within a consumer context. This chapter has revealed values to be used to investigate consumer's environmental behaviour, and their approach to social and political activism, mostly because values have a collective as well as individual perspective, and are considered useful in behaviour that displays a concern for the collective good.

This chapter has found that investigating consumers who incorporate moral choices into their consumption behaviour is never an easy option. Not only do such consumers exhibit a wide range of concerns, which any study needs to incorporate, but also additional complexity is derived from the fact that the traditional models of consumer behaviour were initially designed to investigate predominantly hedonic and self-interested decision-making. As a consequence, they are likely to prove completely unsatisfactory as a method of gaining insight into ethical consumers because (as noted by Shaw and Shiu, 2003), these people are influenced less by self-interest than by a sense of moral obligation to others. This chapter has revealed the values most associated with individuals' prosocial behaviour are universalism and benevolence. However, a recent study of ethical consumers (see Shaw *et al*., 2005), whilst noting that universalism was the most important value identified three new values to be important – namely, capitalism, consumer power and animal welfare, and concluded by calling for further research into the role of values in ethical consumer contexts.

This chapter has also revealed that values are particularly helpful in studies involving ethical consumers (Shaw *et al.,* 2005) but although they have been applied to studies of environmental behaviour, little research has taken place regarding the values of ethical consumers or the ethical and responsible tourist. In fact, a review of the values concept in tourism studies revealed a relatively unsophisticated level of application, mostly concerned with predicting tourist choice behaviour, when the real worth of this research may lie in

understanding, rather than predicting, behaviour. Whilst a few researchers have suggested the utility of values in furthering an understanding of tourist motivation, relatively few studies have heeded this recommendation. Most notably, there is currently no evidence of empirical research into ethical and responsible tourists, their values and what significance these values hold in their holiday choice behaviour.

Further challenges face those who specifically want to extend their knowledge and understanding of the ethical and responsible tourist. For example, not only is the tourism industry large and highly fragmented but it also encompasses a range of ethical dilemmas associated with issues such as economic leakage, social impact, environmental degradation or lack of community involvement in tourism development. All or only one of these issues may be of concern to those people who might be called ethical and responsible tourists and any research into this group of people will have to encompass such complexity.

This chapter has concluded by introducing the means-end chain theory as the most suitable research method for this thesis because it identifies the interconnected links between a product's attributes, the consequences and/or benefits associated with their purchase and the consumer's underpinning values. Not only will this method reveal meaningful associations for ethical and responsible tourists' between their values and their holiday choice behaviour but it will also provide crucial information on the specific values that prompt their holiday choices. This means that not only will this thesis offer further understanding of the values of ethical and responsible tourists and identify the values involved in their holiday choice behaviour but it will also provide a new methodological platform for the means-end chain theory. As noted previously, this research method has been used quite extensively in general consumer research but its use within both prosocial consumption and tourism has been limited. As such, this thesis will also provide further opportunity to explore the utility of the means end chain in understanding the values of ethical and responsible tourists.

5.0   CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH METHOD

The previous chapter concluded by recommending the means-end chain theory as the most useful research method for exploring and identifying the values of ethical and responsible tourists in their holiday choice behaviour. Before more information is given regarding how this method is used, this chapter will take a broader, more foundational perspective and explain the methodological assumptions that inform and underpin this research. Consequently this chapter will firstly discuss the theoretical paradigms and perspectives that guide all research before presenting a description of the research strategy for this study. The chapter's narrative will continue by evaluating the method of data collection using the means-end chain, giving specific details about participant recruitment, the interview questions and the laddering technique, transcription and other appropriate details of this particular research journey. The chapter will continue with a discussion of the limitations associated with the chosen research method, a consideration of the trustworthiness of any data gathered in this manner and also a full explanation of the ethics of research. The chapter will conclude with an explanation of the chosen method of analysis.

5.1 Research paradigms

By way of introduction, it is useful to remember, "all research is influenced by the philosophical position of the researchers, the nature of the project and the intended audience" (Jordan and Gibson, 2004:216). These considerations will have an impact on the research methods chosen as well as how they are used to create new knowledge. This is supported by Guba and Lincoln (1998:195) who assert, "questions of method are secondary to questions of paradigm". In other words, the researcher needs to be clear about their belief system (or worldview), as this will prompt their ontological and epistemological direction, thus guiding decisions about the appropriate methods for the study in question. Clearly, questions relating to method come much later in the research process with researchers first having to be clear in their minds about their perspective, a point noted by Thomas (2004) who emphasised the importance of making methodological

decisions based upon wider factors than purely 'what is the best method of research for this problem?' In support of this she cites Denzin and Lincoln (2000),

> …the final choice of research strategy and method should be seen as a culmination of issues at the level of the researcher and the research paradigm, the latter involving the interconnected issues of 'ontology' (What is the nature of reality?), epistemology (What is the relationship between the inquirer and the known?) and methodology (How can we know the world, or gain knowledge of it?) (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, in Thomas, 2004: 197).

For this reason, and although much of the narrative found in research methods texts merely debates the merits/demerits of qualitative and quantitative methods, it is important to firstly review the fundamental considerations (or paradigms) that shape the method decisions for this particular study.

Paradigms can be interpreted as worldviews or a set of beliefs that underpin an individual's understanding of the world and their place and relationship within it (Guba and Lincoln, 1998). A further explanation suggests a paradigm is,

> …a consensus across the relevant scientific community about the theoretical and methodological rules to be followed, the instruments to be used, the problems to be investigated, and the standards by which research is to be judged (Marshall, 1998:476).

Within research therefore, inquiry paradigms can be revealed by the researcher's responses to the following three questions. Firstly, what is the form and nature of reality and therefore what can be known about it - the ontological question - secondly, what is the nature of the relationship between the knower and what can be known - the epistemological question - and thirdly, how can the inquirer go about finding whatever he or she believes can be known - the methodological question (Guba and Lincoln, 1998). In other words, ontology is concerned with the nature of being and reality (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004) whilst epistemology can be explained as "how we know what we know" (Marshall, 1998:197). The research methods used for any study will be a direct consequence of the responses to these important first questions.

Any discussion of the research process undertaken for the purpose of gathering knowledge "would need to start with a consideration of the theory of knowledge – or epistemology"

(Zahra and Ryan, 2005:3). As asserted earlier, epistemology is concerned with an "examination of the nature of knowledge and the links between theory and data in the construction of knowledge" (Aitchison, 2005:22). In relation to this study this means asking what the researcher knows and how they know it, how their beliefs and values shape their knowledge and what evidence there is to either support or refute any claims to knowledge (Aitchison, 2005).

Whilst it is generally accepted that there are currently four major paradigms which structure research (positivist, post-positivist, critical theory and interpretivist, (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004), the positivist and post positivist paradigms have been hugely dominant in both the physical and social sciences for more than four hundred years (Guba and Lincoln, 1998). Indeed, Guba and Lincoln (1998:202) call positivism the 'received view' while Riley and Love (2000:165) term positivism the 'master paradigm', observing that qualitative research has only recently stimulated alternative ways of interpreting the social world.

Positivists take the ontological perspective that universal truths apply, research is objective (that is the researcher neither influences or is influenced by the researched), findings are 'true', and not only that human behaviour can be explained rationally and logically, but also that axiologically, research is value-free (Guba and Lincoln, 1998; Jennings, 2005). For positivists, the independence of the researcher from the researched is crucial, as any interaction between them will threaten the validity of the research. Consequently, great efforts are made to reduce or eliminate contamination through the use of set procedures to eliminate bias and the influence of values (Zahra and Ryan, 2005).

Positivism supports a quantitative methodology and generally utilises a hypothesis approach, which is then tested empirically, as the ontological perspective dictates that objective enquiry provides a true and predictive knowledge of external reality (Zahra and Ryan, 2005). Further, the goal of positivism is scientific explanation whereas the purpose of social science is the "understanding of the meaning of social phenomena" (Schwandt, 1998:223). Significantly, this paradigm may be inappropriate in marketing research because it ignores people's ability to reflect upon life, and their ability to act on these reflections. In other words, because positivists keep themselves separate from the world

they are investigating, this approach may not be useful for researchers enquiring about human experiences in real-life situations (Healy and Perry, 2000).

Post-positivism recognises that only partially objective accounts of the real world can be made as all methods that examine such accounts are naturally flawed (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Post-positivists, whilst sharing the same ontological view, also recognise some of the criticisms levelled at positivism (it being context-less for example) and address them by generally conducting research in more naturalistic settings, often combining quantitative with qualitative techniques (Guba and Lincoln, 1998). This paradigm uses traditional evaluation criteria regarding internal and external validity and tends to employ qualitative techniques which lend themselves to structured analysis, for example, computer-assisted frequency counts, tabulations and so on (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). A summary of the paradigmatic differences between the two contrasting perspectives of positivism and phenomenology is presented in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1: Comparison of the paradigms of positivism and phenomenology

Positivism	Paradigm	Phenomenology
Empiricism	Synonym	Social constructivism, interpretivism
Realism	Intent	Relativism
Explanation	Purpose	Understanding
Causal relationships	Ontology	Multiple realities
Objective	Epistemology	Subjective
Quantitative	Methodology	Qualitative
Extrinsic, value-free	Axiology	Intrinsic, value-laden
Scientific report	Genre	Narrative
Generalisable, representative	Representation	Localised, possibly generalisable to similar settings and contexts

Source: Jennings (2005:104)

At the other end of the spectrum to positivists, interpretivists and social constructionists take the phenomenological perspective. This contends that multiple realities exist that are socially and experientially based, the researcher and the subject are inextricably linked, and that research is subjective, fluid and informing (Guba and Lincoln, 1998; Small, 2004; Crouch 2005; Jennings, 2005). This perspective uses qualitative methods in order to

explain and understand human experience and often deals with an individual perspective, because,

> The researcher in the interpretative paradigm needs to understand the social world as it is, at the level of subjective experience. He or she seeks an explanation within the frame of reference of participant as opposed to observer of action (Zahra and Ryan, 2005:7).

The methods usually but not exclusively associated with a phenomenological approach are qualitative in nature and include methods such as in-depth interviews, participant observation and ethnography. In truth, however, qualitative methods can be associated with three of the above paradigms and Figure 5.1 summarises a range of methodologies that can be found within these different paradigms. Primarily Healy and Perry (2000) developed this model in order to demonstrate the universality of the realism paradigm. However it is also useful because it demonstrates the relationship between theory and paradigm, displaying the two extremes of the research continuum from constructivism (concerned with theory building) to positivism (concerned with theory testing).

Figure 5.2 : A range of methodologies and their related paradigms
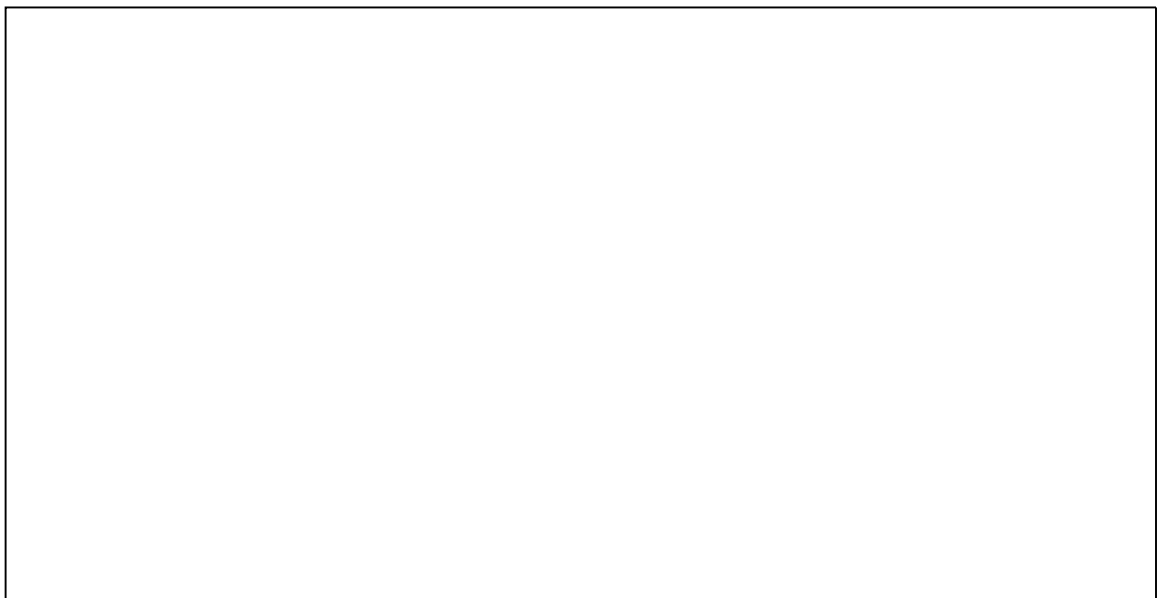
Source: Healy and Perry (2000:121)

Their critique and explanation of the realism paradigm aligns it closely to Denzin and Lincoln's (1998) 'blurred genres' but not Guba and Lincoln's (1998) post-positivism paradigm, even though it shares some of the research methods common to both. It could

be argued that the post-positivist paradigm would be better termed the 'quasi-positivist' approach, because post-positivists, whilst interested in explanation, also want to predict and control phenomena - a common feature of positivism. In addition, post-positivists tend to present their findings using the perspective of the researcher as the 'expert', an approach criticised for silencing too many voices (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005) and more usually associated with positivism. In conclusion therefore it could be argued that the post-positivist paradigm is actually positivism with a few qualitative methods thrown in to add meaning and context.

With regard to what some might consider as competing paradigms, each has its supporters as well as denigrators. The criticism mostly commonly ascribed to positivist inquiry is that it is context-less which therefore limits not only the relevance of the data but any meanings attached to the topic of enquiry (Guba and Lincoln, 1998). Further positivist criticisms draw attention to the etic/emic debate, the nomothetic disjunction (the positivist view that generalisations should not be extended to individual cases) and exclusion of the discovery or creative dimension in inquiry (Guba and Lincoln, 1998). Alternatively, positivists not only accuse interpretivists of conducting research that lacks rigour and validity but also for neglecting to explain in detail the reliability and validity criteria of their research (Decrop, 1999), and therefore regarded as "exploratory and largely unscientific" (Decrop, 2004:156).

As cited earlier, positivism has been the dominant force in research but it appears that some areas of the research community are slowly changing their view on its supposed superiority. Evidence of this shift can be found in consumer research as noted by Belk (1995:60) who asserted that consumer research shows evidence of philosophically rejecting "positivistic tenets in favour of a broader array of epistemologies, ontologies and axiologies." He continued,

> …whereas previous research sought to predict and control consumer brand purchases, the new consumer behaviour research seeks to understand consumption processes in a broad, literal and contextual sense (Belk, 1995: 74).

Significantly, Walle (1997) noted that marketing research also underwent a similar dissatisfaction with scientific methods, turning to supplementary, qualitative methods to

help solve the problems that scientific research could not. This post-positivist approach (using qualitative research methods to supplement quantitative methods) is a popular approach to tourism research and is commonly used to bring context and meaning to quantitative research findings. One notable example is Thomas' (2004) positivist research into the influence of visual imagery on tourist motivation, where she notes the limitations of the "positivist traditions of quantitative motivation research" (2004:198). To support her post-positivist approach she cites Riley and Love's (2000:166) assertion that there are significant limitations with quantitative methods as they "cannot fully address questions of understanding and meaning". Thomas (2004) continues,

> Research into motivation can….benefit from qualitative methods, given that instruments such as attitude scales find it difficult to avoid value-laden terminology (Thomas, 2004:209).

Her meaning was that her chosen additional method (in this case focus groups) gave her an opportunity to explore and follow up immediately people's responses and any inconsistencies – this would have been impossible within a purely quantitative study, and clearly demonstrates the use of a post-positivist paradigm. In further support of her research rationale Thomas (2004) cited Walle (1997) as saying that using only quantitative, etic methods of data collection can result in dehumanised research as a result of a pursuit of rigorous, standardised data. Indeed, in his preamble to the article 'Quantitative versus qualitative tourism research' Walle asserts, "tourism scholars and practitioners deal with complex phenomena and, as a result, rigorous, scientific methods are not always appropriate for the problems encountered" (Walle, 1997:524). He also points out that in much social science research,

> …the main role of qualitative research has typically been reduced to helping create and pose hypotheses which can then be tested and refined using scientific and/or statistical research methods and models (Walle, 1997:524).

Within tourism research, too much is still made of the positivist approach (Dann and Phillips, 2000), a point earlier made by Riley (1996:37) who suggested that,

> The understanding of tourism and the tourist experience, as interpreted by hosts and guests, has long been a focus for sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists. Despite a wide acceptance of qualitative methods in sociological

and anthropological circles, the same acceptance has been limited in marketing and other disciplines that contribute to understanding tourism (Riley, 1996:37).

Goodson and Phillimore (2004) suggest the tendency for tourism research to be focused on the objective and measurable is due to the dominance of marketing and management perspectives in both tourism planning and demand studies. In other words, objective measures of tourist flows have had historical priority to enable destinations to predict demand, but as emphasis turns to the need for an understanding of the tourist and the tourist experience so research needs to take account of this change and utilise less positivistic and more phenomenological research. In addition, Guba and Lincoln (1998:197/198), in their critique of the perceived superiority of quantitative methods of enquiry in social science research believe that,

> Human behavior, unlike that of physical objects, cannot be understood without reference to the meanings and purposes attached by human actors to their activities (Guba and Lincoln, 1998:197/198).

This view is later noted by Denzin and Lincoln (2005:5) who state, "Objective reality can never be captured. We know a thing only through its representation", and supports Schwandt's (1998:221) declaration that it is constructivists, and interpretivists, rather than positivists, who "share the goal of understanding the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it".

Additional criticism of the positivistic approach draws attention to the limited scope of the data generated by this mode of enquiry – it is only by knowing how people experience tourism that researchers will better understand why people do what they do, and it is unclear whether this can be fully achieved using the positivist paradigm (Riley, 1996). This echoes a point made more than a decade earlier by Stringer & Pearce (1984:9) who noted that "models of behaviour which are laboratory-based and de-emphasise people's inability to choose, select and direct their behaviours would seem to be inappropriate to the area of leisure and tourism studies". Significantly, justification for using an interpretivist perspective in consumer research rests on the assertion that a "focus on understanding and interpretation" can offer insight into consumer decision making processes (Decrop, 2000:227).

As a result of the above review, it is the contention of the researcher that this PhD study sits within Denzin and Lincoln's (1998) 'blurred genres', which does not correspond to either the traditional natural science or modernist approach but rather recognises multiple approaches, thus "embracing a more creative, artistic approach to research" (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004:14). This ontological perspective implied the usefulness of several different methodologies but essentially required a method that acknowledged the interactive and co-operative nature of the relationship between the interviewer and the subjects being investigated (Decrop, 2004). Researchers using this approach tend to choose theoretical models which cross over the boundaries between disciplines and whilst some might use more innovative methods such as semiotic analysis others use more traditional qualitative techniques such as in-depth interviews and ethnography or even multi-methods, thus utilising a combination of both quantitative and qualitative activities (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004).

Additionally this study, whilst not negating the importance of previous quantitative research, is thought to be best served using the contrasting approach of interpretivism, because of the need to gain an understanding of the subjective nature of tourism experience, as perceived by the ethical and responsible tourist. Notwithstanding that criticism of the positivist approach has already been noted (and therefore does not need repeating), the relative abundance of studies that have detailed the value and volume, and also 'concerns' of the ethical and responsible tourism market has not resulted in an improved or indeed, *any* understanding of these people, their motivation and their values. This is a major reason for not adopting a positivist approach.

Significantly, in their rationale for an interpretive approach to researching solo women travellers, Jordan and Gibson (2004) argue that women's voices have often been marginalised in traditional positivist studies. This analogy can also be applied to ethical and responsible tourists – research in this area is sometimes derided because of the relatively small number of people this category represents, as if their number somehow signifies their relative (un)importance as a consumer group. To this researcher, such derision only serves to highlight the need for greater understanding, not less, and thus this study takes a phenomenological approach in the desire to provide not only understanding,

but also an improved recognition of the complex and deeply held beliefs which influence their holiday choices.

5.2 Method – the means-end chain theory

As highlighted in Chapter four, the means-end chain is deemed the most appropriate research method for this thesis because it enables the researcher to link a product's attributes with an individual's abstract beliefs and values. This unique approach thus provides an in-depth understanding of each of these elements – the attributes, their consequences (or benefits to the consumer) - and the meaningful connections to values in purchasing choice (Lück, 2000; White and Kokotsaki, 2004). As already noted in the previous chapter, this method is particularly significant for this study because not only will it reveal meaningful associations between values and holiday choice for ethical and responsible tourists but it will also identify the specific values involved in their holiday choices. Knowledge of the values of ethical and responsible tourists is currently limited and the findings of this study will make an important contribution to what is known about these individuals.

The means-end chain theory specifically contains several stages; firstly, the linkages between attributes, benefits and values are uncovered using laddering interviews, which reveal the distinctions (attributes) between product choices and the meaningful associations respondents adopt to differentiate between these choices. Secondly, the laddering interview probes the significance of attributes by asking the question 'Why is that important to you?' revealing the links between a product's attributes, the benefits of their choice, and their values. Thirdly, the links are typically arranged as 'ladders' and represented as hierarchical value maps, visually displaying the relationship between a consumer's product choices, the associated benefits or consequences of their choices with their personal values.

The most common method of analysis for the means-end chain takes an aggregative approach, by summarising the attributes-consequences-value chain into a hierarchical value map. This is done by first categorising and coding the constructs and then constructing an implication matrix, which is used to record the number of respondents who

have mentioned each category, and forms the basis of the group hierarchical map (see Frauman *et al.,* 1998; Manyiwa and Crawford, 2001). At this stage of the analysis (the group HVM), the researcher must decide upon the method of analysis largely because the method is known for its dual utility – it can accommodate both a qualitative and a quantitative approach to data analysis. Of course, the most appropriate method of analysis will depend upon the purpose of the research and as the purpose of this thesis is to gain insight and a deeper understanding of ethical and responsible tourists then this insight is necessarily qualitative in nature and will require a qualitative approach. Grunert and Grunert (1995) make exactly this point,

> The main criteria for evaluating the usefulness of the approach would be to which extent users of the results feel that they have achieved a better understanding of consumers that gives inspiration to managers and helps them make better business decisions (Grunert and Grunert, 1995:210)

If, on the other hand, the usefulness of the analysis method is judged on its ability to measure and predict consumer behaviour, then a quantitative approach will be the better alternative. In other words, if taking a phenomenological approach then the cognitive, predictive utility of the means-end chain is going to be less useful than the motivational approach (Grunert and Grunert, 1995). Clearly this thesis has adopted a phenomenological perspective in order to gain a richer understanding of ethical and responsible tourists and therefore a qualitative approach is appropriate for both the data collection and analysis. Indeed, laddering interviews are best evaluated and made sense of at the individual rather than aggregated level, with laddering being less than useful in an aggregated format unless the respondents are relatively homogeneous in nature (Grunert and Grunert, 1995).

Having briefly introduced the process of the means-end chain theory, the remainder of this chapter will discuss in detail the different stages of this method, notably the laddering technique - the method of interviewing most often adopted as part of the means-end chain – and the elicitation of distinctions before going on to discuss in more detail the research recruitment strategy, the criteria for trustworthiness and the ethics of research. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of potential limitations of the means-end chain method and a full consideration of the method of analysis adopted for this study.

5.3 Elicitation of distinctions

An important element of the means-end chain theory is the elicitation stage, where respondents are firstly questioned regarding meaningful distinctions between products in order to produce bipolar constructs (Reynolds, and Gutman, 1988). This can be achieved using either individual interviews or a focus group. The researcher chose the former because an interest in individual tourist behaviour is not always well served by the interaction generated by a focus group (Morgan, 1997) and questions regarding individuals' personal values might be a sensitive subject to discuss in a group situation (Weeden, 2005). Eliciting distinctions can be achieved in several different ways. Reynolds and Gutman (1988) suggest triadic sorting, preference consumption differences and differences by occasion, while additional methods such as free sorting, direct elicitation and picking from an attribute list are additional suggestions from Bech-Larsen and Nielsen (1999).

Triadic sorting requires subjects to distinguish between several sets of three products, focusing on describing how two of the products might be similar to each other yet different from the third. In other words, subjects are asked to name the 'odd one out' and explain why this is so for them (Dibley and Baker, 2001). A preference-consumption difference refers to asking subjects to name their preference order for a selection of products in the same class. They are then asked why they prefer the first and how the second is different from the first and so on through the list.

The method known as differences by occasion draws peoples' attention to purchasing for specific rather than hypothetical occasions, resulting in more meaningful insights (Reynolds and Gutman, 1988). The free sorting method asks respondents to place products into groups which are alike in some way yet different from other groups, with the respondent sorting as many products as they like into each group. Picking from a pre-determined list of attributes requires them to have been generated elsewhere, usually from either a focus group or other qualitative methods but this method can mean that individual meanings are lost (Bech-Larsen and Nielsen, 1999).

A further method, that of direct elicitation does not involve a sorting process but asks respondents to nominate a list of attributes that are most important to them when choosing between groups of similar products (Gengler *et al.,* 1999). The direct elicitation is considered by Bech-Larsen and Nielsen (1999: 317) as the technique which,

> …comes closest to a "natural speech" interviewing technique, which compared to the other techniques is believed to lead to a stronger focus on idiosyncratic and intrinsically relevant attributes, and to less focus on extrinsic product differences (Bech-Larsen and Nielsen, 1999: 317).

Significantly not only does Manyiwa and Crawford's (2001:63) research utilise the direct elicitation technique because "responses from direct questioning readily leads into laddering questions" but they also highlight that giving participants hypothetical social contexts does not reveal the true link between values and choice because,

> Values connected to cognitive structures could be less enduring and less effective in predicting choices than the values connected to choice patterns (Manyiwa and Crawford, 2001:58).

Indeed, this point is also noted by Baker *et al.* (2004) whose research asked participants to consider food purchases made in the past month rather than future intentions.

For this study, the elicitation stage was at first considered problematic because the literature clearly recommends that this should occur either right at the beginning of the process or even at a different time and place, and suggests that bipolar constructs can be gained through asking respondents to sort sets of products, indicating why and how the products are different to each other. The purpose of such elicitation is to encourage respondents to reveal preference choices, which allows the interviewer an opportunity to begin. However, the products used in the literature are often branded products such as snack products (Dibley and Baker, 2001), and wine coolers (Reynolds and Gutman, 1988) or products of a simple nature such as breakfast meals (Manyiwa and Crawford, 2001), the difference between organic and non-organic foods (Baker *et al.,* 2004) and Indian food (White and Kokotsaki, 2004).

To this researcher, the complexity of the holiday product and the values linked to this decision were far more complex and could not be sorted simply by type. For example,

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asking people how a weekend city break was different to a two-week trek through a Costa Rican jungle would probably not usefully yield anything but obvious differences. It was also considered important not to allow the respondent to be bored by such simple tasks, especially at the beginning of the interview process. Instead, the direct elicitation technique was used and respondents were requested to nominate one particular holiday (in the last two years) and asked general questions about where they went, how long they stayed, who they holidayed with and so on. Nomination of a specific holiday taken in the past two years was considered important, not only to avoid the pitfalls of the intention-behaviour gap, but also to minimise social desirability response bias due it reflecting behaviour rather than cognition.

Table 5.2: Interview questions

Question 1	Did you travel with a tour operator or as an independent traveller?
Question 2	How, where, when was your holiday and with whom did you travel? Is this typical?
Question 3	What options did you consider when making the choice of destination, mode of transport to the destination and how you travelled around once you got there?
Question 4	What activities did you undertake on holiday and how do these fit into your choices as a consumer?
Question 5	Do you think about your impact as a tourist when you are on holiday? What about your contribution? Is this important?

Each of the participants were asked the same five questions (these questions were made available to participants before their interviews to give them time to think about the issues) and from their responses the laddering could start in order to elicit distinctions and therefore the attributes of these choices. The five questions can be seen in Table 5.2 above. The elicitation stage in this study was therefore utilised to uncover the attributes of the holidays according to the respondents, and enabled the interviewer to continue to uncover attributes throughout the interview.

5.4 Laddering

The next stage of the research process that needs further explanation is laddering, which is the method of interviewing commonly used in conjunction with the MEC theory. Although not exclusively used within the confines of this research method, laddering is considered to be an important part of the means-end chain method and refers to one-on-one in-depth interviews, using mainly a series of directed prompts such as 'Why is that

important to you?' (Reynolds and Gutman, 1988). It is these questions that will uncover the linkages between what products people choose, the perceived consequences and how these relate to their values. Reynolds and Gutman (1988) maintain that these links or ladders can be used to reveal how consumers distinguish between and among products in a given product class.

In other words, they can be used to indicate the values that ethical and responsible tourists prioritise when choosing their holidays. The use of laddering therefore enables the researcher to uncover the meaning of certain behaviour, by linking the lower level constructs of features or attributes to the higher level abstract constructs of values (Dibley and Baker, 2001). Laddering is also useful because it encourages respondents to think critically about a product's attributes and their personal motivation, thus providing an emic view of meaningful associations for particular products (Dibley and Baker, 2001).

The laddering technique, considered to be a semi-structured form of interview, allows for deeper probing that is "not generally achieved through traditional in-depth interviews" (Dibley and Baker, 2001:83). Most significantly, it is also considered a more structured approach than most other interview techniques and one that can result in a highly structured analysis without losing the richness of the data (Gengler *et al.*, 1999; Dibley and Baker, 2001). This was considered to be particularly important for this study as traditional methods of qualitative data collection can sometimes result in a confusing amount of data. A combination of laddering with the hierarchical value maps provides a structured approach to analysis, a point noted by Baker *et al.* (1992) who cite Reynolds and Gutman (1984),

> …unlike focus groups, depth interviews or projective techniques, laddering elicits specific responses from respondents that lead directly to qualitative models based on group maps, thereby bridging the gap between qualitative approaches that cannot be quantified and the excessively quantitative models that lack depth of meaning (Reynolds and Gutman, 1984, as cited by Baker *et al.*, 1992:4)

Respondents can be taken through the laddering process upwards or downwards (Manyiwa and Crawford, 2001) and researchers can also explore why consumers do not like or do not use a product, known as negative laddering (Baker *et al.*, 1992). Taking respondents through the attributes of a previous holiday provided the situational context recommended

by Reynolds and Gutman (1988) and negative laddering can reveal additional insight, not least to the respondent, uncovering motivations that have hitherto been hidden to them. For example, respondents may be more aware of why they would want to avoid an all-inclusive holiday or not travel with a tour operator rather than their reasons for taking a more ethical or responsible holiday, possibly because the latter may be more difficult for them to articulate, given the complexities of the issues involved.

Noted limitations associated with laddering include the danger that respondents will offer only basic associations in response to probes (Gutman, 1991) and the situation where the respondent really does not know why an attribute or consequence is important. In the latter case, negative laddering is recommended; to uncover what would happen if the attribute or consequence were not delivered. Of course, silence or professing not to know why attributes are important can also be used to mask concerns regarding sensitive or personal issues – as the probes get closer to personal values this can result in respondents adopting avoidance tactics. In order to move the conversation on from this point Reynolds and Gutman (1988) suggest one of three ways – firstly by adopting a third person format or role play, secondly for the interviewer to reveal a relevant personal fact to make the respondent feel less inhibited and thirdly, to make a note of the problem and return to it later in the interview.

For this study and on the occasions where the respondent did not know why certain consequences were important to them, rather than offering a third-party example or revealing a personal fact about the interviewer (as recommended by Reynolds and Gutman, 1988) it was found to be more effective (with potentially less bias, especially regarding the latter suggestion) to return to the point later and start a new ladder. This was sometimes difficult because listening to people's experiences and gauging when it was appropriate to ask them why choices were important was actually very demanding and a skill that developed more effectively with each interview. It was also difficult at times to make a note and return to the point as each revelation prompted a fresh ladder to pursue. Remembering to return to a previous point without repeating was sometimes hard to judge.

In terms of moderating, the interviewer can adopt a hard laddering or soft laddering approach. The former implies the interviewer will take tight control of the interview,

keeping the answers short and focused while the latter allows the respondent to take their time over answers, articulating them using longer sentences. Soft laddering, whilst allowing for a more respondent-led interview can create a large number of ladders and thus lose focus whilst hard laddering may result in a very narrow interview (Miele and Paresi, 2000). In this study the interviewer found it easier initially to take the hard laddering approach, because focus was on the sequencing of the ladders and making sure all the possible points were covered. At the latter stages of the interviews however, once the interviewer had relaxed about the technique being used, soft laddering became the norm.

This brought its own problems with some interviews not following the prescribed sequence. In addition, some participants were very confident in their views and it was sometimes difficult to hold them back from expressing these views! However, even in the interviews with soft laddering the researcher made sure that initial attributes were elicited, thus ensuring a standard approach to the interviews. Where they differed was the control of the subsequent part of the interview, where some participants went off on a tangent and it was sometimes difficult to bring them back 'on track'.

Another specific difficulty encountered during the interviews was how to estimate whether the ladder had been pursued effectively to its end, that is, how many times could the respondent be asked 'why is that important to you?' In reality this question was repeated as many times as was possible without the respondent being irritated, but the number of times in each interview varied. For example, one respondent liked to hire a bicycle on holiday in order to get closer to the local people – it was easy to stop to look closer at something and easier to engage local people in conversation, which was important to her. When asked why that was important she responded by suggesting she wanted 'to connect' with people from other cultures on holiday and so the ladder continued.

With another ladder, this respondent chose locally owned restaurants to eat in, not only so that her money could go to local people directly but also because she believed this would enable her 'to connect'. In this case, asking why connecting with people was important was not necessary, as it had been covered in a previous ladder. This prompted another problem however – at times the researcher found it more comfortable to keep pursuing an

established ladder, even at the risk of being repetitive, rather than find new ones, as it was sometimes difficult to identify the attributes of the holiday in an ongoing interview.

Finally, the usual requisites for a successful interview (as recommended by Reynolds and Gutman [1988], amongst others), were acknowledged and these included meeting in a neutral and quiet location (essential for a clear audio-recording), stressing that the respondent's knowledge of ethical and responsible tourism was not being tested and establishing a rapport whilst being careful not to incur possible bias through expressing approval, disapproval and so on. Another important element in this instance was to explain the laddering technique to respondents at the beginning of the interview because to the respondents, the technique can appear repetitive, meaningless and intrusive and it was vital to avoid potentially defensive or negative responses.

5.5 Participant recruitment and selection

Because the study required an inductive approach to data generation, a different method of selection to that required by positivist research was required. In this case, interviewees were selected purposively, thus enabling the researcher to select participants who were rich in information about the research problem (Shaw, 1999). This kind of purposive selection enables the researcher to gather rich and detailed data because it allows the seeking out of "groups or individuals where and (for whom) the processes being studied are most likely to occur" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:54). Of course, the ultimate informant for any study is one who,

> …has the knowledge and experience the researcher requires, has the ability to reflect, is articulate, has the time to be interviewed, and is willing to participate in the study (Morse, 1998:73).

However, these were not the only criteria – if purposive selection was to be employed and only a relatively small number of people to be interviewed then attention had to be given to the quality of these people with regard to their experience and understanding of the topic under investigation. Given this proviso yet also considering the broad range of concerns exhibited by those incorporating moral choices in their holiday purchasing, maximum variety selection (Morse, 1998) was employed. This method is the process of deliberately

choosing a heterogeneous sample, selecting people from a variety of backgrounds in order to gain a wide spectrum of opinion.

This heterogeneity also mirrored that of the consumers' concerns as noted in the literature review, which were based on a range including (but not exclusively) social, environmental, religious and political priorities. In addition, it was important to select consumers who brought varying levels of ethical consumption experiences to holiday choices, from those who might be considered extreme or 'hard-core' ethical consumers to those who exhibited less strict adherence to their ethical principles with regard to their holiday choices.

At this point it is important to remember that the object of inquiry is the ethical and responsible tourist. However very little is known about this group of people, indeed it is not clear whether people who exhibit the characteristics of being ethical in their holiday choices actually call themselves ethical and responsible tourists, given the range of interests and concerns this can incorporate. Thus it was considered important to contact people who demonstrated some knowledge about and interest in the moral choices in consumption to discover how, or if, their personal values informed their holiday choices. The dilemma for the researcher was how to contact these people to ask for their cooperation in the study - because their concerns were for often separate but related causes (they could be environmentalists, ethical consumers, fair traders or a combination of all three, for example) so they would be unlikely to belong to one membership group.

The heterogeneity of the population of interest is reflected in the recruitment strategy as illustrated in Table 5.3 below. From this table it can be seen that a range of consumers were appealed to, reflecting the wide range of concerns of ethical and prosocial consumers. An example of the adverts for recruitment can be seen in Appendix A. Initially, people known to the researcher were contacted directly, regarding their possible participation in this study. These six people had taken part in an earlier focus group (researching the meaning of ethical tourism) and were all members of Tourism Concern, the UK pressure group campaigning for ethical and fairly traded tourism. Three of these people consented to be interviewed for the study. They were contacted primarily for the purpose of a pilot study (see below for full explanation of pilot study) and because they were fully knowledgeable about the issues that may concern the ethical and responsible tourist. In

addition, it was hoped to 'snowball' the sample because of the perceived difficulty of contacting those people who not only were concerned about travelling in an ethical and responsible way but who also demonstrated this concern in their behaviour.

Table 5.3: Details of how participants were recruited

Consumer group	Method of appeal	Particular interest of group	Number and method of interview conducted	Snowballed interviews?
Members of Tourism Concern, participants in preliminary focus group, known to researcher. Researcher subscribes.	Personal email/ letter.	Ethical and fairly traded tourism.	Three interviews, face to face.	
Wave magazine, holistic lifestyle magazine, free distribution South East UK and London. Claimed readership 100,000.	Advert and editorial.	Holistic lifestyle.	Two interviews, face to face. One phone interview.	Two additional interviews, face to face.
Ethical Consumer magazine, produced by Ethical Consumer Research Association (ECRA). Bi-monthly, subscription only, distribution 7,000 UK. Worker-owned co-operative, not for profit. Researcher subscribes.	Advert and editorial.	Ethical consumption.	Ten phone interviews, one interview/ questionnaire by post.	
World development Movement group, based in/ around Brighton, recruited via Internet/email.	Flyers plus £5 book token.	Fair trade, trade justice.	Three interviews, face to face.	
Organic/ vegetarian/ vegan restaurant, Brighton.	Flyers plus £5 book token.	Various, including animal welfare, personal health, environmentalism.	One interview, face to face.	
Wholefood restaurant/ Global Village shop, mid-Sussex.	Flyers plus £5 book token.	Various, including animal welfare, personal health, environmentalism, fair trade, trade justice.	One interview, face to face.	
Health food shops in Brighton, Lewes, Hastings.	Flyers plus £5 book token.	Various, including animal welfare, personal health, environmentalism, fair trade.	Three interviews, face to face.	
Acquaintances of researcher.	Personal request.	1. Environmentalist by profession. 2. Committed Christian.	Two interviews, face to face.	

Unfortunately this latter hope was not fully realised – many participants found it impossible to nominate a friend, colleague or acquaintance who shared their views on ethical travel, with the consequence that of the twenty-nine interviews carried out only two people were 'snowballed' from other participants. Having secured an initial group of three respondents known to the researcher from a previous focus group and all members of Tourism Concern, the researcher advertised for further participants using a holistic lifestyle magazine ('Wave'), which was distributed throughout the South East (see Table 5.3 for more details). By advertising in a general holistic magazine it was the researcher's intention to recruit people who held a range of opinions, as it was important not just to talk to people who were experts on tourism and its impacts. This approach yielded a total of five interviews, three from the advert and two using 'snowballing'.

At this stage in the data collection, the researcher had only recruited eight interviewees. Because the response rate to the Wave appeal had been very small the researcher then decided to recruit from a wider audience using advertising flyers placed in local towns (see Table 5.3 for details) and to incorporate the incentive of a £5 book token. These flyers were distributed in Friends Meeting Houses in Brighton and Eastbourne, public libraries, vegetarian restaurants/ health food shops and a selection of charity shops in Eastbourne, Lewes, Brighton and Hastings. In addition, and in order to reach a wider range of consumers such as those concerned about trade (in) justice the local World Development Movement (WDM) group in Brighton) was contacted via the Internet. These flyers yielded eight interviews with no snowballs.

Additionally, and in order to widen the sample from just the South East, an advert was placed in the campaigning magazine Ethical Consumer. This magazine is produced bi-monthly in the UK and has a distribution of 7,000 subscribers (see Table 5.3 for more details) who were considered by the researcher to be well-informed and thus knowledgeable about ethical consumption. This advert yielded a total of ten phone interviews, and one questionnaire by post. Unfortunately, of these ten, only 6 could be used due to the poor quality of the audio-tape used to record the telephone conversations.

Although twenty-four interviews were used for this study a total of forty-five people responded to the appeals, volunteering to be interviewed, the latter sixteen responding once

the decision to discontinue the interviews (due to data saturation - see below) had been reached. Additional selection decisions focused on capturing a range of tourist travel choices and so care was taken to recruit a mix of those who travelled (by choice) individually, in pairs or with friends, in couples, families and so on. Of the twenty-four interviews, sixteen were female and eight were male. With regard to travel choices, nine respondents chose to travel individually, seven travelled as a family, one travelled with friends and seven travelled as a couple. Ten respondents worked fulltime or were self-employed, four were retired, five worked part-time and five were either unwaged or students. All respondents except one had a first degree or Higher National Diploma, with thirteen of them holding a Postgraduate qualification. Their ages ranged from 20-29 (one respondent), 30-39 (nine), 40-49 (five), 50-59 (six) 60-69 (two) and 70+ (one). Details of respondents' affiliations can be found in Appendix G.

5.6 Data saturation

In many texts, the decisions regarding the final number of interviews to undertake is referred to as data saturation and it is often advised that as soon as interviews stop yielding new information then sufficient data has been collected. However, the concept of data saturation is not always accepted in this way. For example, Charmaz (2005:527) notes,

> Increasingly, researchers justify the type, relative depth, and extent of their data collection and analysis on one criterion: saturation of categories. They issue a claim of saturation and end their data collection (Flick, 1998; Morse, 1995; Silverman, 2000). But what does saturation mean? (Charmaz, 2005:527).

She goes on to state strongly that data saturation is often used to "justify small samples with thin data" (Charmaz, 2005:528) thus casting doubt on the credibility of the research. Although expected numbers were considered prior to the collection stage, the exact number of interviews to be carried out was not determined beforehand. Instead, as is common in qualitative research, several themes began to emerge during the course of the interviews, and so the final number of participants was determined by considering how much additional insight each new participant generated, as recommended by Shaw (1999). In actuality, interviews were conducted until the researcher estimated that no new themes were emerging and a total of twenty-nine interviews were carried out between late November 2005 and early April 2006, of which twenty-four were deemed useable, as

noted earlier. (The researcher continued with the interviews even after data saturation was reached at twenty-four because of the poor audio quality of five of the telephone interviews).

5.7 Interviews

It was considered important to carry out a small number of pilot interviews not only to enable the researcher to 'practice' the laddering technique but also to determine whether the developed questions would be successful in uncovering participants' values in relation to their holiday choices. Recommendations as to the appropriate number of pilot interviews vary (see Dibley and Baker, 2001; Baker *et al.,* 2004) and for this study three pilot interviews were conducted.

The participants chosen for the pilot interviews were people already known to the researcher, as explained previously. It was considered important to know these people because the technique of means-end chain required a fairly structured approach to the laddering interviews and the researcher thought it useful to be as relaxed as possible during the initial interviews in order to be able to fully 'practice' this technique. This may not have been possible if the interviewees had been unknown to the researcher. In addition, each of these three people was made aware that they were acting as 'guinea pigs' of the technique. This was explained to them at the start of their interviews, when it was mentioned that the researcher might at times appear to be more focused on asking the questions than listening to the responses (see Appendix B for an example transcript to illustrate this point – Ann Noon).

One significant addition was made to the interview plan as a result of these initial pilot interviews, whereby an extra question was asked (see Table 5.2 for the list of interview questions). Initially, only questions one (1) to four (4) were planned, but from the pilot interviews it became clear that the interviewees needed some guidance in order to reveal their values and so the last question (5) was added during the course of the second interview – there was some concern from the researcher about wanting to avoid suggesting topics (or 'leading' the interview) but this was discounted when interviewees interpreted the question comfortably and without further prompts – for example, if a respondent spoke

about the economic impact of their holiday the researcher did not then prompt them further about environmental or social impact – if the economic impact was what they considered relevant then the researcher left it at that.

It was pointed out to all participants that these five questions would form the basis of the interview but that they would likely lead on to more general questions and that at times the interview may seem more like a conversation. These five questions also worked as a gentle introduction to the interview, serving not only as an icebreaker but also encouraging the respondent to relax and enjoy the experience by talking about previous holidays. This afforded the interviewer the much-needed insight with which to question why such choices were made. In addition and because the pilot study allowed the researcher a "dress rehearsal" (Yin, 1994, in Alam, 2005:103) additional minor modifications were made which, as the literature suggests (Janesick, 1998), continued throughout the data generation stage, not only during each interview, but also between interviews and as the occasion arose. Consequently, small changes were made continuously throughout the interview schedule in response to different situations and interviewees and not just at the pre-interview stage. (For a further example of an interview transcript see Appendix B – Andy Player).

5.8 Ethics of research

Because humans are the objects of inquiry potential ethical dilemmas and concerns will necessarily occur and therefore need to be discussed. Notably, the three points of concern with regard to ethical issues in research centre on the topics of informed consent, confidentiality and protection from harm (Fontana and Frey, 2000).

Taking each of these points in order, it was important to the researcher that ethical principles of research as advocated by Christians (2000) were upheld and so informed consent was sought before any interviews took place. This was done in accordance with University of Glasgow ethical research guidelines where interviewees were able to read the Principles of Ethical Research information sheet before being asked to give written consent for those interviews that took place face to face. For those interviews that took place by phone it was neither practical nor sometimes possible to request written consent (several of

the participants did not want to give the researcher either their email or postal address) and so an initial phone call from the volunteer participant included the researcher making reference to consent regarding confidentiality, which was followed by a second explanation at the time of the interview.

At the beginning of each interview, fulsome explanations of the expected process covered the aim of the study, the fact that findings would not be used for commercial purposes either now or in the future (a particular concern for at least one participant) and that confidentiality could be assured. In the event, several of the respondents stated they would not mind their names being made public, as they were proud of their views on this topic. Additionally, the technique of laddering was explained so as to prepare the respondents for the somewhat repetitive nature of the question 'why is that important to you'. It was considered important not to alienate the respondents through this technique, hence the explanation. For each interview, consent for audio-taping was gained at the time of initial contact and repeated at the beginning of each interview- it was considered important that true consent would be gained only if the request was not a surprise and the interviewees had had time to reflect upon the appeal.

A further ethical concern noted by Christians (2000) is the potential for the researcher to practice deception – for example; by misrepresenting the amount of time an interview will take (Kimmel, 2001). At the initial contact respondents were given clear indications of the expected length of each interview – the researcher believed that if interviewees were mislead on this point this would result in them being less than open and perhaps rather defensive in their attitude, once that time had passed. Of course, as the researcher became more proficient at asking the questions, so the time scale for the interviews diminished – at the beginning of the research face to face interviews typically took 45 minutes but latterly these took 35-40 minutes, with a similar reduction in time noted for phone interviews. In addition, it was considered that if the researcher was to build an open and honest relationship based on trust then truth and accuracy were an important component in gaining this trust.

5.9 Transcription

The researcher hired an experienced qualitative tourism researcher to transcribe the interviews. In accordance with Poland (2002) an initial meeting took place where the nature and purpose of the study was explained, they were given clear instructions regarding how to present the interviews, including guidance as to the level of detail required and they were also encouraged to briefly note their reaction to each interview regarding the content and the nature of the interaction between interviewer and interviewee. Of the twenty-four interviews carried out, twenty-two were fully transcribed verbatim whilst two were partially transcribed due to a number of technological problems with recording equipment for the telephone interviews. These problems were due either to interviewees being quietly spoken or telephone malfunctions.

As a result, the researcher did not send these to the external transcriber because of concerns over transcription quality (Poland, 2002). In fact these tapes were transcribed as much as possible by the researcher who, when it was not possible to transcribe exactly what was said, made notes of what was audible. On this point, it was thought that as the researcher was present at the interview it would be more accurate for her to transcribe the poor quality tapes than someone else who had not been present. In order to assess the quality of transcribing, a tally of errors was briefly noted by the researcher on re-listening and it was estimated that overall, the quality of transcription was determined by the audibility or otherwise of the recording rather than the ability or experience of the transcriber. Indeed, once the researcher procured a digital voice recorder half way through the research interviews not only did the quality of the transcripts improve but also the time taken to complete them was reduced.

Other factors affecting the quality of transcription and thus accuracy of the written narrative, such as unclear use of punctuation, and potential word omissions (Poland, 2002), meant that when the researcher received the transcripts she read them through whilst listening to the audio interviews in order to check for any omissions that may have occurred in transcription. At this point the researcher made corrections to the transcripts before using them for the analysis. Not only was it important to fully check and correct the

transcript for accuracy but also the re-listening was actually essential as it enabled the researcher to be fully immersed in the data before starting the analysis.

5.10 Trustworthiness, limitations and biases of the research methods

Returning to the potential for social desirability response bias, this is an issue that has been much discussed, and not only within the qualitative methodology arena (Liedtka, 1992). Indeed, there is concern not only that people may attempt to cast themselves in a positive light but that some concern is also voiced over the capability of some people for introspection. For example, with regard to verbal reports such as interviewing, the method of recall based on critical incident has strengths due to its being based on actual behaviour (with concurrent strong credibility) but weaknesses of this method are that the probability of accurate recall decreases as time elapses. Its success also relies heavily on the introspective capacity of the respondent (Liedtka, 1992). Although the researcher was mindful of these limitations they were not considered a challenge for this particular study because a limit of two years was placed on recall of a holiday and it was considered that those individuals who reflected on and incorporated ethical choices into their purchasing behaviour were naturally introspective.

All research paradigms have their preferred methods of judging research quality, and the criteria used to signify knowledge within each of these parameters will vary between them (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). For example, the constructs most commonly associated with positivist research include reliability, generalisability and validity (Healy and Perry, 2000), whilst those researchers operating within an interpretivist and constructionist paradigm look to criteria such as transferability, dependability, credibility and confirmability (Decrop, 2004). The latter four criteria originally developed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and referred to as indicators of trustworthiness, tend to mirror the quantitative terminology (Decrop, 1999:158), and are set out in Table 5.4 below.

Significantly however, much time has been spent by academics considering whether terms such as reliability and validity should have any meaning or use within qualitative research (Decrop, 2004; Rolfe, 2006). Indeed, Rolfe believes that,

…qualitative researchers should devote their energy to *challenging* the notion of a universal set of quality criteria (whether qualitative *or* quantitative) rather than acquiescing to them (Rolfe, 2006:309, emphasis in original).

Others, such as Sandelowski and Barosso (2002) point out that it may be impossible to nominate a finite set of criteria because of the disparate and varied nature of qualitative research methods, whose researchers often disagree wildly with each other's methods.

Table 5.4: Indicators of trustworthiness

Qualitative terminology	Quantitative terminology	Explanation
Credibility	Internal validity	How truthful are particular findings?
Transferability	External validity	How applicable are the findings to another setting or group?
Dependability	Reliability	Are the results consistent or reproducible?
Confirmability	Objectivity	How objective are the findings, that is how much have the researchers' biasses influenced them?

Source: Decrop (1999:158)

Despite such debate, the concept of trustworthiness has been widely adopted and appears frequently in relation to the credibility and quality of qualitative research. In their oft-cited book, *Naturalistic Inquiry*, Lincoln and Guba (1985:290) explain the rationale behind trustworthiness thus,

> The basic issue in relation to trustworthiness is simple: How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences (including self) that the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, worth taking account of? (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:290).

With regard to how researchers can achieve this, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest several activities arranged under each of the four criteria and which reflect their highly structured approach to this topic. For improved credibility they suggest that prolonged engagement, persistent observation and triangulation are appropriate. In their opinion, prolonged engagement is necessary to understand the phenomenon, to detect any potential distortions and also to build trust, while persistent observation can provide depth to the data as opposed to scope.

Triangulation can be achieved in several ways, by data, method, investigator or theoretical triangulation (Decrop, 1999). Data triangulation involves employing a variety of data sources, method triangulation is achieved through using multiple methods and investigator triangulation is concerned with using a number of different researchers to interpret the data. Theoretical triangulation can be achieved by adopting multiple perspectives to interpret a single data set (Decrop, 1999). However, it is important to note that the adoption of triangulation does not ensure that appropriate answers are found and nor does it guarantee interesting findings (Decrop, 1999).

Additional methods for ensuring credibility are peer debriefing, where the researcher explains the research to a peer in order to guard against bias or misinterpretation, and member checks where respondents are given the opportunity to comment on the researchers' interpretation of the data at any or at several stages throughout the research process. Lincoln and Guba (1985:314) call this a "most crucial technique for establishing credibility" but is not always as straightforward as it may appear - not only will members have different agendas or priorities to the researcher but also each person's role in the research process may differ. For example, whilst the researcher's goal is to discuss multiple realities, the member's concern is to see their own reality (Sandelowski, 1993). In addition to which is the temptation for them to clarify or justify what was said thus altering the transcripts (a record of what was said) sent to them for verification (Poland, 2002).

With regard to the transferability of the research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest this can be achieved through providing 'thick description' or detailed information about respondents' experiences in order for a judgement to be made about the research being applicable to other contexts. This corresponds to Sandelowski's (1993) 'decision trail' and Rolfe's (2006) "'super' audit trail" whereby the researcher takes great care to explain in detail the underpinning rationale for the research, the decisions taken in the process of collecting data and the findings of the research. In addition, Rolfe (2006) cites Koch and Harrington (1998) who advise researchers to present research using a continuously self-appraising narrative, a point also supported by de Ruyter and Scholl (1998). These latter authors suggest that systematic operation of the research process, for example, by linking participant responses to theoretical models (such as means-end chain) or asking the

questions systematically can reveal reliability and confirmability. They also believe that reliability can be gained by the researcher offering a detailed description of the process of data collection and analysis to enable future researchers to "trace back" to the original research design. Stake (1995) highlights that rather than generalisation, qualitative researchers aim for particularisation, where they aim to learn as much as they can about a particular human experience. Such an aim can mean the researcher examines a big sample, or a sample of only one, because learning intensively about the ethical and responsible tourists' lived experience is more important for a phenomenological study than the predictive utility and validity criteria demanded by a positivist approach to data.

For both Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Rolfe (2006), it is the reader of the thick description who will decide whether or not the research process is transferable, whereas Morse *et al.* (2002, in Rolfe, 2006) believe that responsibility for verification lies with the researcher and not the reader of the research. Morse *et al.* (2002 as cited by Rolfe, 2006:305), believe issues of reliability and validity can be achieved by the researcher adopting a number of verification activities in the research process, because,

> Together, all these verification strategies incrementally and interactively contribute to and build reliability and validity, thus ensuring rigor. Thus, the rigor of qualitative inquiry should be beyond question, beyond challenge and provide pragmatic scientific evidence that must be integrated into our developing knowledge base (Morse *et al.,* 2002 as cited by Rolfe, 2006:305).

This thorough and detailed approach to research is also highlighted by Janesick (1998) and she cites Patton (1990), who suggests that a credible qualitative study should explain the techniques and methods used to ensure the integrity, validity and accuracy of the findings, what the researcher brought to the study in terms of experience and qualifications, and what assumptions underpinned the study (in Janesick, 1998:49).

Following Janesick's three questions, and in consideration of Lincoln and Guba's (1985) instruction that their trustworthiness criteria not be developed into prescriptions that must be followed exactly, this study has addressed such recommendations by providing a detailed description, not only of the methods chosen but also the rationale underpinning the actions and decisions of the researcher. In addition, and as recommended by de Ruyter and Scholl (1998), the systematic linking of participants' responses to the deep laddering

questions with the means-end chain theory provides dependability and confirmability. In addition, two sample interview transcripts were given to a second, independent coder as a reliability check.

5.11 Data analysis and coding

For both Silverman (2000) and Gummesson (2005), researchers involved in qualitative research are simultaneously generating and interpreting data, even in the early stages of interviewing, resulting in a less linear process than that normally associated with quantitative data analysis. In other words, the analysis of a qualitative project is not usually something that just happens at the end of the study, it is an iterative process that continues throughout the life of the research project. However, the use of means-end theory naturally leads to a more structured approach to analysis, not least because of the development of hierarchical value maps from the data and as noted by Gutman (1982:19) it is,

> …this "crossing over" from the qualitative nature of the interviews to the quantitative way of dealing with the information obtained that is one of the *unique* aspects of laddering and clearly the one that sets it apart from other qualitative methods (Gutman, 1982:19, emphasis in original).

Thus a structured coding and analysis procedure took place once all the interviews had been completed. The process of analysis was initiated by the researcher listening again to each interview whilst reading the transcript, ultimately to immerse herself in the data. From this, the content of each interview was coded manually and achieved by firstly identifying the attributes, the benefits and then the values and their linkages for each interview, before recording them in separate 'summary ladders'. The attributes and benefits were defined by the respondents and therefore clearly identified from the interviews and presented using participants' own words. The researcher then used her own judgement to link these attributes and benefits to the values she felt were most represented by the narrative. For guidance regarding the interpretation of values, the researcher consulted the lists of values from Rokeach (1973), Kahle and Kennedy (1989) and Schwartz (1992). (See Appendix E for list of values derived from the research and compiled from the hierarchical value maps).

From this point, a number of different 'summary ladders' for each interview were developed, which were then incorporated into a single, full 'hierarchical value map' (HVM), which integrated all of the summary ladders for each of the twenty-four interviews. In addition, each interview was coded using separate 'summary content codes' where the attributes, benefits and values were recorded and used to cross-reference against the summary ladders to ensure that not only the detail of the interview findings were presented in the summary ladders accurately but that the richness of the data were retained. Such a detailed and systematic approach to coding and analysis was considered necessary in order to ensure that each interview received identical attention and although many of the studies using MEC theory use only an appropriation of each interview for analysis purposes this study has attempted to be more exact and represent the interviews, if not verbatim, then as accurately as possible. (Please see Appendix C for details of the summary ladders, HVM and content codes for one interview [Alastair]).

It is important to note here that in general, research using the means-end chain theory compiles an implication matrix and aggregated Hierarchical Value Map, thus producing a group HVM. However, this was not considered appropriate for this study because it is not aiming at quantification or prediction. Instead, the focus of the analysis was on a comparison between and among the individual participants in order to explore and more fully understand the participants' personal construction of meaning with regard to their motivational values and their holiday choices.

5.12 Limitations of the research

A key limitation of this study is concerned with access to those consumers who exhibit concern about the impact of their holiday on other communities and the environment. As they do not belong to one consumer group or association they are hard to reach and therefore this study may not have reached a true cross-section of such people.

Respondents were able to choose the holiday they wanted to discuss and this might not have been representative of their usual choices. One indication of this came from a respondent who in the process of arranging a home interview for the researcher explained she had just returned from a week's winter holiday in Portugal. In her later interview,

however, she did not mention this holiday but instead discussed a summer camping holiday with family and friends that involved attending the Green Gathering in Somerset, UK, a festival designed for those interested in living a sustainable lifestyle. From this one example it may be that other respondents too succumbed to such social desirability bias.

Not all the interviews were conducted face to face due to the researcher wanting to gain a wider sample of respondents beyond the SE of England. As a result, several respondents were interviewed by telephone and so the rapport required for deep laddering may have been reduced on these occasions. This could have had an impact on the number of ladders revealed, the benefits and therefore the values interpreted. However, in response to potential criticism incurred by the use of different methods of interview, the research method allowed the researcher to follow the same format in each case through the five interview questions and the laddering technique associated with 'why is that important to you'. It is argued that the impact of the different interview methods was reduced because of this. In addition, it was believed the researcher had sufficient interview skills to overcome any difficulty of establishing rapport over the telephone.

With regard to the limitations of the means-end chain method, studies have typically involved either hypothetical scenarios or an exploration of consumers' perceptions about a product. In other words, there has been no direct link between consumers' avowed intentions and what they ultimately choose (Manyiwa and Crawford, 2001). This study addressed this potential limitation by asking respondents to choose a holiday they had taken in the past two years, thus bypassing both the hypothetical scenario and social desirability bias.

A further limitation is derived from the analysis, which is a subjective interpretation of the interviews. This is particularly true with regard to the values, which although they were directly derived from the attributes and benefits, were in fact interpreted by the researcher, using Rokeach, Kahle and Kennedy and Schwartz's various lists of values for guidance. In an attempt to manage this subjectivity, two of the interview transcripts were coded by a second, independent coder for purposes of dependability, with the result that no differences were noted. In addition, it is important to remember the researcher's concern and attention

to ensuring transferability through the use of 'thick description' and a 'super audit' trail, to allow future researchers to adapt the method to suit their personal research interests.

5.13 Summary

In conclusion this chapter has presented an accurate description of the methodology and research methods that underpin this study. It has discussed the merits and demerits of the means-end chain method as well as detailing the procedures undertaken during the recruitment, interview, coding and preliminary analysis stages. Further, this chapter has addressed issues regarding the importance of research ethics and also explained how this study was ethically conducted. This chapter has explained the researcher's approach to data saturation and also described how the interview tapes were transcribed. Most importantly it has dealt with the trustworthiness, the limitations and biases of the research methods used in this study. The following chapter will present the findings of the study and detail the interpretation of these findings in light of the established literature in this academic area.

6.0   CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This chapter will firstly explain the researcher's approach to the data, giving full details as to how the data were examined, before presenting the findings of the study in detail. The chapter will then move towards a discussion of these findings, giving due consideration to the established literature in this area.   Whilst reading this chapter it is important to remember that the values uncovered in the research are not in any order of preference. In other words, participants were not asked to rank their choices in order of priority or importance in their decision-making, and nor were the ethical (or so-called) ethical choices ranked in order against other considerations that might be relevant, such as income, destination choice and so on.

The findings presented here are merely revealing the values associated with the holiday choices of a number of consumers who selected themselves as being concerned with ethical choices in consumption.   Additionally, participants were asked to nominate one holiday they had taken in the past two years. For some, this represented typical holiday behaviour, for others it did not and again, this limitation must be remembered when reading and interpreting the results.   Finally, it is important to remember that this is not a quantitative study; it does not seek to provide a measurable quantity of data, rather, its focus is on generating rich data to provide an insightful and extended understanding of a group of consumers who until now have remained largely unknown to an academic audience.

6.1 Explanation of approach to data examination

As mentioned briefly in the previous chapter, and in accordance with Janesick's (1998) advice, the researcher took a systematic approach to analysing the data, with each of the transcripts being checked against the interview tape and corrected for transcriber error. Once this had been completed each transcript was then examined with the purpose of identifying the attributes mentioned by the interviewee in response to each of the five

questions posed by the researcher. (To recap, these questions are set out in Table 6.1 below).

Table 6.1: Interview questions

Question 1	Did you travel with a tour operator or as an independent traveller?
Question 2	How, where, when was your holiday and with whom did you travel? Is this typical?
Question 3	What options did you consider when making the choice of destination, mode of transport to the destination and how you travelled around once you got there?
Question 4	What activities did you undertake on holiday and how do these fit into your choices as a consumer?
Question 5	Do you think about your impact as a tourist when you are on holiday? What about your contribution? Is this important?

The first stage of analysis consisted of each of these attributes being used to construct an individual Summary Ladder, enabling the researcher to model the connection between a respondent's attributes or explanation of their holiday choices, and the benefits associated with these attributes. From these modelled attributes and benefits (A-B's) the researcher then made a judgement as to the values these A-B's revealed and this stage formed the final element of each Summary Ladder. As noted in the previous chapter, the researcher consulted the lists of values from Rokeach (1973), Kahle and Kennedy (1989) and Schwartz (1992) for guidance regarding the interpretation of values. (See Appendix E for full list of values and their descriptions).

Each interview contained a variety of Summary Ladders (SL's) according to the responses and holiday experiences of the interviewees, with some revealing only one, whilst others revealed five or more. (See Figure 6.1 below for an example of a Summary Ladder. The full number of Summary Ladders for one interview (Alastair) can be seen in Appendix C, with the remainder being available from the author). For further information, rectangles indicate attributes; diamonds are the benefits and ovals represent values.

It is important at this stage to remember that the interviews adopted the process of laddering - once the attributes were revealed, the researcher then took the respondents through a deep laddering process to reveal why these choices were significant by asking the question "Why is that important to you?" The responses to this laddering thus gave rise to what the MEC theory identifies as the benefits or consequences of using or consuming

products and services, in this case, aspects of one particular holiday. As an example, when asked why she travelled by public transport to her holiday destination Nina revealed it was because she and her partner had made a decision in the past never to fly anywhere in the future for their holidays. In addition, she revealed that she did not own a car and therefore could not drive to a destination. Furthermore, she expressed the importance of supporting local community transport in her holiday destinations and so using public transport on holiday would enable her to action this importance. On further laddering this respondent revealed she thought it important to protect the environment, that she believed that individual tourists (and consumers) could make a difference by their choice of holiday transportation, and that it was important for her to demonstrate her environmental beliefs, achieved by not owning a car and not flying. This Summary Ladder is shown in Figure 6.1 below.

Figure 6.1: Summary Ladder (1) Nina
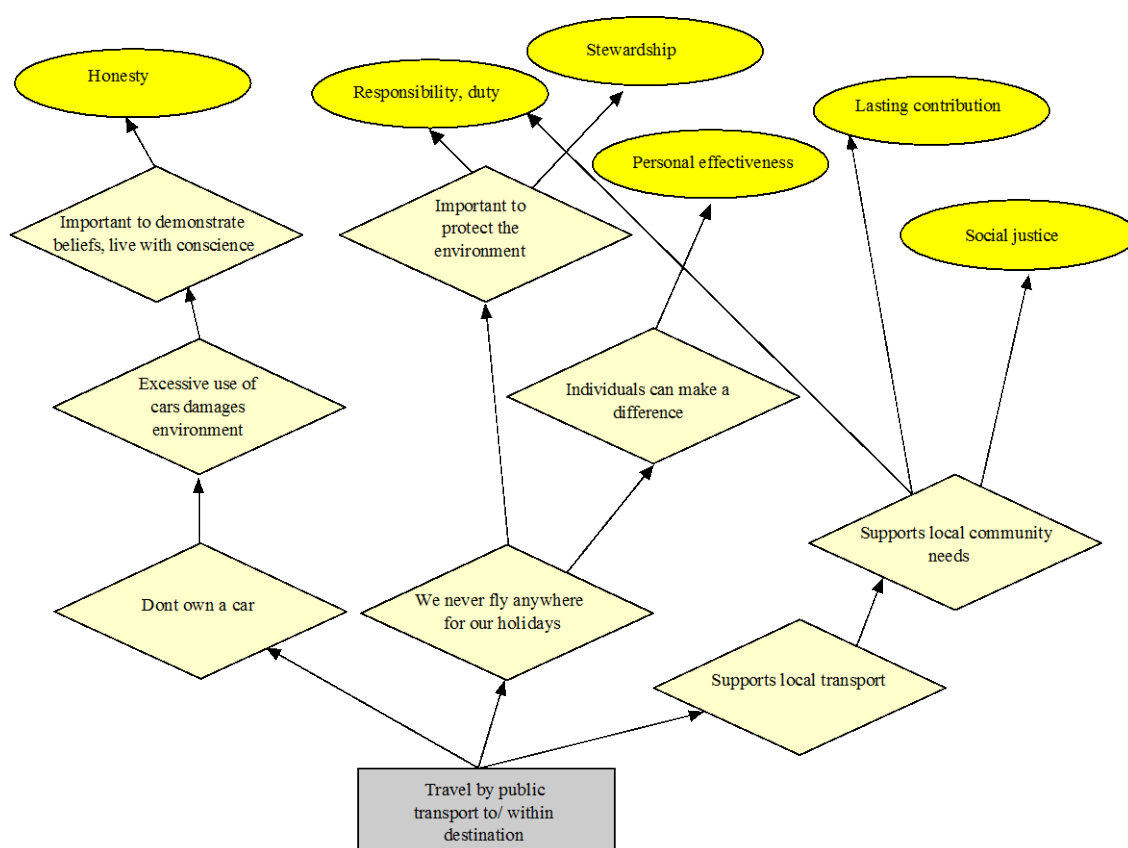
Constructing a Summary Ladder was considered important in the early stages of interpretation because it enabled the researcher to map out the attributes and subsequent benefits described by respondents *in their own words*, before moving onto judging which

values were being revealed. It is important to remember, that unlike the attributes and benefits, which were described by the respondent, the researcher interpreted the values, according to the benefits described.

Continuing with Nina's example, and using only the attribute 'travelled by public transport to/ at destination', the researcher ascribed the values of *responsibility* and *duty* with regard to not flying, *stewardship* with regard to the significance of protecting the planet and *personal effectiveness* due to Nina's belief that individuals could make a significant contribution through their behaviour. The SL illustrating this sequence (shown in Figure 6.1 above) reveals a total of six values related to this one attribute, along with additional benefits in the chain. The researcher identified a range of values from the benefits revealed by the respondents, and based on a combination of Rokeach's terminal values (1973), Kahle and Kennedy's (1989) LOV scale and Schwartz's (1992) list of values, as noted earlier. Additional values unique to this study were also revealed for example, *connecting with people* and *authenticity*. (For a full description of the values used in this study and a description of their meaning please refer to Appendix E).

Having modelled the different SL's for each interview and in accordance with the recommendations of Reynolds and Gutman (1988), the researcher then constructed a Hierarchical Value Map (HVM) for each of the interviews, as illustrated by Nina's HVM below, in Figure 6.2. This represented stage two of the analysis process, and in accordance with the aim of Reynolds and Gutman (1988), the HVM presents the linkages between all the attributes, benefits and values revealed in the interview, enabling the researcher to develop a deep understanding of a respondents' underlying, personal motivations for their holiday choices. Significantly, Nina's HVM also demonstrates how relatively few attributes can involve a much larger number of related values. In other words, while a person's acknowledged choices and the reasons for these choices may appear to be relatively simple, in fact these choices are underpinned by a highly complex and multi-layered value system.

At times, constructing the HVM's from the interview Summary Ladders was a complex operation as each interview produced extensive linkages and as a result the HVM's became extremely intricate. Consequently, some of the benefits from different attributes, if they

were considered similar or related, were grouped together for simplification. However, in order to prevent any richness being lost by this approach, and in accordance with Reynolds and Gutman (1988) a further table was constructed for each interview (named Summary Content Codes) that listed each of the elements of the entire Attribute-Benefit-Value (A-B-V) chain.

Figure 6.2: Hierarchical Value Map (Nina)
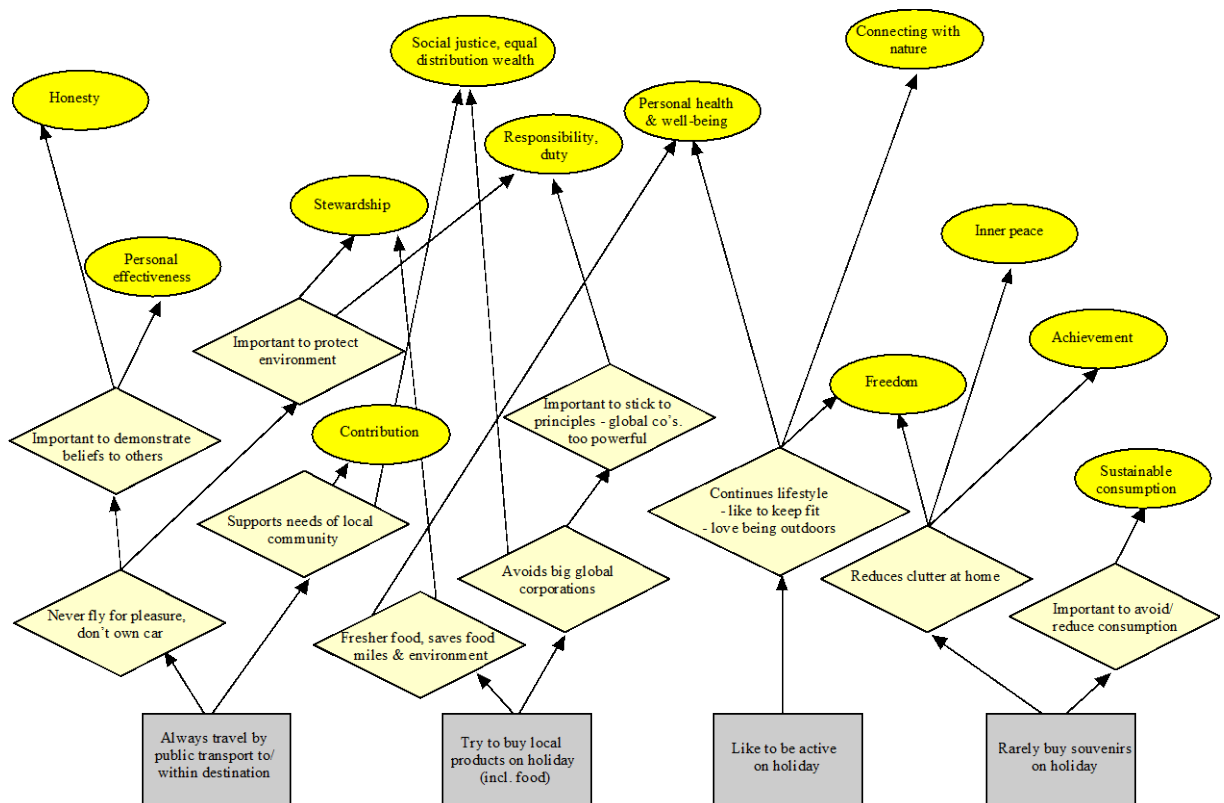
These Summary Content Codes were used to double-check for accuracy of reporting by being compared against the HVM to ensure that all attributes, benefits and values were captured accurately. (The Summary Content Code for Alastair can be found in Appendix C, whilst Summary Content Codes (SCC) for the remaining twenty-three interviews can be obtained from the author. Hierarchical Value Maps for each interviewee are in alphabetical order in Appendix D). This detailed and systematic method of data examination was applied to each of the twenty-four interviews, thereby satisfying the requirements of transferability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) of findings.

6.2 Attributes

On completing the Summary Ladders, the Hierarchical Value Maps and the Summary Content Codes for each interview, the researcher was able to identify the most often cited attributes. In total, twenty-four different attributes were noted and Table 6.2 lists them, in order of the number of times cited by respondents. (For a full list of attributes and the names of respondents citing them, please see Appendix F).

Table 6.2: List of attributes, in rank order

Rank no.	Attributes	Times cited
1	Travelled independently	20
2	Bought locally-made souvenirs/ Used locally-owned shops/ Eat locally, avoided restaurant chains	12
3	Used public transport to/at destination/ Avoided flying to destination	11
4	Spent time outdoors/ walking on holiday/ took part in outdoor activities	9
5	Spoke to locals in their own language, tried to communicate with local people	8
6	Observed local customs, wore appropriate dress	6
6	Stayed in locally-owned hotel accommodation/ family-run guest-house	6
8	Stayed off beaten track/ in less developed areas	5
9	Stayed in eco-cabin/ on organic farm/ camping	4
10	Travelled with ethical/ responsible tour operator (Explore, Exodus)	3
10	Like spending time with others on holiday - family, friends, meeting new people	3
10	Travelled alone	3
13	Bought holiday from tour operator in country of destination	2
13	Travelled to ethical/ responsible destination/resort	2
15-24	Miscellaneous includes - Avoided 5 star hotels, stay in 3 star hotels, Attended Annual Bhuddist Retreat, Led morning meditation, Took sailing holiday, Go to new destination each holiday, Leave UK for holiday, Drove to and at destination, Meals mostly eaten on campsite, Rarely buy souvenirs on holiday, Share ideas on sustainability/ ethical living with friends.	1
*	Buy ethically produced goods (vegetarian, vegan food/ ethical clothing etc.)	8
*	Avoid using car at home/ don't own car	5

Two additional attributes - *buying ethical goods (clothing, vegetarian/vegan food)* and *avoid using car at home/don't own a car* - are displayed at the end of the list because although these two attributes were not specifically related to respondents' holiday

behaviour they were revealed to be important during the course of the interviews. Furthermore, the attributes mentioned only once have been grouped into a single category (displayed as number 15-24) at the bottom of Table 6.2.

Having identified this ranked list of attributes, the researcher then re-examined each of the interviews and modelled a new set of HVM's from each of the attributes in the list, producing a visual presentation of the linkages between attributes, benefits and values. This formed stage three of the analysis process. All of the attributes cited two or more times were modelled, including the additional non-ranked attributes. There was no need to model the attributes mentioned only once because the respondents' original Summary Ladders could be used and so these individual SL's were re-examined and the benefits and values from these were used to develop a list of values, presented in Table 6.3, on page 199. As with the list of attributes, the values are presented in rank order according to how many respondents mentioned them, rather than how many times each respondent mentioned them.

6.3 Findings

The next part of the chapter is divided into sections, with each of the attributes being displayed as a sub-heading. Within each attribute there will be a description of the benefits as noted by respondents along with a brief explanation of the values revealed by these benefits. To further explain, each of the following sections contains an HVM, mapping the visual representation of the linkages between the A-B-V chains. The numbers shown on each of the HVM's correspond to the number of respondents who mentioned these elements rather than the number of times each respondent mentioned them. The findings are arranged in rank order, starting with the most often cited attribute 'travelled independently' and each attribute includes the use of qualitative quotes that have been selected by the researcher to support the developing narrative. Any emphasis by the respondents in these quotes can be seen in **bold**. In addition, the values can be identified in *italics*. The motivational values derived from the attribute-benefit chain are identified and discussed with an additional discussion regarding the wider implications of the findings being presented towards the end of this chapter.

6.3.1 Travelled independently

As can be seen in Figure 6.3 below, the vast majority of the respondents (twenty one out of twenty four) had travelled independently rather than on a package tour (or with an independent tour operator) for the holiday they chose to discuss in the interview. For the purposes of this study, travelling independently meant not using a tour operator, or any other intermediary to make travel arrangements on their behalf.

The most often mentioned benefit of this attribute was that it enabled respondents to avoid using tour operators. This was for a variety of reasons, most notably to minimise financial leakage away from the destination, in the hope that any money derived from tourism directly benefited the local people. Several respondents also made clear that they wanted to avoid their holiday money going to a small number of rich local elites operating within tourism. Yet another benefit was the desire to pay a fair price for their holiday with several respondents revealing that they did not believe UK tour operators paid a fair price to their suppliers.

Figure 6.3: HVM for 'Travelled independently'

Note: Three of the twenty one respondents gave no reason for travelling independently and have therefore not been included in the numbers shown

143
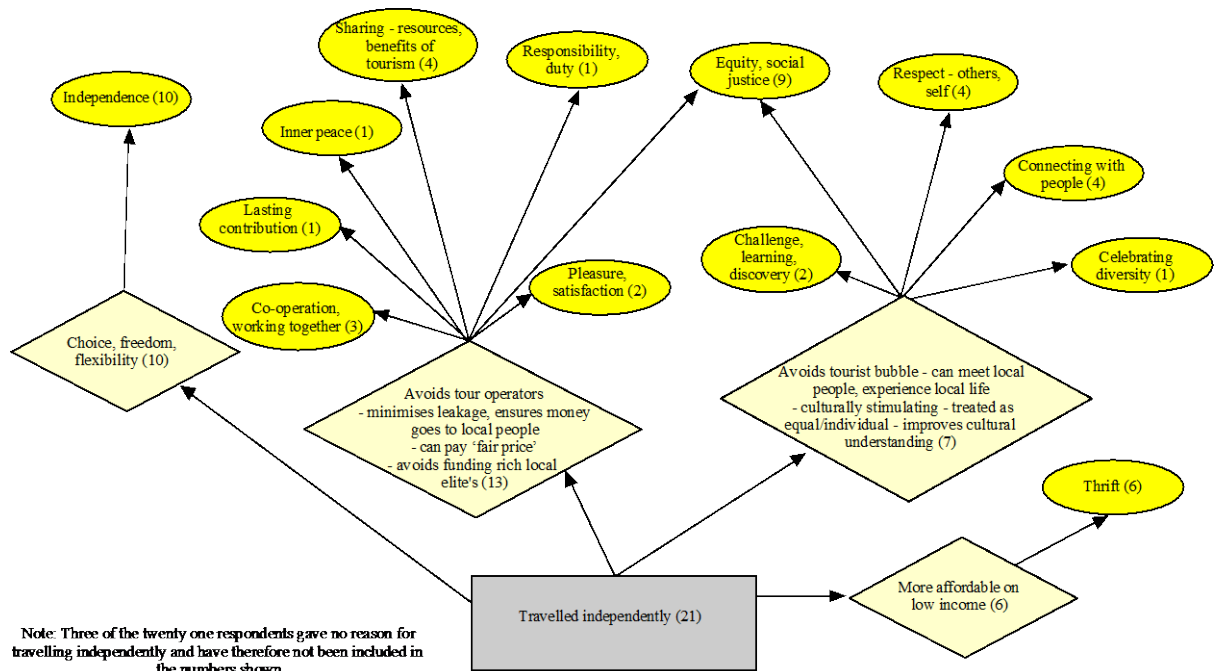
Overall, the respondents indicated an understanding of the economic importance of tourism for the destinations they visited and wanted to ensure that local communities were able to share the economic benefits generated by their holidays. Respondents' desire to pay a fair price for their holiday (rather than focusing on the cheapest price) appears to indicate a sense of ethical obligation, echoing Shaw *et al.'s* (2005) contention that ethical consumers are guided less by self-interest than by ethical obligation to others. Indeed these respondents seem to have attained the post-conventional level of Kohlberg's (1969) theory of cognitive moral development (CMD), where human needs are characterised by a moral sense that extends beyond his or her immediate and personal needs.

The values revealed here indicated respondents' concern for *equity, social justice* and *sharing* due to their desire to pay a fair price and to benefit local people rather than international tour operators. For this study *equity, social justice, fairness* (and also *equal distribution of wealth)* were the values ascribed to those actively ensuring their money went directly to local people, those who believed strongly in ensuring equal distribution of wealth and those who were committed to reducing the gap between rich and poor. They achieved this by avoiding UK package holidays and booking direct with hotels, shopping in local stores, buying locally made souvenirs, using local public transport and so on. The emphasis respondents' placed on such values indicated a concern for and emphasis on the welfare of others and is associated with the universalism value type, whose motivational goals are understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and the protection of all people and nature (Schwartz, 1992).

With regard to the origin of their concern for *equity, social justice* and *fairness*, several of the respondents related personal experiences that had affected their attitudes, recalling Kohlberg's (1969) suggestion that people move through different stages of moral development according to their education and personal experience. One pertinent example comes from Howard, whose comments revealed that his business career in Africa had heightened his understanding of equity and justice,

> …the businesses that I've actually been involved in building, which have been very large, and have been in healthcare, cancer care, you know, things like that. So you know you are trundling around the hospitals, you see people sometimes close to death, you know, you build up a value structure.... you become very sensitive to situations which are unjust.

It could be argued that Howard's close contact with poverty in Africa had triggered an awareness of life's potential inequity and prompted a sense of cognitive disequilibrium (Kohlberg, 1969) compelling him to actively redress this. His did this by sharing business information with local traders and purchasing local goods and he revealed this attitude whilst describing his most recent holiday to Tunisia,

> …I saw a level of poverty, which was really quite – and I've seen a lot of things in my life – but it was really quite disturbing. So, you know, I try, with my wife, and do things – we buy local products we found in the souk in Tunis, a women's co-operative which was making products and now we've got one of these products in our bathroom which was a handmade loom carpet and when people ask us we say 'we bought this in Tunisia'.

The universalism value type associated with *equity, social justice and fairness* is also evident in other respondents. Kristina, for example, mentioned her initial understanding of the potential inequity of human life came from earlier travels in less developed countries, when she first became aware of the discrepancy between what local people could afford and what she could afford as a tourist. She then linked this experience with her current concern over whether the income from tourism really reached the local population,

> I don't know enough about it but I am a bit sceptical because I think probably the people who are doing that development are probably westerners going over and doing it and it might be a certain elite of the local population who get access to those funds rather than the general population.

Closely related to the values of *equity, social justice* and *fairness* is the value of *sharing*. This was allocated to those respondent activities that revealed an attitude of sharing - including knowledge, personal beliefs, experiences, resources (both economic and environmental), or the financial benefits accrued from tourism. This value was also related to *sustainable lifestyle* and *stewardship*, because of respondents' emphasis on sharing the world's environmental resources with future generations. Significantly, sharing resources (by supporting local traders as just one example) was not just a holiday activity but also a lifestyle priority for all interviewees. Regarding value types, *sharing* denotes not only universalism because it concerns equity and fairness, but also in this context it contains elements of benevolence, mainly due to respondents' keenness to ensure their holidays did

not work against the welfare of others, most notably the residents of their holiday destinations.

Another significant benefit derived from the attribute of travelling independently was respondents' desire to avoid package holidays and/or group tours because of the potential lack of personal freedom and spontaneity that they associated with organised holidays. Many of the participants in this study revealed they had at one time travelled with a tour operator but now preferred to travel independently, and one such group experience came from Meriel who commented,

> …you do have freedom to be spontaneous, but it was slightly frowned upon by the group leaders if you went off and did your own thing. There was somebody else on the holiday that I knew, so we went off and did our own thing cos we didn't enjoy the group aspect of it and that was frowned upon. So, it had a kind of infantilising feeling about it. You know, you've got to stay with 'the group'. If you do your own thing, that's not really acceptable.

Freedom, choice and flexibility on holiday were all mentioned as benefits for travelling independently and respondents spoke of their need to be able to organise their own plans when on holiday and to have the opportunity to be able to linger longer on sightseeing trips that would not always be possible on a group tour. The fact that almost all the respondents chose to travel independently revealed the importance of values such as *freedom, independence, autonomy* and *choice*, all associated with the self-direction value type (Schwartz, 1992). The goal for this value type is independent thought and action and derives from the need for mastery and control as well as a need for autonomy and independence (Schwartz, 1992). A quote in support of this interpretation comes from Ann, who stated her reasons for travelling independently,

> I don't really like having a group leader, I don't really like being told I have to get up at 7 am on my holiday, or that we are moving on the next day if you've particularly fallen in love with a place.

Indeed, the self-direction value type is much in evidence in this study with participants displaying confident opinions throughout.

A further significant benefit of travelling independently was to avoid the 'tourist bubble'. In other words, by stepping outside the protective shield of a group tour the respondents believed it was possible to experience the 'real' culture of the country thus appreciating the differences (and also similarities) between cultures and/or regions, and interpreted by this researcher as a desire for *authenticity*. Although not every respondent used the phrase 'tourist bubble' they each indicated a wish both to meet local people on an equal footing and be treated as individuals (instead of tourists) indicating the value of *equality,* or a desire to experience the local way of life. *Equality* was also ascribed to those who were uncomfortable with the notion that tourists are 'superior' because of their relative wealth, and those who did not want to be accused of voyeurism, and indicates the presence of the universalism value type.

Whilst *equality* was revealed in respondents' desire to meet local people on an equal footing, *respect* (for others and self) was also revealed. For example, at least one respondent equated package tours with disrespectful tourists,

> I don't like being herded around in a group of tourists, I don't think it's.... you know, I've seen a lot of groups of tourists when they are travelling and I find a lot of them disrespectful of the place that they are in.

She continued,

> …I don't like being herded around in a minibus you know with 20 other tourists, it feels almost like you're ... well, the people are in a zoo and that you are looking out of the windows … I am not very comfortable with that as an experience.

The value of *respect* - also linked with *equality, equity, social justice* and *fairness* - was identified across a range of attributes, but primarily given to those respondents who wanted to ensure that any impact from tourism was managed effectively, those who made sure they spoke to local people in their own language and those who disassociated themselves from disrespectful tourists. It was also allocated to those who made themselves aware of and conformed to local cultural norms, those who travelled with a responsible tour operator and the vegetarians / vegans who explained that their respect for animals was a guiding lifestyle principle.

Significantly, *respect* does not correlate strongly with just one value type but has elements of several and these are self-direction, tradition and conformity. The self-direction value type prioritises a belief in one's own worth and the emergence of respondents' self-respect as a result of showing respect to others and their cultures and traditions was a key finding. In fact self-direction was more in evidence than both conformity and tradition, which prioritise respect for parents and elders and respect for customs and traditions respectively but these latter are also included because 'respect' can be an all-encompassing term. Clearly however, self-respect means different things to different people but in this case respect is interpreted as Rokeach's (1973) understanding of respect as self-esteem - for the majority of respondents showing respect to others was an important factor in achieving self-esteem.

Other benefits for travelling independently included the opportunity to meet and build relationships with local people, thus revealing the value of *connecting with people*. This was mainly achieved by talking to locals in their own language, staying in locally owned accommodation and taking public transport at their destination. Although not seemingly connected, the purpose of these different activities was to get to know the locals, experience their way of life and communicate in order to 'connect' with others, all deemed more culturally stimulating because they promoted improved cultural understanding between cultures and generated mutual respect.

Although it does not strongly correspond to one of Schwartz's (1992) value types, *connecting with people* can be linked to benevolence, which prioritises true friendship with close, supportive friends. Whilst the respondents did not admit to wanting friendship with residents they did express a desire to go beyond the usual commercial exchange relationship between tourist and resident, and to make what one respondent described as a more human, more natural connection, a relationship where he was not seen merely as a "walking ATM machine". To explain, Schwartz (1992) based what he considered to be the more narrowly defined value type of benevolence on the earlier prosocial value type of Schwartz and Bilsky (1987), which referred to concern for the welfare of all people in all situations.

In later refining prosocial to benevolence, Schwartz (1992) explained it became a concern for the welfare of close others in everyday life, based on the need for positive interaction for the flourishing of groups and from the need for affiliation for survival. However, although the value *benevolence* has been emphasised, in this study its meaning derives much from the earlier prosocial value type because of respondents' emphasis on all others, rather than just those in close personal contact. The interviews seem to indicate the respondents in this study exhibit concern for the welfare of others they don't necessarily meet in an everyday context – the residents of holiday destinations for example are, and will remain, to a great extent strangers, but this fact has not prevented respondents from showing concern for their future welfare.

For some respondents there was also a hint of wanting to belong (noted as *belonging* in the HVM's) on holiday, sometimes expressed as getting involved in local activities such as folk evenings or taking part in local cricket matches. *Belonging* has emerged as a less significant value for this study, but translates as a feeling that others care for them (Schwartz, 1992) and fits within the security value type, whose motivational goals are safety, harmony and the stability of both society and personal relationships. Although *sense of belonging* is represented in Kahle and Kennedy's (1989) LOV, looking to them for further explanation is somewhat limited as their LOV interprets *sense of belonging* as a social value (rather than personal) for those with a low educational attainment and a high level of personal anxiety that results in them exhibiting a greater dependency on others.

Clearly this study's respondents do not appear to fit this description – not only do they demonstrate a high degree of independence and autonomy as indicated by the presence of value type self-direction but they are also mostly highly educated. To conclude, *connecting with people* was interpreted as exhibiting the value types of both benevolence and security, and had more to do with a desire for positive relations between the tourist and residents than a need to know that others care about them. Finally, an important benefit of this attribute for six of the respondents was that travelling independently allowed them to travel more cheaply, thereby displaying the value of *thrift*. This was either because they were students or on a fixed or low income, and booking direct with hotels (as just one example) enabled them to achieve value for money. As with the value *connecting with people, thrift* does not correspond strongly with any of Schwartz's (1992) value types

although it has a connection with the conformity value type because of its relationship with self-restraint.

6.3.2 Support local enterprise - Bought locally made souvenirs/ Used locally owned shops/ Eat locally, avoided restaurant chains

Although initially categorised in individual's Summary Ladders and HVM's as two different attributes this section will examine 'Bought locally-made souvenirs/ Used locally-owned shops' and 'Eat locally, avoided restaurant chains' together because the benefits cited by respondents are similar. In fact this attribute is significant because it forms the second largest category of the study, with twelve respondents emphasising the importance of buying local, whether with regard to the purchase of souvenirs or the support of local traders through the purchase of food or other goods on holiday.

Figure 6.4: HVM for 'Support local enterprise.'
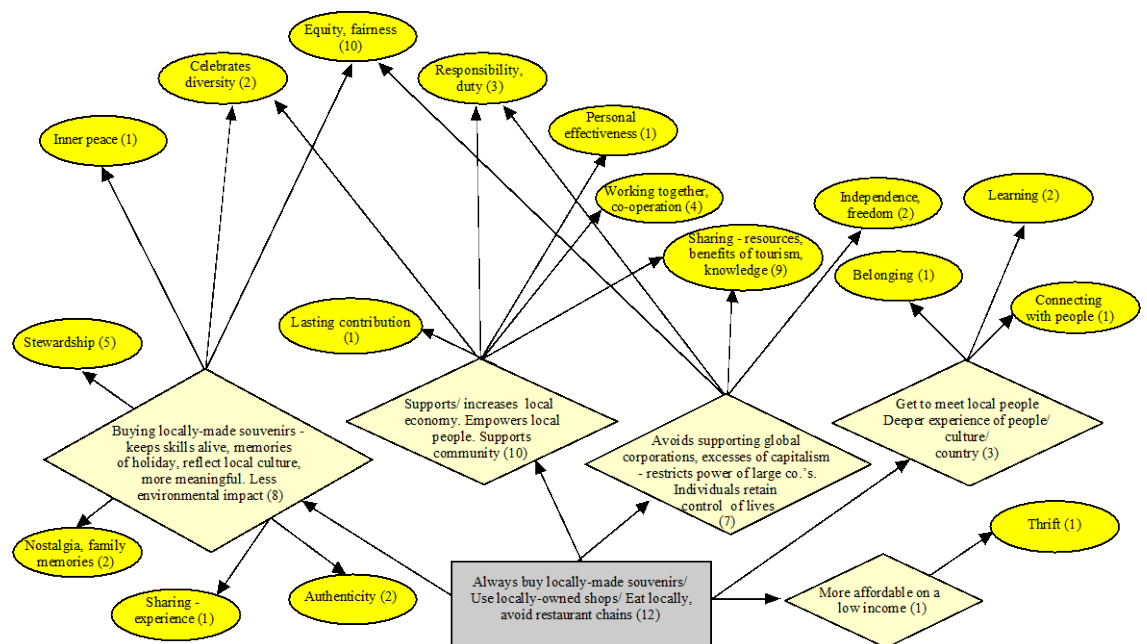
The most over-riding benefit cited by all twelve respondents for buying locally was to directly benefit local people, revealing the value of *sharing the benefits of tourism* and indicating the presence of both universal and benevolent value types. A notable quote in support of *sharing* comes from Vania, who explained why it was important for her to buy souvenirs from a craftsman sitting at the side of the road in South Africa,

> Because I know that my money is going to him, it's not going to somebody else, somebody else and that poor bugger in China's getting 2p, if that, and not that I don't think that people in China should be earning money, of course I do, but you know it's the balance of the way that system works. They don't end up with very much and they're slave labour really and this guy is not sitting in a pretty situation either, but at least I could have contact with the person who produced the goods.

The importance of supporting local economies through purchasing locally was cited by eleven of the twelve respondents in this category but not always from the same perspective or with the same motivation. Alastair, for example, recognised tourism to be a significant part of many developing countries' income and believed tourists could easily support these economies through the purchase of local goods. Howard, on the other hand, believed passionately that tourists could empower local people not just by purchasing local goods but by talking to them and sharing knowledge about each others' countries and how to use internet technology to sell their goods around the world – even by sharing good practice, thus emphasising *sharing knowledge* and *co-operation, working together*. He further explained his attitude,

> …by personal acts we can actually assist, well, we can make people's lives better. It's as simple as that … the individual's actions are the most powerful ones that people can do. When things start very, very quietly, eventually they start to come together as a multiplier effect.

Co-operation, working together were values given to those who prioritised the importance of working together with others, either to facilitate change or to empower local people, and corresponds with the achievement value type. Those who display the characteristics of the achievement value type emphasise the importance of being influential, capable and intelligent, as well as ambitious and successful. Schwartz (1992) considered these values to be concerned with demonstrating competence for social approval and personal gain but this study reveals respondents who wanted to facilitate change in order to benefit others, and there is no doubt that some of the respondents felt they were influential and made a difference through encouraging others to make lifestyle changes. Vania, for example, was very clear about her ability to facilitate change in others' behaviour, and this quote illustrates this belief,

I've **seen** that I make a difference in people's lives and in enrolling people into doing something a different way. I have a group of friends who have made **changes** because of **me**! You know they've changed all sorts of things in their lives and, you know, rethought dying their hair, rethought all sorts of things that I hadn't even thought of but it was just – I was the **catalyst** for their beginning to think about their own lives and what they were doing and making changes in their own lives. And I think consumers as a group have a **huge** role to play, a **massive** role to play. I think if consumers were **aware,** a little bit more aware about, about the issues and aware that they really could…that their choices really do have a big impact, things could change overnight. And I'm a consumer and I talk to lots of other people, I am very free about telling people what I think (*laughing*). I try not to preach but it's quite a hard line to walk. So yes, I do think I have power.

In this instance, c*o-operation, working together* is close to *sharing* (and hence universalism) because respondents were keen to share the financial benefits of tourism with local people, even though sometimes they didn't realise this was a prime motivation. For example, when asked what she thought her contribution was as a tourist in the UK, Judy replied,

It's not something I really think about. But I suppose the one thing we would do is, you know, if we go out to eat or something, we eat somewhere local, not in any sort of chain.

When asked why this was important she related it was because any money she spent was more likely to go into the local economy. Meriel on the other hand was fully cognisant of her financial impact as a tourist,

Well, I hope I've brought useful money somewhere. You know, when I was in India I bought a lot of stuff, I bought lots of plates and presents for people and travelled on trains and buses and I kind of hoped I was bringing useful money to the local people.

Another respondent, in response to a question about how she and her partner spent their money as tourists explained,

Renting our apartment from a local resident – literally – we handed him the whole rental in cash on our first evening (he lived in the adjoining apartment). Buying all our food locally – especially from the many small markets and more especially from the smallholders who live just outside the city and bring their produce daily to local Budapest and Eger markets. Buying tickets for cultural events from opera/ cultural centre etc. Eating in the many excellent small

locally run restaurants, cafes and bars. Using local transport. Using local shops
to buy books, calendars, foodstuffs etc. Using the state railway and bus system
and paying cash directly at railway and bus stations.

Clearly this respondent, and many others in the study, understood market mechanisms, had concerns about the impact of a global tourism industry and through their purchasing behaviour sought to redress what they viewed as imbalances in the sharing of potential economic benefits derived from tourism. Obviously, *sharing* is revealed here but many respondents felt it was important to take personal *responsibility* and it was also their *duty* to ensure they spent money locally. Both these values indicate the presence of the benevolence value type that emphasises the importance of working towards the welfare of others and of being responsible.

Responsibility, duty was also used for respondents who described a duty of care to the environment and the destination community, as well as those who emphasised their personal responsibility by 'practising what they preached'. Mostly this latter was related to actions indicating environmental responsibility, such as using public transport to travel to destinations in order to reduce emissions, however this particular attribute revealed a high incidence of demonstrating to others, through their own actions, that challenging social norms regarding the environment was achievable, hence the link to both the self-direction and the achievement value types.

Respondents did not only focus on sharing the financial income generated by tourism – they had additional motivations for buying locally. For example, spending money with local suppliers and producers enabled them to support the individual or small trader rather than a large company, with many of the respondents having negative attitudes towards multinational corporations, and expressing concern over the power these companies leveraged over communities. Significantly, the values of *equity, social justice* and *fairness* are evident here and Judy is a typical example of this - when asked why she preferred to support small local traders on holiday she explained it was because,

I can't bear this sort of creeping corporate grab of the world. It's the, you
know, the way that the big corporations just try and grab and grab…they use
their power to take over more and more of economic and social life.

Linda and her partner also gained much satisfaction from avoiding multinationals, whether these were tour operators, travel agents or even large supermarkets in the UK. She explained,

> We think multinational companies have too much power derived from their gross profits, manipulation of local communities and lack of democratic accountability. Our satisfaction is thus derived from circumventing them, as their activities are directly contradictory to ours.

Muzammal went further, attributing large corporations with the ability to disconnect people from their community, because of what he called the dehumanising impact of big business. He also blamed them for removing diversity and choice for locals (both in the UK and on holiday) and was keenly aware of the financial implications to the local community of large businesses locating within them. His comment explains his position on this,

> The money ends up going out of the community to people who live, you know, at a distance and I think it increases division and reduces jobs, increases the division between the rich and the poor and isn't…whilst it can provide some jobs and you can probably work out it has some benefits, I think there are better projects to actually be investing in.

In fact, such distrust of major corporations was a recurring theme for several participants, with a number of people actively avoiding using big companies, whether they were supermarkets such as Tesco and Asda in the UK or travel companies such as Thomas Cook and Lunn Poly. It was not only distrust that people commented on but also the belief that major corporations damaged the social fabric of local communities. Significantly however, these respondents' desire to avoid using multinationals at times overrode the importance of shopping locally; reducing the power of large corporations was paramount. This quote from Nina for example, neatly illustrates this attitude in her explanation of why she preferred to shop locally on holiday,

> I suppose its not so much the supporting of smaller local businesses than not supporting big global companies. They have far too much power; have more power than governments in most of the western world, and put profit before people's health, wellbeing and happiness.

As to the purchase of locally made souvenirs, three of the respondents cited this as important because of the connection with the country, culture or people they were visiting. For example, Alastair gave locally made souvenirs to friends and family not only as a way of sharing his holiday experiences but also to contribute to his own family memories, thus exhibiting the values of *nostalgia, family memories*. These values were given to people who enjoyed recreating their own childhood experiences and rediscovering traditional skills with their families on holiday, and to those who described their enjoyment of a simpler, more traditional way of life on holiday.

The benefits described by respondents in this instance indicate the presence of the security value type because of its emphasis on belonging and spending time with people who care about them. However it also relates to the hedonism value type, which is described by Schwartz (1992) as having the motivational goal of pleasure or sensuous gratification and is based on Rokeach's (1973) terminal values of happiness and cheerful. Although not overly present in this study, it is unsurprising that hedonism is mentioned given that respondents were talking about their holidays, which are generally accepted as enjoyable activities.

A further benefit of this attribute was described by Kath who explained that locally made souvenirs were more meaningful and more reflective of the destination than mass-produced souvenirs - this was interpreted as a desire for *authenticity*. This value was applied to those interviewees who described their desire to experience 'real' or 'untouched' culture, those who wanted to avoid the 'tourist bubble', and those who travelled off the beaten track into less developed areas. As such, it indicated the value type stimulation, whose motivational goals are an exciting life filled with challenge and novel experiences. *Authenticity* was also relevant to the attribute of using local public transport because it gave respondents an opportunity to meet local people, experience the local way of life, and gain a greater understanding of the country and culture, thus indicating a relationship between *authenticity* and *connecting with people*.

An example of this is demonstrated by Vania, who preferred to buy locally made souvenirs not only because this enabled her to contribute directly to local livelihoods but also because of the pleasure it gave her to make a connection with the person who had made, or

was making, the objects. This benefit was also discussed by Alastair and underlines the importance of *connecting with people* for these respondents. When asked if that connection was important to her Vania noted,

> Yes, he was sitting there making them, I could see him doing it. Yeah, that is important to me … its something about the directness and the … something really happens to me inside you know.

For others, the purchasing of locally made souvenirs was important because it enabled them to contribute towards keeping artisan skills alive thus revealing the values of *stewardship* and *lasting contribution.* *Stewardship* was allocated to those who talked of the importance of protecting the environment and also indigenous skills for future generations. Stewardship is another indication of the universal value type, which prioritises the protection and welfare of all people and nature. The value *lasting contribution* on the other hand was allocated to those people who expressed concern about global mass consumption and who worked hard to reduce their personal consumption for an inheritable world and thus exhibit the value type achievement.

Yet another benefit of buying locally was one of choice and personal freedom. One such example comes from Judy who admitted she supported small, independent traders (both on holiday and at home) in order to ensure towns and regions remained heterogeneous – she abhorred the spread of multinationals in the UK because of their one-size-fits-all approach to the High Street. Ultimately she believed this homogenisation removed control, freedom and choice from the individual shopper, an opinion echoed by Lynn who preferred to eat at local restaurants on holiday. She explained,

> If you support local places then you tend to get more choice. And if you get the chains its just the same old things and also I think they are getting too powerful…you know, places like Tesco – I haven't shopped at Tesco (Asda too) all last year on purpose because they are just too powerful.

Both these respondent examples indicate an emphasis on *appreciating difference/celebrating diversity* in society and personal *independence and freedom.* Whilst the former indicates a universalism perspective because of its concern with the welfare of others (predicated on the understanding that for these respondents, multinationals work

against the welfare of communities), the latter indicates the self-direction value type with its defining features as independence, curiosity, and freedom.

The discussion surrounding this attribute has revealed a wide variety of values with emphasis on *sharing the benefits of tourism and knowledge, equity, social justice and fairness, stewardship*, *working together, co-operation,* and *responsibility, duty*. The findings reveal that the majority of respondents have a sophisticated understanding of market economies and a deep-rooted distrust of large, multinational corporations, both in the UK and overseas. Other respondents however were more concerned with the importance of *celebrating diversity* through supporting local shops and the importance of local shops for reasons of personal *freedom and choice*.

6.3.3 Used public transport to/ at destination/ Avoided flying to destination

This was the third most cited attribute and was revealed in response to the question regarding how respondents travelled to and at their destination, with eleven out of the twenty four respondents making a point of using public transport either throughout or at some stage in their holidays.

Figure 6.5: HVM for 'Used public transport to/at destination/avoided flying'
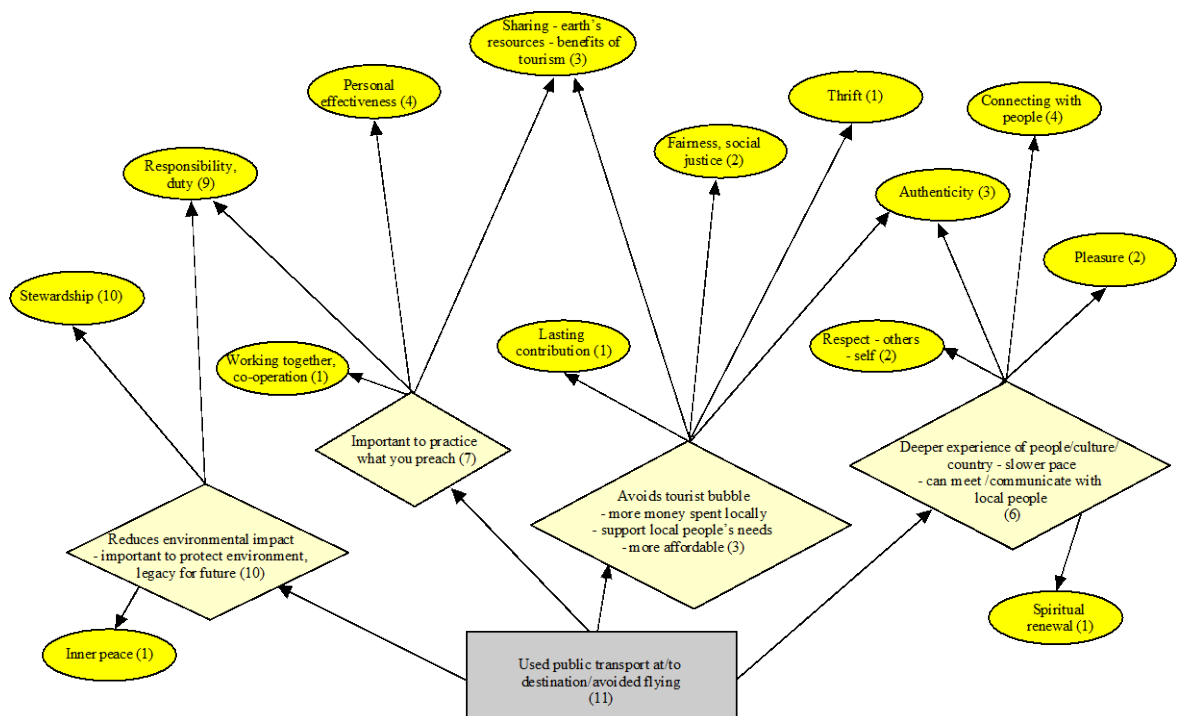
Although always travelling by public transport (train, ferry) and **never** flying to the destination because of the negative environmental impact was the decision of only six respondents, the use of public transport at the destination was mentioned by those who wanted to make some contribution to reducing emissions, revealing *stewardship,* with the additional benefit of giving income directly to locals and *sharing* both the benefits of tourism and the planet's resources.

For those respondents who travelled overland (by train) or who never flew for their holidays, the benefits were clear – they believed it was important to protect the environment for future generations and to preserve human life. The values revealed here are *stewardship, sharing*, *responsibility* and *duty* with respondents making a clear link between their personal travel behaviour, their responsibility to the environment and the needs of future generations. *Stewardship,* exhibiting the classic universalism feature of protecting nature for the welfare of all people, was identified because respondents expressed a desire to reduce their personal air emissions and therefore restrict the negative environmental impact of their holidays.

The related values of *sharing* and *responsibility* are also universal in perspective whilst the desire to *share* the earth's natural resources indicates features of benevolence, which emphasises helpfulness and responsibility. Whilst Schwartz's (1992) research demonstrated a clear division between universalism and benevolence (the former being for the welfare of entities outside the in-group, the latter for in-group), he acknowledged their compatibility and this study certainly supports this by revealing a blurring of the boundary between them. In this study, stewardship is clearly a universal motivation as it concerns the protection of nature for the welfare of all people but the respondents' desire to share the earth's resources – given as reasons for not flying for example – not only reveal a universal perspective but indicates the additional element of benevolence, and not only because of their desire to protect the welfare of those in their in-group.

Examples of wanting to take personal responsibility and demonstrating a sense of duty for the protection of the environment came through strongly in many interviews, with individuals either explicitly or implicitly expressing this attitude. One explicit example comes from Meriel,

I think its very easy to say 'Oh it doesn't matter to me', you know, 'I can do what I like', but I think we've got to the stage now with the state the world's in that each individual has to stop saying 'Oh it doesn't matter, I can do what I like' and actually start thinking of the impact of what we do has on the environment and the small things we do and the bigger things we do, because you know, time is running out.

Muzammal too noted his personal sense of responsibility, but also the interconnectedness of people in the world,

…. I think we live in an interconnected world and we affect people in different sorts of ways from what we do but at least it gives me…you know it's more important for me to feel that I am part of what I believe in and that makes me feel coherent internally which is a ….I suppose it keeps my conscience clear in a way.

Other participants demonstrated an awareness of the environmental impact but continued to fly albeit consciously restricting themselves. For example, one couple took only one (short-haul) European flight per year, believing they could offset this through annual membership of the Woodland Trust. As to why they wouldn't take a long-haul flight, Linda commented,

I wouldn't do a holiday which involved a long-haul flight – for various reasons connected with regimes, environmental impact of flight etc.

The dilemma posed for some participants was centred on reconciling their knowledge of the damage caused by air travel and their desire to visit either people or places around the world. Additional complexity involved a lack of time – some participants mentioned the problem caused by having only a short period of time available for holidays and wanting to make the most of it. Others had family in long-haul destinations (South Africa, Greece, United States and Egypt) and so found it difficult to reconcile their desire to protect the environment against their love of family, thus revealing a conflict between *belonging, connecting with family* and *stewardship*. As one participant explained,

We are South African so we go back to South Africa to visit family or we go to Greece to visit my grandmother and it's always on an aeroplane. And I have a real tussle with this because we work very hard at our ethical lifestyle, you know – we have one car that we try not to use, we walk to school, we buy

organic, we have renewable electric… we try to reduce and we don't consume, you know, we watch that kind of thing.

The sense of personal struggle was palpable and she went on,

It's a dilemma for me; it's quite a strong one.

Several participants used a cost-benefit analysis approach (often unbeknown to them) or the notion of 'payback' to help them assuage their guilt about air travel - one person mentioned that flying gave them a longer time to spend money in their chosen destination, which they felt benefited the locals to a greater extent, thus demonstrating the values of *sharing* and also *lasting contribution*. Another participant reasoned that she could somehow cancel out the impact of carbon emissions by doing voluntary work at her holiday destination and acknowledged that whilst flying to India was,

… not going to be brilliant for the environment, I hope that when I get to India I'll, (because of doing voluntary work as part of the Retreat), I'll pay back some of that.

Another example comes from Lindsey, who stated,

I think for me its quite important that I go somewhere to …. um ... not to make … to make as little mess as possible and also if I can in some very, very small way in Japan support the local industry, the local crafts, that makes me feel slightly better about having polluted god knows how much by actually flying over there.

The issue of conflict between values and also value types is not unexpected particularly given the choice situations described by respondents. For example, the value type hedonism (to which holidays obviously belong) might be expected to produce a conflict for ethical and responsible tourists with value types universalism and benevolence. With reference to Figure 4.2 (See page 87), Schwartz (1992) placed the value types of achievement and hedonism under the higher order umbrella of self-enhancement, whilst the value types of universalism and benevolence relate to the higher order type self-transcendence. Any outcome of conflict between these two dimensions will depend upon the extent to which people are motivated to enhance their personal interests (seeing family,

travelling the world), versus the extent to which they are motivated to transcend selfish concerns to promote the welfare of others, close and distant.

Moving the discussion to a different benefit, some participants believed strongly in their ability to act as facilitators. One such example came from Andy who explained how important it was that he was able to explain to friends and family about the issue of global warming and how flying was connected to this. The values he reveals here are *responsibility, duty* and *sharing* (universalism and benevolence value types), but because he strongly believed that others' behaviour could be changed more effectively by his own example he also reveals the values of *personal effectiveness* and *working together, co-operation*,

> you know, as an individual I am not going to increase taxation on air travel, I am not going to, as an individual, stop airports expanding but equally, I think the campaigns for reduced carbon emissions and to stop airport expansions I think has to have a degree of moral weight or a **lack of hypocrisy** behind that sort of campaigning really. So, yeah it is important I think, in the wider context of campaigning against climate change and CO2 emissions. Yes, it's to show that frequent air travel isn't a necessity, it's a luxury really, I mean that's how I see it.

Personal effectiveness was allocated to those who believed strongly in their ability to facilitate change as individuals, those who wanted to practice what they preached (by not flying to their holiday destination for example) and those who were happy to demonstrate their beliefs to others. Quite clearly this value is associated with the achievement value type because of respondents' emphasis on being influential, however, it also displays a connection with self-direction, which typifies independent thought and action. An example comes from a respondent who talked of modelling behaviour for others because it gave her peace of mind, identified in the HVM's as *inner peace,*

> Actually what's important is modelling it for other people, that you can challenge other people's conception about how to do things and if you are doing it you've got a basis on which to challenge others. If you are not, then you haven't. So I kind of think you've got to live by what you believe and it makes me feel better about the choices I make…. that's why I do it [avoid flying on holiday].

Quite clearly, this respondent is not looking for social approval, preferring to challenge the prevailing social norm, and thus indicating the self-direction value type. Muzammal, who had previously set up an Islamic environmental group in London to share his knowledge about how to protect the environment, also shares this motivation. His motivation for setting up the group was to involve more people in what he saw to be important issues, and indicates the importance for him of being influential and, again, reveals an achievement value type,

> … I am also involved in quite a lot of campaigning, getting other people on board with discussing these sorts of things, not so much imposing on people but just to kind of bring the debate to a wider audience.

Such findings are significant because it points to yet another of Schwartz's (1992) higher order type conflicts – that of the opposition between value types stimulation and self–direction (termed openness to change), with value types security, conformity and tradition (termed as conservation). In other words, both Kristina and Muzammal's desire to challenge the prevailing norm represents an attitude of being open to change, indicating a motivation to follow their own intellectual and emotional interests in potentially uncertain and unpredictable directions, rather than a desire to preserve the status quo in order to bring them the certainty and security associated with conserving tradition. This preferencing of challenge over conformity is strongly in evidence on this point - even when respondents were unsure how effective their actions were (and to what extent others' behaviour cancelled out their own actions), they still believed it important for them to do this, as evidenced by this quote from Ian,

> Well, it must be that we will make some difference. How much difference we can make ourselves I suppose is debateable, but yeah, I mean, I suppose it does make a difference.

Other participants admitted that although the actions of only two people might help in a very small way, it was the moral choice that was important,

> Well, I suppose every little helps. I don't suppose two people's attitudes matter much to large corporations, but they are indeed moral choices for us. I know I, at any rate, would feel rather guilty if we didn't operate our European travel the way we do. So I suppose it's all quite important, but I don't know how much.

These two quotes provide evidence that although respondents acknowledged the uncertainty of the effectiveness of their actions they continued to pursue them, suggesting a strong motivation to challenge. From this it could be argued that these people's actions are not dependent upon the approval of others, they are determined to do what they think is right, and do so regardless of how much of a difference they actually make. Such sentiments appear to locate them in Kohlberg's (1969) sixth stage of moral development, where people have moved beyond external influences, are less worried about what other people think and follow their own, self-chosen moral code. Another example of this came from Sarah who when asked if she felt she made an impact as an individual in terms of reducing her impact on the environment she said,

> Yeah, I think if we don't try at all then there is no ... I don't understand what the point in that is. I understand that other people think there's no point in being a little person in a big world doing your bit, but I feel exactly the opposite. If I don't do my bit then what's, you know, the point for everybody else really? Well, I think it's worthwhile, me doing my bit.

A much more emphatic response came from Kath, who when asked if she believed that her actions as an individual consumer were effective she replied,

> Yeah, I **absolutely believe** that every decision, what people do, makes a difference even at a very small level. You may think that 'my individual choice' or 'consumer choice does not make a difference' but if everyone made that difference then it does make a difference. So, in that sense, every individual choice does make a difference.

Although the discussion of this attribute has so far been dominated by strong views and informed opinion about the impact of flying on the environment, it must be acknowledged that for several participants, not flying to their holiday destination was either a recent choice behaviour or did not reflect their mode of transport every time they travelled. Indeed, for Ian and his partner their concerns about the environment had only recently impacted on their holidays and they had avoided flying on only their last two holidays. Whilst the decision not to fly was a straightforward one, the resulting dilemma had been a difficult one for them - what to do now? There was a feeling that this choice had created a problem in that they didn't know how to incorporate other forms of more benign transport into their holiday plans when visiting friends outside the UK. In support of this Ian stated,

> … we've got friends in various places and we have been thinking about whether we can visit them **without** flying. We've got a friend who's retired in Greece but it's difficult. We haven't actually gone out to visit her but we are thinking about whether we could do that overland somehow.

One participant admitted that whilst he was not against flying *per se*, he avoided it if he could but recognised that he may not be able to give it up totally. When asked if he planned to avoid all flights in the future he responded,

> I have relatives in Pakistan for instance. If I stick to it, I am not against flying, I would fly but I would try not to, where I could avoid it or just fly for part of the journey or something like that. So, you know, there's temptations and I probably could have gone to places in the last year or two otherwise, but that sort of comes on my mind as to 'how can I be serious about what I am doing if I am part of what I consider to be a problem?' So, I just can't reconcile the two.

Of course, not all respondents refused to fly or even acknowledged the issue of environmental impact and these people continued to fly to their holiday destinations - the issue of carbon emissions and the environment apparently not a factor in their decision-making. For these respondents', hedonism took priority over universalism. However, this might also indicate the importance of education and knowledge than just personal motivation, as illustrated by Ian in the above quote. Understanding the consequences of flying and hence moving towards prioritising stewardship had left him and his partner with a dilemma about how to cope with this new knowledge and adhere to their self-imposed moral code, at the same time as enjoying their annual holiday overseas.

Indeed, whilst several of the respondents considered themselves to make an effort to be ethical in their daily consumption habits, a relatively small group had not yet made corresponding changes in their holiday choices. For example, one respondent admitted that although she cared deeply about the consequences of food miles and 'bought local' as much as she could on a daily basis, she hadn't yet reached the stage of making changes to her holiday plans to be consistent with her everyday consumption. She had every intention of doing so but admitted choosing relaxation and her own enjoyment as her first priority and saw the ethical choice to be a sacrifice she wasn't always willing to make. She commented,

I think **long and hard** much more about whether to go on a flight, on a holiday that involves a long-haul flight now and I decided that I would only do that once a year although I know that it is going to be hard to stick to that. So in the summer I didn't go – you know I just holidayed in the UK. I think I'll still do it but I have major guilt trips every time I do go anywhere, which is maybe as far as the change has got yet. I mean I do think about it much more. But it is hard to say no when flights are cheap, you know and you fancy a couple of weeks of sun. You think well, how much am I going to beat myself up?

It wasn't just the air travel that posed a dilemma – this same participant was refreshingly honest about her knowledge and awareness of both environmental damage to coral (from sun creams) and the dubious human rights record of the country she discussed in her interview but admitted that " I put my own enjoyment first". In other words, although she knew of the potential inequities offered by tourism in the Maldives she was quite prepared to put them to one side in order to have an uncomplicated beach holiday, thus displaying a strong connection to the value type hedonism. In fact, she reasoned with herself that by visiting she would see at first hand what the issues surrounding tourism were and felt enriched by the experience, even though she received many disapproving comments from her friends and close colleagues.

This respondent's desire to enhance her personal interests has not yet produced a conflict because her motivation to enjoy her holiday transcends any concern with the universal value of stewardship or benevolence, although this may change in the future. Again, self-direction and the desire to challenge are in evidence rather than her conformity to the ideas and opinions of her close friends and family. In fact, her desire to find out for herself through personal experience outweighed any approbation from close others, clearly revealing the self-direction value type.

Moving on to another significant benefit of this attribute, using public transport at the destination was not always about protecting the environment. Indeed, several respondents explained that they used public transport in order to meet and talk with local people and therefore have a deeper experience of the local way of living, revealing the importance of values such as *connecting with people*, *authenticity* and *respect*. The desire to connect with local people and build relationships with them was clearly important to many respondents. Nigel for example comments about his climbing holiday in Nepal,

> It was hilarious, one of the best bits of the trip - we were on the roof of the bus, you know, it was just a good laugh, you mix with the locals and you learn a bit of the language. I'd rather do that than hire a car. You know, people take you to their houses and feed you too – it becomes a really rich kind of thing you would otherwise miss, especially if you were on a tour group.

Another example comes from Ann who spoke of sightseeing by bicycle because it allowed her more contact with locals and hence gave her *pleasure*. She explained why this was important,

> I remember sort of going through the back streets [in Egypt] through little villages and the kids all come rushing out still to wave at you and everything and it's just a really lovely feeling and you don't particularly get that if you are going through in a taxi.

Unsurprisingly, the values of *happiness* and *pleasure* and hence the value type hedonism, were revealed to be important in this study of holidays yet they were not cited as often as the values of *respect, responsibility* and *sharing* with their emphasis on universalism, benevolence and self-direction.

Quite a different reason for travelling overland (and not flying) was the importance of travelling slowly. Whilst two respondents mentioned their preference, one respondent in particular, Muzammal, believed this gave him the opportunity to reflect on his life, concluding that he derived a new perspective on life which thus enabled him to make better choices for the future. He explained,

> I think equally important is to reflect on our needs a bit more and to enjoy our surroundings and be in the present. So, it was a way of slowing down, making my holidays slow down in some way as well … and I think in that sort of experience we can make wiser choices, ethical choices and just enjoy life more rather than going from one fix to another, which is the way I think things are moving.

For this respondent, travelling slowly overland gave him *pleasure* but also important was the opportunity for *spiritual renewal*. In this instance*, spiritual renewal* not only revealed the universalism value type with its emphasis on inner harmony and being at peace with oneself, but it also invoked the spirituality value type initially identified by Schwartz in

1992 as a separate universal value. Schwartz later withdrew this decision based on a realisation that people might satisfy their need for meaning in life from a range of values.

However, he did acknowledge that spirituality in life, inner harmony or unity with nature, for example, were most notably invoked in the value types of benevolence and universalism but could also be highly visible within the tradition value type. The prevalence of benevolence and universalism might therefore lead to the assumption that spirituality can be achieved through self-transcendent concern for others, whilst the presence of tradition, with its concern for respect and commitment for the customs of one's culture and religion indicate the importance of the higher order value of conservation and respect for the status quo. This is significant because conservation is in direct opposition to openness to change and indicates that Muzammal faced a conflict between respecting the restrictions his culture and religion placed on his behaviour and his desire to challenge. It might be significant that Muzammal was a committed Muslim although the extent to which this is significant cannot be estimated within the objectives of this study.

Another benefit connected with this attribute was being able to avoid the 'tourist bubble' in order to spend more money in the local economy, hence *sharing*, supporting local needs by increasing demand for local transportation, demonstrating *lasting contribution* and *equity and fairness* and to save money, emphasising *thrift*. (With regard to *thrift,* a range of activities came under this value, including booking direct with a local tour operator in the country of destination, avoiding large tour operators, travelling independently, using local public transport, and eating locally, all with the motivation of saving money).

In a final examination of this attribute two respondents revealed that although their environmental principles came at a high personal cost they were more than happy to make the sacrifice thus revealing the values of *commitment, sacrifice*. These values were given to those who specifically mentioned the high personal cost, both financially and in terms of the time and effort involved, of being ethical in their holiday transport choices or in their everyday consumption. Kristina for example, took the train to Switzerland,

> You know, when easyJet are doing flights for £12 or whatever and you have to pay £250 to go by train, but at the moment I feel like I am in a position to make these choices, so while I can do that, I will.

This respondent was happy to take the train to her holiday destination even though it was an expensive alternative to flying. *Commitment, sacrifice* in this instance are associated with universalism, given the preoccupation of these respondents for the welfare and protection of nature and other people, but they also demonstrate an achievement value type because of the importance they place on being influential. This fact supports the earlier examples of respondents wanting to facilitate change in others through their own behaviour, and for both these respondents the desire to effect positive change in public attitudes overrode any self-interested motivations, such as cheaper transport costs or faster journey times.

The discussion contained within this attribute reveals a wide-ranging approach to the question of transport on holiday, with some respondents revealing a high degree of ethical consciousness that they acted upon, whilst others were aware but did not change their behaviour as a result. In some cases a lack of knowledge as to sensible alternatives to flying was a factor in transport choice and whilst several had made decisions a few years ago not to fly for their holidays, others were still coming to terms with the conflict their ethical principles produced in terms of their holiday transport choices. For some, holidays were clearly an extension of their lifestyle and no conflict occurred between these two things and for these people there was no sacrifice attached to not flying and nor did they find it hard to use alternatives. For others, however, this presented a problem and perhaps a lack of information and knowledge of alternatives prevented deeper adoption of ethical principles to holiday behaviour and mode of travel.

6.3.4 Spent time outdoors/ walking on holiday/ took part in outdoor activities

Although mentioned by nine respondents as a significant holiday activity the benefits described and thus the values revealed for *spending time outdoors/ walking on holiday/ taking part in outdoor activities* indicate many different values at stake here.

The most often mentioned benefits of this attribute were the opportunity to enjoy a simpler pace of life and to get away from a stressful lifestyle, to forget or avoid the pressure 'to consume', and also to reconnect with their reasons for living an ethical/sustainable life.

Consequently they were allocated the values of *escape*, *lasting contribution, sustainable lifestyle* and *spiritual renewal* respectively. *Escape* was allocated to those people who viewed their holiday as an antidote to everyday life, as an opportunity to escape from the usual routine of life, and sometimes the stress of consumption, all associated with the hedonism value type. S*ustainable lifestyle* was ascribed to those who prioritised reducing their personal consumption, both in their daily lives – by living simply and not buying into the 'consumption as leisure activity' - and on holiday, by staying in eco-lodges for example. This value shares commonalities with *stewardship*, thus indicating a universalist perspective, whilst *lasting contribution* is interpreted as an achievement value type, with its emphasis on being both capable and influential.

Figure 6.6: HVM for ' Spent time outdoors/ walking on holiday/ took part in outdoor activities
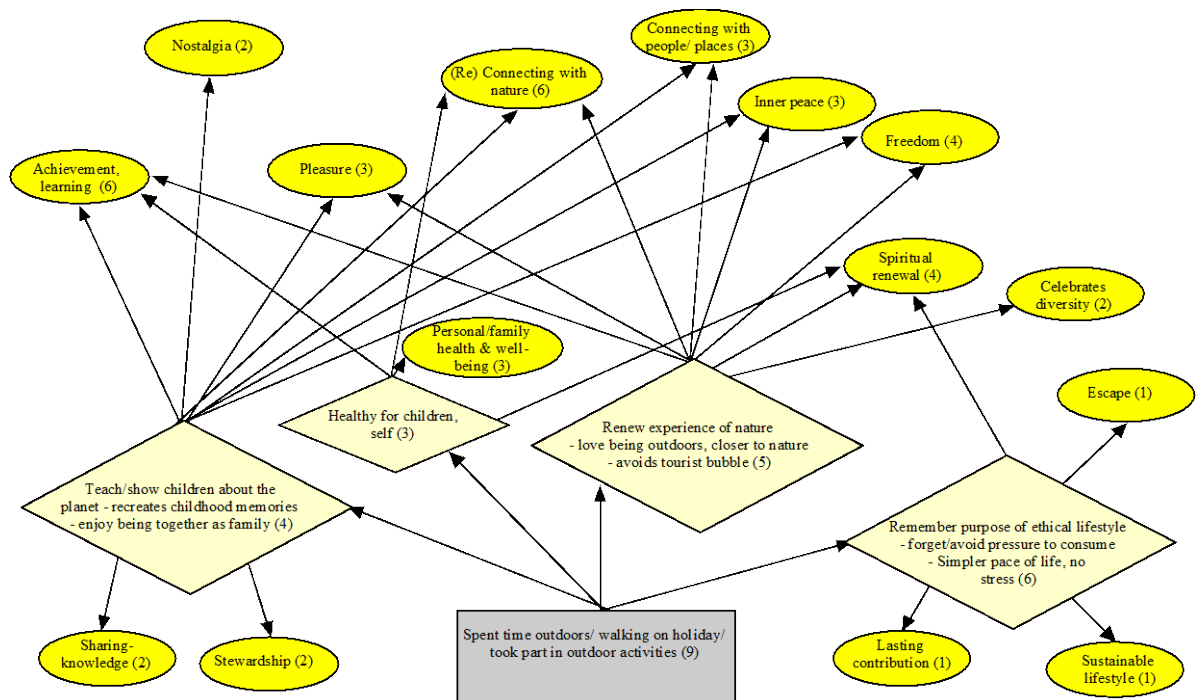
An example of concern about making a *lasting contribution* comes from Kristina, who not only enjoyed experiencing unspoilt nature (she found it reassuring that the planet still contained some areas unchanged by human activity) but also deliberately avoided cities because of their connection with what she termed "soul-less consumption". With regard to this specific point she believed it was important to challenge the view that shopping and retail activities were an acceptable form of leisure, deploring this aspect of modern life and the subsequent pressure it placed not only on family life but also the environment, reinforcing a priority for self-transcendence motivation. She explained,

> Kids don't get their parents at home because they've got a dual income because they've got to buy all that stuff and so you've got the impact on the family and then you've got the environmental impact like all the rubbish and energy and everything else that is consumed in producing all this stuff and transporting it all over the world. You know, flying TV's over here or whatever they do. It seems like it's a very negative thing altogether.

Kristina was very clear – if she could in some way reduce overall global consumption by avoiding cities and shopping then she was making a *lasting contribution* to the welfare of everyone as well as the planet, thus revealing a self-transcendence rather than self-enhancement motivation.

This attribute also helped some respondents in their path toward inner harmony and meaning in life, or *spiritual renewal*. Vania, for example, described her enjoyment of spending time in the countryside and when asked why this was important to her she responded,

> I think it brings me back to …. it helps me be centred within myself. It brings me back to, I suppose, my greater vision of life and the world. I mean, otherwise we wouldn't be living the way that we do, but reconnecting with that helps you remember why you are doing it. It's easy to forget, you know, it can be a whole bunch of **tasks** to be living in a sustainable, ethical way and it can just become a **habit,** but reconnecting with nature reminds me what my greater purpose is.

Other important benefits for respondents came from renewing their experience of nature and thus *reconnecting with nature,* enjoying the *freedom* of being outdoors, recreating family or childhood memories and therefore exhibiting the values of *nostalgia, family memories*. Others described pursuing their interests in the countryside and were allocated the values of *achievement, learning*, whilst others derived *pleasure, happiness* from these activities.

Taking these in turn, the values of *achievement - learning and knowledge (family, individual)* were allocated to those respondents who wanted to show their children the diversity of life whether this was to do with other lifestyles, different cultures or the environment, and often explained as enhancing formal education. They were also given to those who prioritised the speaking of local languages and of being well informed in order

to reduce what they called meaningless stereotypes of both tourist and resident cultures. For others, these values were evident in their desire to learn about different regions/ countries in order to offer practical help regarding poverty alleviation, and also relevant to those who gained pleasure at being sustainable on holiday and at home.

Achievement, learning and knowledge are all examples of the self-direction value type, which emphasises the importance of freedom, choosing one's goals and independence. Looking to Schwartz's (1992) higher order values, they also suggest an openness to change, with its emphasis on challenge, stimulation and hedonism. Stimulation preferences an exciting and varied life as satisfied in this instance through extended learning about the world, and all the respondents who mentioned this benefit expressed their enjoyment of such activities, suggesting that learning and knowledge were of key importance to their lives.

With regard to *connecting /reconnecting with nature*, these values were applied to those who enjoyed outdoor activities on holiday (walking, bird watching, camping, playing children's games etc.), to get closer to nature, to be away from other people, away from the modern world and the pressure to consume and again indicate universalism. For those other respondents who enjoyed spending time outdoors on holiday a variety of reasons were given, including the opportunity to indulge their interest in wildlife and nature, gather a new perspective on a particular region or country, be an escape from their daily routine or simply because they gained pleasure from the landscape.

Another benefit was the opportunity to get away from the tourist bubble, with Judy gaining pleasure from exploring the individuality of places by walking in the countryside. She held the view that diversity and the uniqueness of places should be celebrated because of the creeping homogenisation of UK towns and displayed the values of *appreciating difference/ celebrating diversity*, a universal value type. Whilst it might appear at first hand that Judy wanted to retain the status quo with regard to town development (thus demonstrating the tradition/conformity value type), in fact because she was speaking out against the prevailing homogenisation and revealing the value type of self-direction and being open to change. It could be argued that Judy saw her behaviour as challenging prevailing norms precisely because relatively few people appear to object to such developments.

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Of the nine people for whom being outdoors was an important activity, five of them had young families and achieved the attainment of *family (and own) health and wellbeing* from their children spending time in the fresh air. Aside from this benefit, these values were also given to those who enjoyed an organic lifestyle on holiday and those who either ate in local restaurants or bought local food to prepare their own meals because they believed the food to be fresher and of higher quality. These values were also given to those who avoided using a car at home because of the opportunity for exercise and keeping fit. Overall, *family (and own) health and wellbeing* indicates the security value type, which preferences health, a sense of belonging (the desire for close others to care for them), and a concern for others such as family.

A further reason for this particular attribute was cited by Alastair who reasoned that not only was it important to spend time outdoors because the family didn't do it at home very much but also that it was important to have an authentic connection with nature, thus demonstrating a universal perspective,

> …I think the thing is you can't actually feel at one with nature but you can feel closer to it and I think being outside is obviously important – it's trying to very much **experience, feel** things, rather than see things from a window or a screen.

For Alastair, this first-hand experience of nature was very important, and not only did it demonstrate a concern that his children should not be spectators in life (his comment about seeing life through a window or TV/computer screen indicates his position here) but through revealing the importance of *sharing knowledge* and *achievement and learning* he was encouraging his children to challenge, thus revealing his desire for them to develop an openness to change attitude towards life (the values of *achievement and learning* fall under not only the self-direction but also stimulation value type and reveal a strong link to openness to change). Alastair clearly believed such values to be important for his children's future success and also welfare and a crucial component of his responsibility as a father – a belief later reinforced by his assertion that holidays in developing countries were instrumental in enhancing his children's formal education.

6.3.5 *Spoke to locals in their own language/ tried to communicate with local people*

The fifth most cited attribute was the importance of speaking to local people in their own language and /or trying to communicate with locals when on holiday, an attribute not only confined to those travelling overseas. Eight respondents mentioned this specifically and their reasons mostly centred on the twin importance of communication and respect, thus revealing a preference for *connecting with people* and *respect,* revealing a variety of value types. For those who believed it was important to make an effort to speak local languages in order to demonstrate *respect* and *courtesy*, it revealed a priority for values that fall within the self-direction, tradition and conformity value types. As discussed earlier, the motivational goals of self-direction are independent thought and action, but perhaps a more revealing finding is that the tradition and conformity value types share similar motivational goals. For example, conformity values indicate a self-imposed restraint on the actions, inclinations and impulses likely to upset others or violate social norms, whilst the goals of tradition are respect for and acceptance of the customs and ideas that one's own culture or religion imposes on the individual.

Figure 6.7: HVM for 'Spoke to locals in their own language/ tried to communicate with local people'
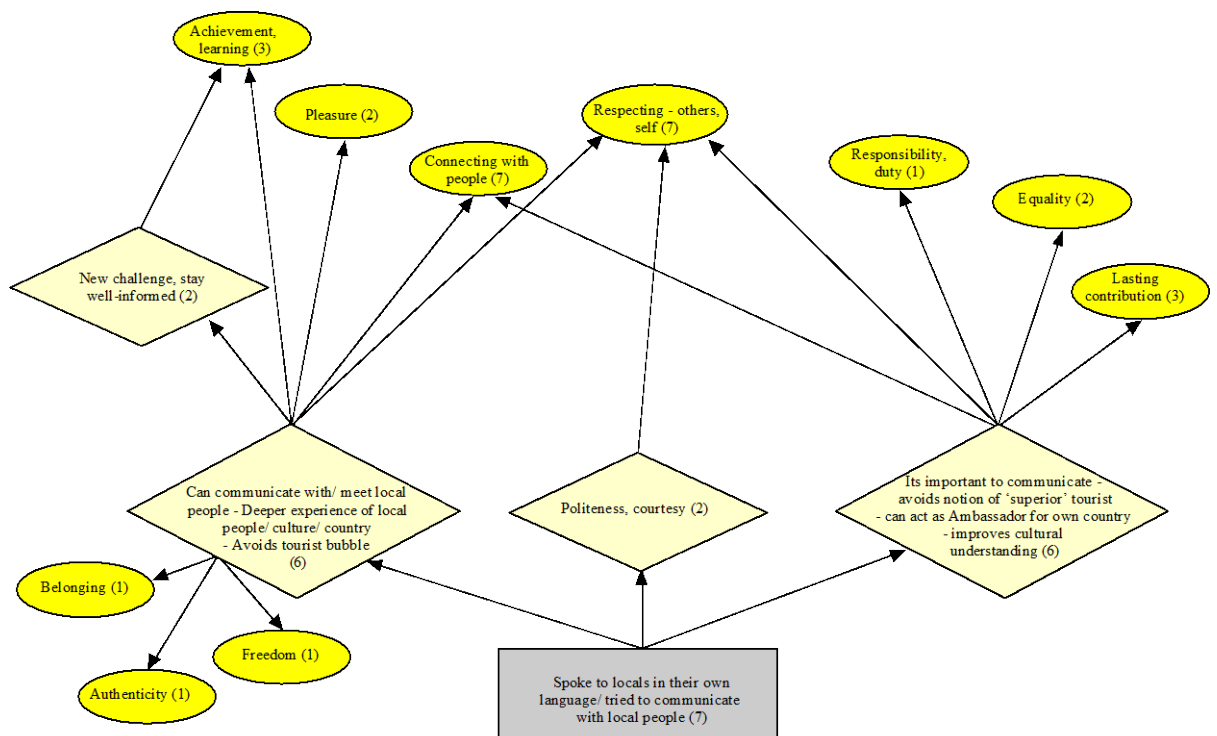
Whilst the respondents in this study mostly did not describe a strong allegiance to their own culture or religion they demonstrated a desire to conform to the traditions and customs of the destination culture, which for Schwartz (1992) would indicate a strong tradition value type because of its emphasis on the subordination of self to abstract concepts such as religious and cultural customs. This is in contrast to the conformity value type which preferences the subordination of self to people with whom we are in frequent contract – such as teachers, parents and so on. As such, it could be argued that the respondents in this study demonstrate a stronger tradition than conformity value type although the two are inextricably linked through the shared emphasis on respect.

Another benefit of this attribute was the opportunity to exchange information with the locals that not only gave the respondents a richer experience of the country and its culture but also enabled them to gain insight and interpreted as *authenticity.* Respondents often described this activity as a challenging experience, thus correlating with the stimulation value type, and in common with the hedonism value type, indicates an openness to change. However, it needs to be acknowledged at this point that stimulation and hedonism, whilst indicating openness to change, are situated on different sides of the divide between self-enhancement and self-transcendence higher order values and therefore the motivations behind these values may actually differ.

An example of the different benefits accruing to this attribute comes from Andy who stated three reasons for making the effort to talk Arabic when holidaying in Egypt – firstly, he saw it as a matter of common courtesy and *respect* for a guest in a country to speak the local language, secondly it resulted in him having a more *authentic* cultural experience, and thirdly it enabled him to have a more human connection with people, thus revealing the values of *belonging* and *connecting with people,* which indicate the value types of benevolence and security. He explained,

> I think it makes that relationship between me and the hotel staff or the shopkeeper a human connection, one that is based on the reality of who we are as human beings rather than of, you know, stereotypes.

To further explain, *belonging* was attributed to those interviewees who expressed pleasure at being able to build relationship with locals and those who wanted to feel welcomed not

merely as tourists but as human beings, explaining a need for their holiday experience to produce a more natural connection with locals. (It was also allocated to those who took care to involve themselves in local activities such as village cricket matches or community folk evenings and those for whom making new friendships on holiday was particularly important).

Whilst the importance of the security value type depicts a desire for safety, harmony and security for the family and close others, the opportunity to *connect with local people* demonstrates the existence of a benevolence value type. As noted in the earlier attribute 'travelling independently', benevolence is implicated in wanting to build relationships that go beyond the usual commercial exchange associated with tourism. Whilst Schwartz (1992) places benevolence next to universalism and firmly in the self-transcendence value dimension, the motivation for respondents in this study may in fact be more to do with the security value type (and self-enhancement) because of their preferencing of safety and security for the family.

Moving to a different benefit, of particular importance to some of the respondents was the desire to reverse what they believed to be culturally negative stereotypes, with some being acutely aware of the perception other cultures had of the British on holiday (although not all of the respondents were British). With regard to this issue, Lindsey clarified that she engaged local people in conversation (in their own language) as an opportunity for truthful exchange and to encourage cultural understanding, thereby making a *lasting contribution.* She explained,

> Perhaps in a way it's kind of more an exchanging of ideas as well that you do meet local people, and I am kind of worried sometimes that English people have this horrible reputation when they go abroad of being lager louts and especially with football hooliganism and stuff. I think its …. its quite nice for people to meet English people who are not like that.

For some, speaking to locals in their own language enabled them to better understand local cultures and situations, with a different respondent being specific that when she travelled to Ecuador to stay in an eco-lodge owned and managed by local people she did so because she wanted to learn more about different cultural attitudes towards tourism. Speaking to people in their own language enabled her to achieve this at the same time as allowing her

to demonstrate *respect* both for herself and others. With regard to this benefit, this respondent explained that she wanted to be able to help local people make more money from tourism and that if she could understand their mind-set she could contribute to their long-term needs, thus make a *lasting contribution* to their welfare and community. On being asked whether speaking to local people was important to her she explained,

> Yes, actually one of my motives when I went there, I wanted to live behind the scenes so I was there with a group of American High School students and I was with them during the day, but whenever they went to bed or they were busy I went into the kitchen, spoke to the cook. I saw in the night how they made the bread for us the next day, I had a look at their facilities, learned who actually owned the jungle lodges and how those people were employed, how they'd been trained … I guess the interest for me is indigenous tourism, a combination of tourism and having it done by indigenous or local people and seeing how it's actually organised because if you grow up in the jungle you might not know what the foreign tourists need and might want. It's interesting to see how you can train them, how you can help them have that as an income.

The value *lasting contribution* sits within the achievement value type and clearly links to respondents' desire to be influential, interpreted by Schwartz (1992) as wanting to make an impact on people and events. As mentioned earlier, the achievement value type has traditionally been located within the self-enhancement value dimension and mostly concerned with ambition and social esteem and linked with the power value type. However, for these respondents, achievement is less about self-enhancement and more to do with self-transcendence, an interpretation also applied by Shaw *et al.* (2005).

Although Shaw *et al*. (2005) do not refer to the fact that Schwartz (1992) defined achievement to be a self-enhancement motivation, they nevertheless conclude that ethical consumers display the bi-polar self-transcendence characteristics because of their consideration of the impact of their purchases on other people and the environment. To support this assertion they suggest that ethical consumers want "to have an influence on people whose standard of living is often below that of their own" (Shaw *et al.*, 2005:191). By this definition therefore, it could be argued that this respondent is an ethical tourist because of her avowed desire to help those who she perceives to be less well off (economically) than her.

Finally for this attribute, Alastair spoke of his belief that it was a tourist's duty to talk to locals in their language and therefore not take for granted that everyone in the world speaks English, that all travellers have a duty to act as ambassadors and have a personal responsibility to ensure that exchanges between cultures were built on mutual *respect* and *equality*. Although the issue of respect has been discussed at length in relation to previous attributes and benefits, *equality* has not so far been revealed as significant in this study. In explanation, *equality* is located within the universalism value type according to Schwartz's (1992) description of equal opportunity for all.

6.3.6 Observed local customs, wore appropriate dress

Of the twenty four respondents who took part in this research study, six of them were very specific about the importance of observing local customs and /or wearing appropriate dress (in a Muslim country for example). This small number may be surprising but could be due to the fact that not all of the respondents had travelled overseas on the holiday being discussed and therefore the issue did not arise in response to the laddering questions.

Figure 6.8: HVM for 'Observed local customs, wore appropriate dress'
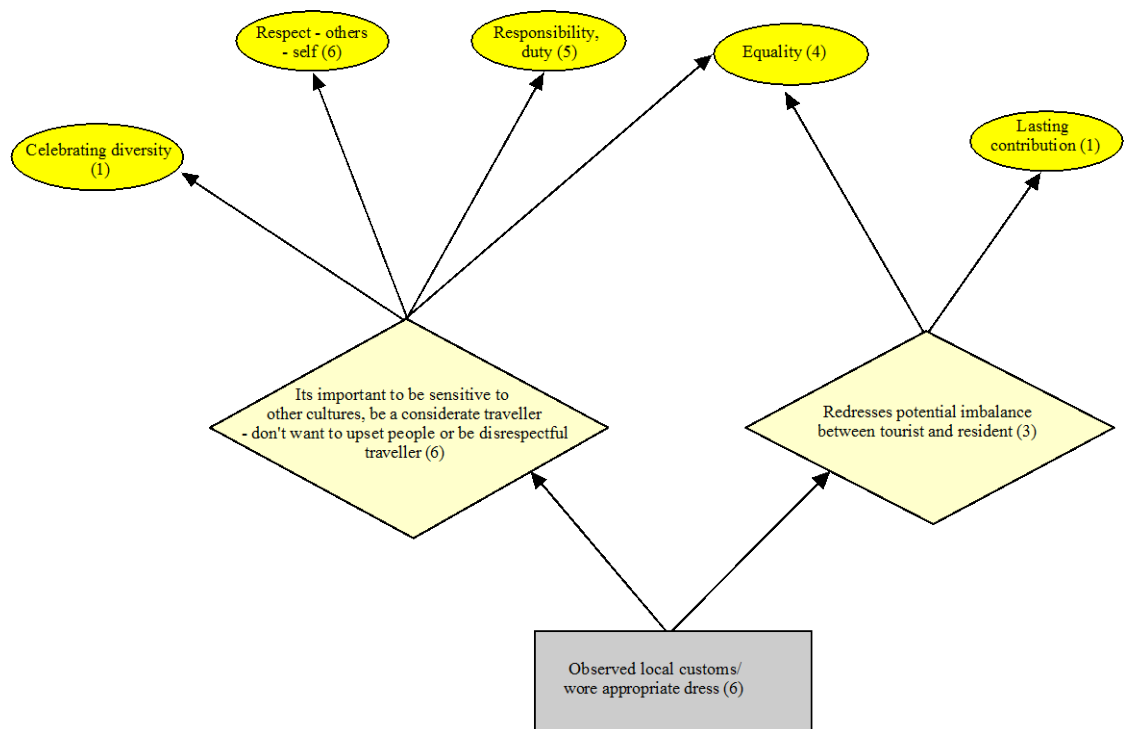
For those who had travelled overseas and were concerned however, the main cause perhaps unsurprisingly, was one of *respect* for other cultural norms, with the desire to be sensitive and considerate towards them, from which they gained *self-respect*. For example, Kath had travelled to a Muslim culture (the Maldives) and explained,

> Generally, if you are a guest in someone's country and they have a different culture to your own then you should respect that culture and behave according to their rules. And I would expect the same from people coming here [to the UK].

This quote indicates a strong element of the tradition (as opposed to self-direction and conformity) value type in connection with respect, and although the respondents mostly derived from a fairly weak culture, this did not prevent them from showing respect for the traditions and customs of other, possibly stronger cultures.

Having admitted that *respecting* cultural norms was important to her, one respondent revealed a personal dilemma that is common to many discussions about ethical and responsible tourism and in part derived from the destination (the Maldives) marketing itself as a beach resort even though a predominantly Muslim culture. She confessed confusion and a slight distress at this perceived contradiction and sometimes didn't know what was appropriate clothing, eventually reasoning to herself that wearing a bikini within the confines of the holiday resort was acceptable because staff had made a conscious choice to work there.

With regard to actively collecting information regarding how best to react to such moral dilemmas, Shaw and Clarke (1999) found that ethical consumers need an adequate flow of information to help them make appropriate decisions. In this respondent's case, her visit to the Maldives was partly justified by her wanting to see the issues for herself and to experience first-hand the impact of tourism on the host community, indicating the self-direction value type because of its stress on independent thought and action. She explained,

> I didn't know what a lot of the issues were before I went, it was just whilst I was there we started thinking about them. So yeah, it was kind of interesting because it really made you think about, well, you know, how **does** the money get back to people and what are the implications of tourism and is it good or is it bad because if they didn't have tourism what would they have?

Other respondents were more practiced in their approach to the issue of respect, or possibly better informed, with Petra explaining her attitude towards local people,

> I treat them very respectful, I try and watch them and see how they get the way of looking at them. I make sure I do what they do in terms of shaking hands or direct eye contact or whatever it is. I try and make sure I fit myself in.

Preparing for the trip and discovering local norms was usually important for this group of respondents, either researching before arrival or by asking tour guides what was appropriate, thus revealing the values of *responsibility, duty* and *respect*. The importance of *respecting* other cultures was a particularly sensitive area for some respondents - Lindsey for example, explained that she always took this attitude, in life as well as on holiday, while Ann thought she was probably more considerate when she was on holiday than at home,

> You know I don't wear shorts particularly in destinations where it's unsuitable, I don't wear short T-shirts or vest tops if you are going into temples and that kind of thing. I usually carry something to cover my head. I at least try and be aware of what people's religion and philosophy is in the country so that you know if you are likely to cause offence.

However, the respondent who was most aware of her impact as a tourist on local cultures was Zelly, who expressed remorse for her behaviour as a naïve tourist in the 1980s and 1990s, describing how she took photographs of Turkish peasants without asking their permission and of her reaction against being asked to dress appropriately when visiting a Greek church. Zelly explained how her subsequent travelling experiences had taught her to be more mindful of other cultures and the impact she was having on residents,

> When I went to Fuerteventura the whole of the native population had moved inland, the whole of the coast it seemed to me from what I could see from talking to people who lived there, it seemed that they'd retreated from the tourists. When I went to Cornwall, when you go anywhere that's beautiful, you have the people who live there saying 'it's a nightmare when the tourist season starts'. Even people who travel to those areas will actually say 'bloody tourists' and they won't count themselves as a tourist. 'Cause you see, we invade places and we take them over and we actually **change** the whole way of life.

This respondent confessed that she had now reached the point where it was difficult to go on holiday at all because she felt such great confusion and distress at the negative impact her holiday may have on local communities, to the extent that she had been researching working on organic farms for future holidays, although "there's still this whole dilemma about how you even get there!" Although possibly an extreme case, she highlights a recurring theme throughout this study – as soon as people became conscious of the consequences of their holiday it had some impact on their behaviour, very often, but not always, manifesting itself in confusion about how to do things responsibly. As Ann said, it was important for her to think about her impact,

> Because you don't want to go somewhere and have an amazing time at other people's expense.

Such concerns brings to mind Schwartz's theory of altruism (1977), which suggests that pro-environmental behaviour is more likely to occur when someone is made aware of the harmful environmental consequences of their behaviour and they take personal responsibility to prevent or mitigate such consequences, indicating a sense of moral obligation (Stern *et al.,* 1993). Of course, this study is not concerned specifically with pro-environmental behaviour but the dilemmas described and the respondents' consequent actions indicate an altruistic rather than selfish orientation (as defined by Stern *et al.,* 1993), which assumes that people have a general value orientation towards the welfare of others, that they value outcomes that benefit others and can be motivated to prevent harm to them. The extent to which this is true of all society is not under debate here but what the respondents of this study are exhibiting (to a greater or lesser degree) is a strong sense of moral obligation that compels them to mitigate, as much as they feel able, the impact of their holidays on others, as well as the environment.

6.3.7 Stayed in locally-owned hotel accommodation / family-run guesthouse

This attribute is closely related to 'Speak to locals in their own language/ try to communicate with local people', and of the twenty four respondents, six of them mentioned this as a specific benefit, largely for the reason of ensuring that their money went directly to local suppliers thus emphasising the values of *equity, social justice and fairness* and *sharing the benefits of tourism*.

Additional benefits of staying in locally or family owned accommodation included gaining knowledge about the best attractions and restaurants in the area, and feeling safer and less anonymous, thus revealing the values of *pleasure, authenticity*, and *security*. (The value of *security* was allocated to those interviewees who expressed concern for their own safety and who were women travelling alone or with a (responsible) tour operator, as well as those who expressed concern for their family's safety to be a priority on holiday).

Figure 6.9: HVM for 'Stayed in locally-owned hotel accommodation/ family-run guesthouse'
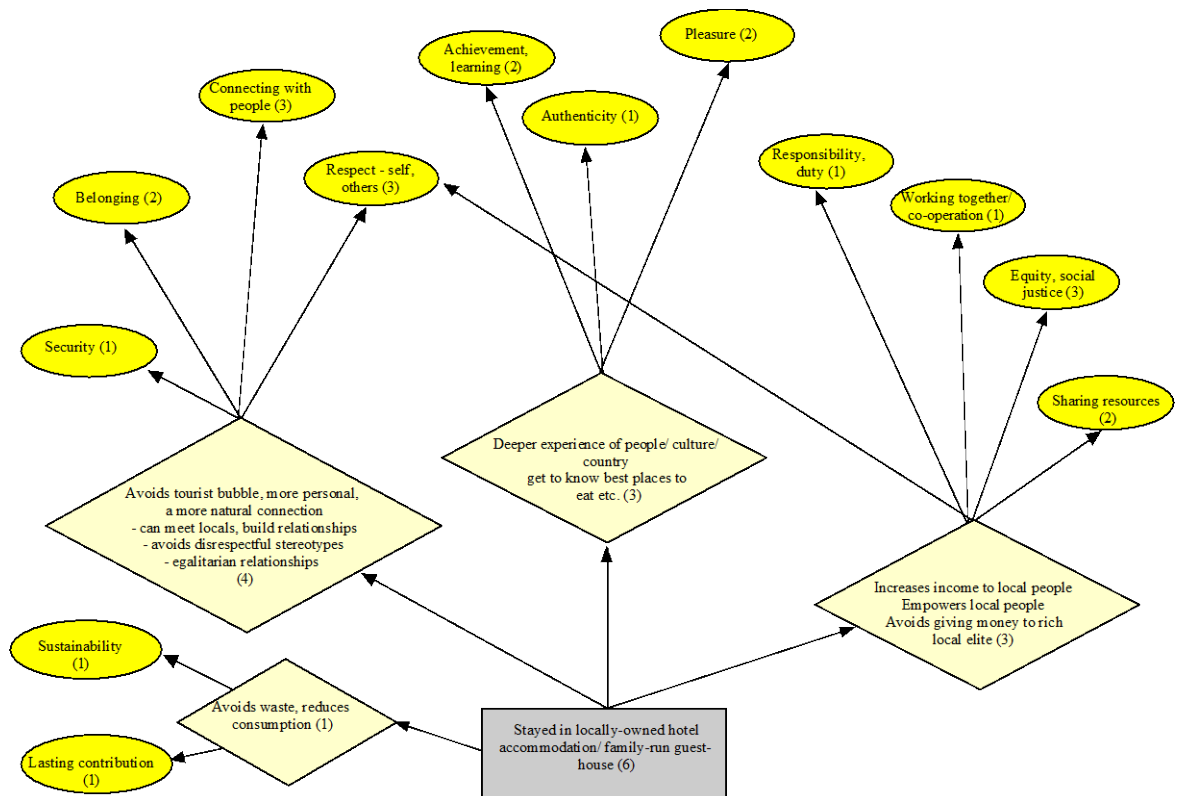
To illustrate the importance of *security*, although one respondent believed she would gain a richer experience (of the country and culture) by staying in family-run accommodation she admitted it also enabled her to feel more secure, as she generally preferred to travel alone on holiday. When visiting Egypt for example, she chose to stay at a family-run hotel because,

> I think it just gave it a nice feel. I mean I was travelling on my own as a woman in a Muslim country, you have to be quite careful of etiquette and everything and I just… I felt that they were really lovely and welcoming and didn't mistake me for a sex tourist or anything.

Unsurprisingly this indicates the presence of the security value type because of the emphasis on personal safety.

Other respondents were less concerned with the issue of safety and instead preferred to stay where local people holidayed because it was a richer cultural experience - whether they wanted to access the 'true' cuisine of the country or have a deep connection with local people - and these benefits reveal values such as *pleasure, authenticity,* and *connecting with people*. Howard, Andy and Ann for example, specifically mentioned their enjoyment at staying outside the tourist zone because they liked to meet local people, talk to them in their own language and learn about their culture. They also expressed a desire to be acknowledged by local people as more than just tourists, indicating the value *connecting with people*, which in accordance with the earlier benefits associated with travelling independently, indicates a benevolence value type and an emphasis on and desire for developing close friendships with local people.

Andy was also keen to explain that he deliberately engaged with people in local cafés – in fact, he believed that those who didn't engage with local people and who didn't explore beyond the tourist area were actually showing disrespect to both the country and its people, indicating the importance to him of *respect*. Whilst *respect* and *pleasure* in this context emphasise the value types of self-direction (rather than conformity and tradition) and hedonism, *belonging* is located in the security value type and therefore assumed by Schwartz (1992) to conflict with self-direction. Indeed, the value type security is located firmly in the conservative value dimension whilst self-direction and also hedonism display the characteristics of arousal and challenge typically associated with the higher order dimension of openness to change. Such a conflict might suggest that for all its accepted utility in general consumer research, the Schwartz (1992) value theory may not be completely applicable to ethical contexts because of the different emphases ethical consumers place on prosocial behaviour.

Moving on to other respondents who also preferred to stay in family-owned accommodation, this was again largely to do with building relationships but also to ensure their money benefited local economies, thus revealing additional values of *equity, social*

justice and fairness and *sharing,* all illustrative of the universalism value type. However, other factors were also important. Judy for example, made sure she stayed in guesthouses (as opposed to hotels) not only because she was uncomfortable with the wastage she associated with hotels but also because she believed guesthouses to be more egalitarian in their approach to guests, thus revealing a range of values including *sustainable lifestyle*, *respect* and *equality*. With regard to *equality* and *respect* this quote encapsulates her feeling about hotels,

> What I particularly hate is the sort of terrible, false customer service and calling you 'Madam' and all this, and I don't like the conditions under which people have to work …. and I'm very aware that, certainly in Britain nowadays, that hotel staff are extremely poorly paid.

The values of *equality* and *sustainable lifestyle,* as displayed by Judy in her condemnation of hotels regarding excess waste, are both located in the value type universalism, and place Judy's motivation firmly within the higher order dimension of self-transcendence.

However, as with the attribute 'observing local customs' not all of the respondents displayed full knowledge of the implications of their holiday. One particular respondent for example regarded herself to be an ethical consumer at home, but confessed she had been unused to thinking about her holidays in the same way. Nevertheless, she did express a desire to ensure that a local family, rather than government officials or an international company, benefited from her holiday in the Maldives. A sense of uncertainty is indicated by her hesitancy throughout the interview when asked about the impact of her choices, as evidenced in this quote where she describes the process of decision-making regarding where to stay at her holiday destination,

> When we were deciding which resort to go to we were having a lot of conversations about who owns the resorts because government ministers and people like that often own the resorts so we felt like we didn't really want to go to one of those resorts because it was just keeping money in the hands of the powerful and we didn't want to go to internationally owned resorts because that was letting money go out and there are some resorts that are owned by Maldivian families and the money is staying within the country.

This quote perhaps indicates the difficulties faced by many tourists regarding not only the lack of information but also the potential lack of availability regarding a more equitable

resort product. Indeed, whilst this respondent was aware of the problem of economic leakage and expressed a desire to benefit locals she was sometimes unsure how she could satisfy her desire for an enjoyable holiday at the same time as having a guilt-free experience.

6.3.8 Stayed off beaten track/ in less developed areas

This section does not address the opinions of those people who travelled off the beaten track to indulge their love of nature – these were included in 'Spent time outdoors/ walking on holiday, took part in outdoor activities'.

Figure 6.10: HVM for 'Stayed off beaten track/ in less developed areas'
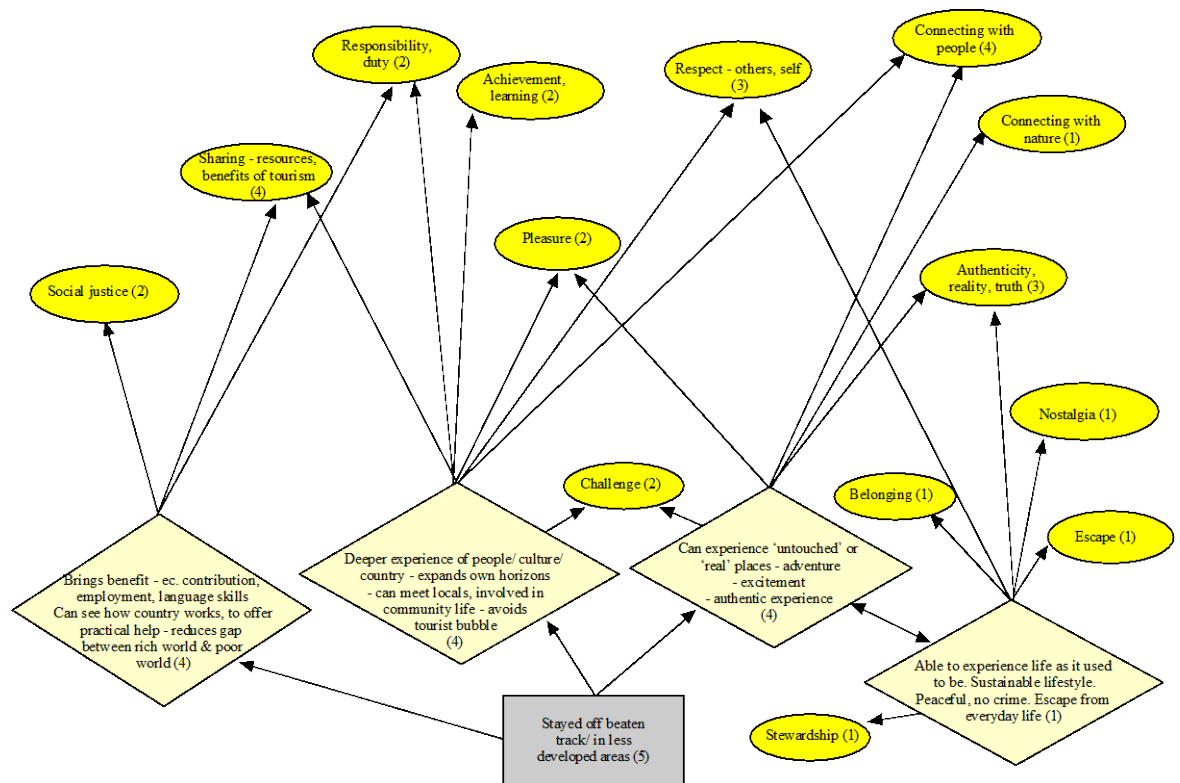
Five respondents 'Stayed off the beaten track or in less developed areas' for their holiday and some of the benefits mentioned here are also found in other attributes, such as the previous one. For example, all but one of the respondents believed that staying off the beaten track or out of the tourist zone and in local hotels enabled their tourist income to benefit locals directly, thereby revealing the values of *equity, social justice, and fairness, sharing the benefits of tourism* and *responsibility, duty*. These values are all consistent with

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the universalism value type with its emphasis on the welfare of others, whilst being responsible locates *responsibility, duty* within the value type benevolence.

In addition to the above, some respondents believed tourism brought additional benefits to locals through offering employment and motivating them to develop language skills. Paulette's attitude was clear on this point,

> If it wasn't for tourism some of these places would be very dire and it does give them something to work for. They practice their English, they've got a job – you can't employ everybody but….. we met a basket man, carrying some baskets. Wanted me to photograph him, (everywhere we went there were people who liked to be photographed on this holiday, which I am not used to), and we took his photograph, (and you don't give him anything) but we went along and bought a lot of his baskets.

This respondent is clearly displaying the value of *sharing* but her comments about providing employment and language opportunities also seem to suggest an egocentric approach (Merchant, 1992, in Axelrod, 1994), where what is a good experience for her also benefits the wider population.

As mentioned earlier, Howard chose to stay out of the tourist zone so that he could meet and talk with local people and so share his knowledge about the world, displaying the values *connecting with people* and *sharing knowledge*. A different respondent, a retired geography teacher, enjoyed being off the beaten track because,

> I want to see places; I want to find out what it **really** is like. For instance Bangladesh, I've taught Bangladesh, taught it so often, to actually go there and see it, to actually see it and smell it and hear it was very different, so it sort of came alive.

This respondent also enjoyed meeting local people and didn't believe they could achieve this by travelling in the tourist zone, in a tourist bubble,

> I've been on a holiday where we were exclusive and it felt – I didn't really touch the country, I was a visitor in a … more like a capsule going along. I wanted a holiday that's got more… that you can actually see the people, you can get some experience, that you can understand a little bit more - you don't understand a lot, it's useless imagining that you can, but at least I get a better feeling of what the people think of me and what I think of them and sometimes

it's aggressive and sometimes it's lovely, it depends. And if you are not so isolated you **can** get that contact.

Again, this denotes a somewhat egocentric approach and a feeling that this respondent travelled with a responsible operator less for the responsible tourism policy but more for the authentic experience and the closeness of the small tours. Nevertheless, among the different values revealed by respondents who travelled in less developed areas, are *achievement, learning and knowledge, respect, pleasure* and also *stimulation and challenge.* Mostly these values reveal the value types of self-direction and stimulation but hedonism also features and indicates these respondents' openness to change.

Further emphasis on stimulation comes from a respondent who explains why she stayed on the less developed side of the Nile on her recent trip,

> Because the more developed side is very very touristy and you have some very very big hotels and I certainly didn't want to stay in any of those. The smaller hotels can be a little bit grotty on the developed side for backpackers and I really liked the feel on the other side of the river, its almost …not quite biblical but it's a much slower pace of life, the people are incredibly genuine and because there are fewer tourists it feels like a more authentic experience.

This need for *authenticity* is also echoed by Petra, who was particularly keen to travel to a remote jungle community in Ecuador because,

> I like untouched places. If I go somewhere where many tourists are then the feeling is everything is quite spoiled and not very authentic so the more remote places I go the more untouched and the more pure it is for the culture, the people.

Her need to see cultures 'unspoilt' by western tourism was paramount, a theme also hinted at by George but in a very different context. For George, travelling off the beaten track on St. Martins (Scilly Isles) reminded him of holidays taken many years ago,

> St. Martin's is a little community of about 90 people and its so peaceful, there's no such thing as rush, you are dependent on the tides and the boats to get you everywhere, and once the day-trippers have gone back home or back to St Mary's, you have the island virtually to yourselves. It's a very friendly place, by the time you've been there for a few days, everybody recognises everybody

else and everybody speaks to everyone and you get involved in the island life to some extent.

The values revealed by this quote include *belonging, connecting with people* and *escape* and reveal a very different orientation to those respondents cited earlier in this attribute. For example *belonging* and *connecting with people* predominantly indicate the security and benevolence value types, with their emphasis on family security, a sense of belonging and enhancement of the welfare of close others and these contrast sharply with those of self-direction and stimulation described above. *Escape* indicates the existence of the value type hedonism and corresponds with the pleasure this respondent described at staying on an island with no obvious means of transport except for farm tractors, no outdoor lighting except that supplied by the various lighthouses nearby, the importance of protecting the environment and being able to enjoy a landscape empty of other people. This long explanation in fact reveals a range of values including *stewardship* (it being a sustainable destination)*, nostalgia, escape* and the opportunity of *connecting with nature*. When asked why such features were important he responded,

I don't know, I suppose its reminiscent of some places which I can remember sort of fifty years ago, when a holiday was not somewhere to do things, it was somewhere **not** to do things, if you know what I mean.

This respondent's nostalgic yearning for simpler times may have been satisfied by the unspoilt landscape, the absence of other tourists, and from being away from the tourist bubble. Overall however, what is clear about this attribute is that the benefits described by these five respondents could be split equally between sharing the benefits of tourism with locals, respecting self and others and having an authentic experience through making a connection with locals as well as nature and therefore not indicating one particular higher order value dimension.

6.3.9 Stayed in eco-cabin/ on organic farm/ camping

Of the twenty-four respondents, three of them chose to discuss a holiday taken on an organic farm or at an eco-lodge whilst one other described her enjoyment of camping outdoors. (An additional three respondents had stayed at an eco-lodge but not on the holiday discussed in this study). The most important benefit cited for this attribute was that

it enabled the respondents to live more simply and to live closer to nature, very often mirroring their home lifestyles. For example, one respondent described his pleasure at staying in an eco-cabin on an organic, mostly self-sufficient farm - not only did he enjoy the peace and total lack of pressure, what he called "stepping back into sustainable living" but he also placed great store on protecting the environment in his everyday life and it was important to continue this on holiday, revealing the values *escape* and *stewardship*. He went on to describe his enjoyment of the sustainable facilities of the eco-cabin, which included a wind turbine to power the eco-cabin's lighting and charged batteries, a solar-powered fridge and a wormery for kitchen waste. Indeed he expressed extreme delight at the cabin having only one 13-amp socket, which meant that the kettle couldn't be switched on at the same time as the water heater and is clearly displaying the characteristics of the universalism value type.

Figure 6.11: HVM for 'Stayed in eco-cabin/on organic farm/camping'
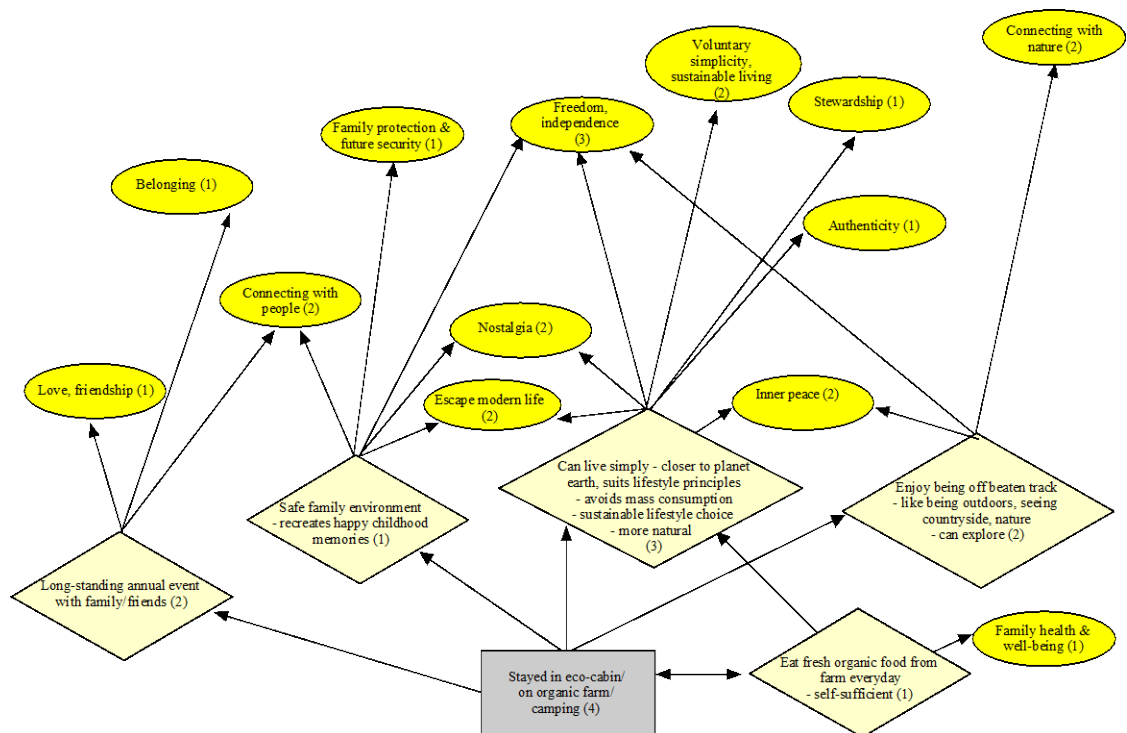
This same respondent also enjoyed the simplicity of the local produce, getting eggs and milk straight from the farm, and being able to buy bread freshly baked in the local shop rather than being wrapped in plastic and shipped in from the mainland. The benefits he describes reveal the importance of *family health and wellbeing*, and *nostalgia* with a corresponding priority on the conservatism of the security value type. Other respondents

enjoyed camping because of their love of nature, revealing the values of *connecting with nature* and *inner peace*. Lynn, for example, enjoyed camping because of its simplicity and its connection with her usual way of living on a smallholding. She explained,

> Well, we tend to live quite simply anyway in general. You know, we don't have like fancy clothes and we sort of do a lot for ourselves, like where we are now, we cut our own wood, and live nearer to the earth. That's how we like to be, in touch rather than out of touch.

For this respondent, downsizing their consumption and living simply was not a difficult choice - it was how she and her partner preferred to live, but of equal importance was the desire to retain their independence and freedom as individuals thereby revealing the values *voluntary simplicity* as well as *freedom, independence*.

She explained that by avoiding excess consumption not only was she protecting the environment by placing less stress on it for production, emphasising *stewardship,* but that she was also retaining control over her own life by not relying on shops and large supermarkets. All of these values share the characteristics of the universalism value type whose motivational goal is protection for the welfare of all people and nature. In addition Lynn has clear links with the self-direction value type because of her need to retain independent thought and action. Whilst universalism and self-direction are in different sections of Schwartz's (1992), motivational continuum, they are in fact adjacent, thus expressing a combination of the related motivational goals associated with each other.

Another respondent looked less at minimising consumption and more at the importance of protecting the environment for her children's future, revealing a priority for *family protection and future security,* indicating the value type security and the motivational goals of safety, harmony and stability. She, her family and friends took their annual holidays together, revealing the values of *connecting with family, friendship, love* - all associated with the benevolence value type. For the purposes of the study this respondent described their recent holiday at the Green Gathering in Somerset, UK, a festival designed to celebrate sustainable living. She described her motivation for this holiday being not only an opportunity for her children to learn about traditional skills but also to enable her to bring her children into contact with a range of different people and experiences, thus

revealing a combination of the values of *nostalgia* and *celebrating diversity*. She explained,

> I just want them to know that lots of people live in lots of different ways and, you know, to be more accepting of that.

Whilst *appreciating difference* indicates the self-direction value type and an openness to change, *nostalgia* sits within the conservative value type of security. There is certainly the suggestion of conflict here because these value types are in direct opposition according to Schwartz (1992), a conflict borne out in the interview when this respondent explained how she wanted to allow her children the opportunity to experience the freedom that she had enjoyed as a child, but was also aware that she actively kept them close to her most of the time for peace of mind,

> I want the children to experience a bit of being able to be free and being able to be around green stuff and have the responsibility of looking after themselves if they are in the next field …whereas you can't necessarily do that if you are in a hotel. I wouldn't let the kids go to the next hotel or anything, whereas if you stay somewhere like that then you have a bit more freedom.

Clearly, this respondent experiences a conflict between cultivating an openness to change attitude in her children at the same time as satisfying her need as a mother to establish and maintain safety, stability and harmony within the family. Further insight can be gained from examining the motivations behind her taking the decision to convert her family to being vegetarian and eating only organic food. Her motivation for this was a desire to protect her children from the harmful chemicals she associated with non-organic food, and although she respected and enjoyed the environment and took action to preserve it, her main priority appeared to be that of her children's protection. This decision indicates an emphasis on *family health and wellbeing,* a value that is located within the conservative security value type. Such self-interested motivation might indicate the presence of an egoistic value orientation rather than the biospheric orientation (Stern *et al.,* 1993), because her family's protection was paramount.

The wide-ranging benefits of this category do not have a single theme but demonstrate that different people extract different pleasures from similar activities – in this case, being able to enjoy the countryside, exploring nature, living simply and more closely attuned to the

earth, celebrating diversity, recreating happy childhood memories and giving children a safe place for exploration and learning.

6.3.10 Travelled with ethical/responsible tour operator

Only three interviewees chose to discuss a holiday that involved travelling with a tour operator for the whole holiday. The only tour operators used were Exodus and Explore, companies noted for their responsible tourism policies. Although only three respondents travelled in this way, the benefits expressed by them shared similar themes.

Alastair for instance wanted his family holiday to be conducted in an ethical way – it was important to him not to impose on the people of the destination and he also wanted to ensure there would be a genuine distribution of the income derived from his holiday, hereby revealing *social justice, equity and fairness* and *sharing the benefits of tourism*.

Figure 6.12: HVM for 'Travelled with ethical/ responsible tour operator (Explore, Exodus)'
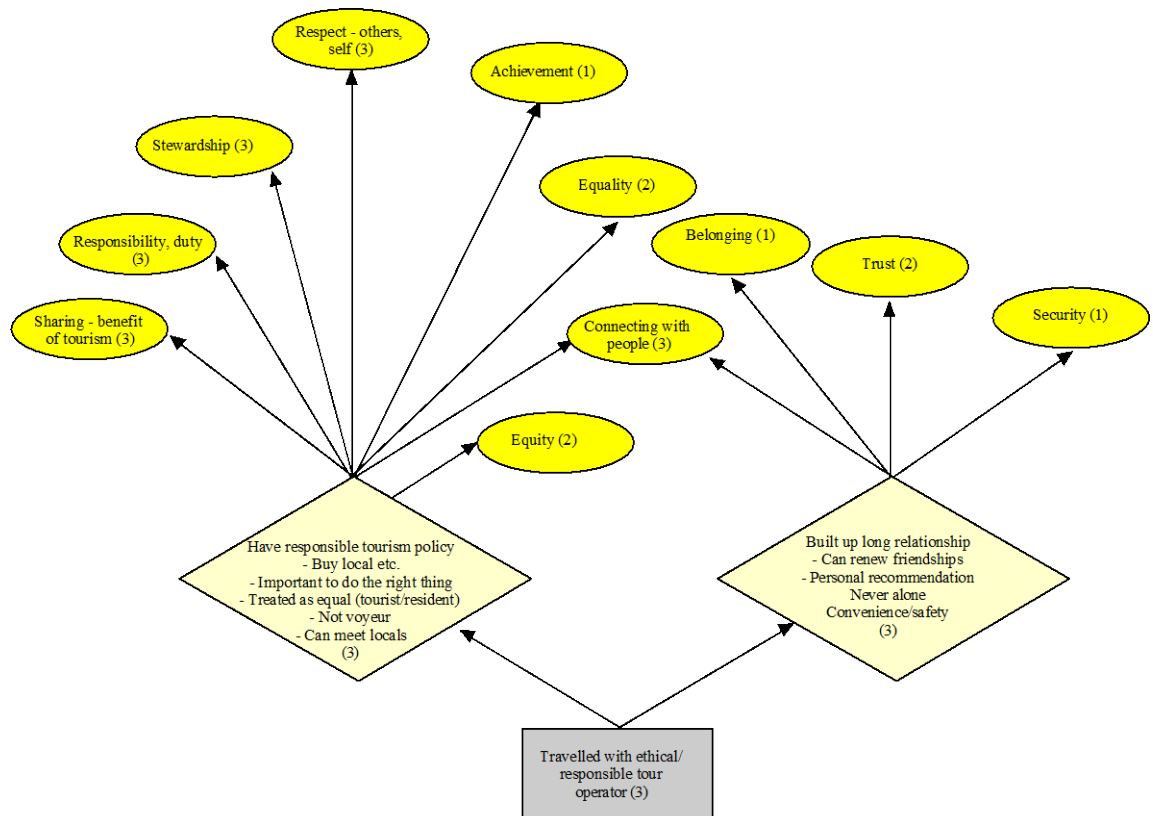
He further explained that this was particularly important for his last holiday as it was to the ecologically sensitive destination of Costa Rica,

I think one of the problems we have probably seen in the past – we both worked in the Gambia for a time – was that an awful lot of the money spent by tourists was actually repatriated to developed countries where the holiday companies were based rather than being spent locally, and the benefit to the local population was actually very limited. I think also there was the whole issue of the environmental impact as well, and in the sort of sensitive environment that we wanted to visit we'd like to think it was being done in a way that wasn't going to harm or that the harm was going to be minimised.

From the interview it is clear that Alastair was acutely aware of his potential contribution as a tourist and he explained that he chose Explore specifically because it made a point of paying for services on a local basis – for example, the tour guide would pay locally for admission fees, meals and local transport. When explaining how his attitudes towards ethical and responsible tourism had initially developed it became apparent that his employment for NGO's and development charities in Africa had clearly played a part because he described observing the impact of tourism, economically, socially and also environmentally. He also acknowledged that his undergraduate geography degree had informed his attitudes, and his subsequent desire to actively demonstrate to his children on their holidays the interrelationship between environment and economic structure. Such benefits or activities denote an emphasis on *achievement, learning,* values located within both the self-direction and the stimulation value types. This is not unexpected as these value types share an intrinsic motivation for mastery and openness to change and are described by Schwartz (1992) as being compatible.

For the other two participants citing this attribute, travelling with a tour operator was preferable to travelling on their own, and of particular benefit to those situations when travelling in a country for the first time, those travelling alone in a new country or in countries where the language was unfamiliar. For example, in her explanation for holidaying with Exodus, one respondent acknowledged that buying an organised trip was an easier option, because she was travelling to Japan for the first time, couldn't speak the language and because she usually preferred to travel alone for the independence and freedom it allowed her. Not only did she like the structure of an organised trip, with its mix of activities, but also as a lone woman tourist she appreciated the safety of being in a group. This explanation reveals the importance of *security* (not unexpected given the

circumstances) whose motivational goal is a sense of belonging, or feeling that others care for them.

Additional benefits of travelling with Exodus included a familiarity with the company, thereby revealing the importance of *trust*, and their responsible tourism policies with the corresponding values of *responsibility, social justice, equity and fairness*. The values revealed here are located within the opposing value types of security and universalism and it is not clear which is more important in this instance because this study has sought only to clarify the values involved in tourist decision-making rather than their relative priority. However, it is clear that travelling with a responsible tour operator was important, as illustrated by the following quote,

> They do have this ethos of using only local guides and point you in the right direction of where to find things that are actually produced by local craftspeople rather than possibly shipped in from somewhere else and also we stayed in an eco-lodge while we were there.

Like the previous respondent, Paulette was an experienced traveller and travelled with Explore because she enjoyed the mix of activities offered by a tour operator (walking, cultural visits, village excursions for example) but she also believed that their responsible tourism policy enabled her to be treated as an equal by residents and that this reduced the potential for her being accused of voyeurism. This latter she equated with organised tours, explaining that she wanted to avoid her holiday being intrusive to local people. However, although she acknowledged that the responsible tourism policy was important, of equal significance appeared to be that travelling with Explore, in small groups, actually gave her more opportunity to meet local people and she really loved the connection this gave her to the country she was visiting. For example, when asked why it was important to use a tour operator that used local transport Paulette responded,

> You get more chance of meeting people – one trip I've been on where we used local transport a tremendous amount, absolutely fascinating to get on the train with all the other people … it sort of feels as though you are part of the country instead of being quite so isolated.

Such a quote indicates the importance to this respondent of *belonging* and *connecting with people,* values interpreted by this researcher as being associated with security and

benevolence value types. In fact, not being isolated from the locals was mentioned as a benefit several times and the additional opportunity to avoid the tourist bubble was crucial in her decision to travel with Explore, not least because of her desire to understand and learn more about the country she was visiting, thus revealing the presence of the stimulation value type. These value types exist in opposition to one another, with security and benevolence belonging to the conservative dimension, whilst stimulation belongs in the openness to change and it could be argued, therefore, that this respondent needs to feel safe and secure in order to achieve her need for learning.

A further benefit of this attribute was the ability to share the economic benefits of tourism with local people, indicating a universal perspective. This was of particular importance for these respondents, with one explaining that she believed that tourists in general did not contribute to local people because any financial benefit went,

> …to the transnational hotel company and the local economy doesn't necessarily benefit. You've got water going into it and not for the locals, vegetation cut down, they are even forbidden from going on the shoreline. I don't take those sorts of holidays, if I can help it.

Although only three respondents took a holiday with a responsible operator the range of benefits they discussed actually mirror those of travelling independently - of paramount concern was ensuring that income went directly to local economies. However, travelling with such operators also gave them the chance to experience the local way of life and meet local people, sometimes revealing contrasting values. Clearly, however, prior knowledge and understanding of the ethical issues associated with mass tourism was an important feature of this attribute, with the respondents making their decisions based on this knowledge, whether that derived from education or personal experience.

6.3.11 Like spending time with others on holiday (family, friends, meeting new people)

Although many of the respondents travelled on their holidays with immediate family (partners, children) or friends, not all of them emphasised the importance of this in their interview and so this category represents only those who specifically discussed a holiday spent with family or friends or who mentioned that they enjoyed meeting new people on holiday. Only three respondents highlighted this attribute.

A wide range of benefits was mentioned in respect to this attribute, from meeting new people, renewing old friendships or spending time with family and friends. One respondent, for example, explained the benefit of attending an annual Church camp with family and friends,

> I've been going for 17 years, everybody knows me, there is always someone to talk to and it's a part of my roots. It's who I am.

She also enjoyed the team aspect of planning and running the event and emphasised her belief that teams achieve more than individuals, revealing the value of *working together, co-operation*.

Figure 6.13: HVM for 'Like spending time with others on holiday – friends, family, meeting new people'
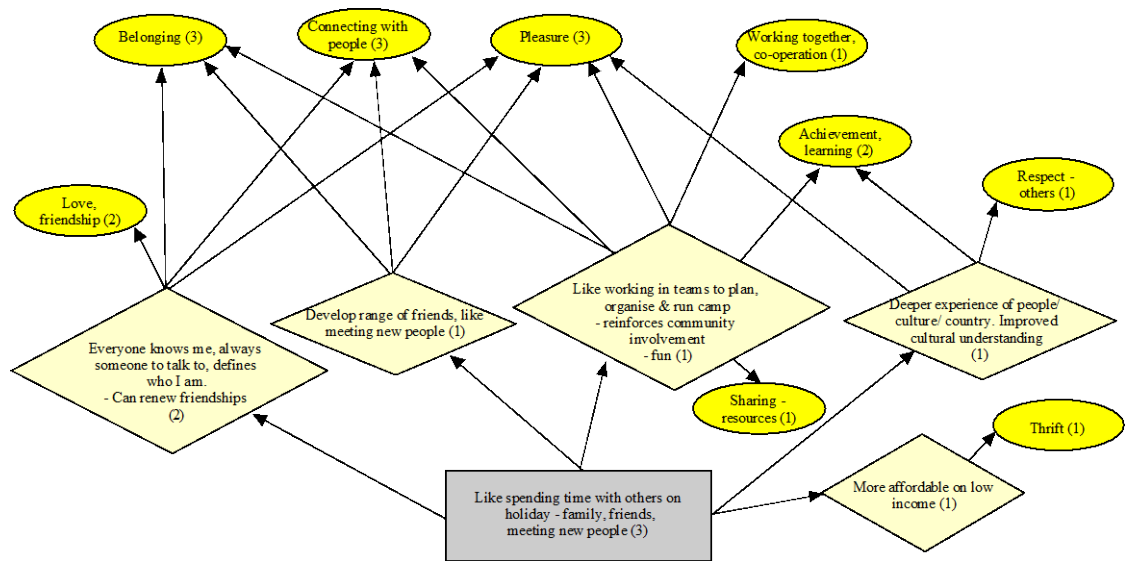
This is an achievement value type because of her emphasis on working with others to achieve a goal, a point reiterated by her pleasure at being able to contribute to a charity as part of this holiday (by collecting money and doing voluntary work). Others in this category stayed with friends, both in the UK and overseas, in order to have a deeper experience of the region or country, because they believed that residents knew the best places to eat, the best places to see and so on, emphasising *pleasure*, a stimulation value type. Other respondents also indicated the stimulation value type through the *achievement, learning* values. For example, one respondent specifically enjoyed the challenge of

meeting new people on holiday whilst another spent time with her family on holiday in order to show her children a different lifestyle.

A different respondent had grown up in South Africa and her annual holidays were spent reconnecting with that legacy on the family's farm. She strongly believed that her children benefited from this experience, explaining,

> The holiday was on the farm and it's just easygoing. There are horses on the farm and the kids have cousins on the farm and that's the kind of – I mean, I would love to change this [UK] lifestyle to have that kind of lifestyle, which is a slower-paced kind of lifestyle.

When asked why she wanted a slower lifestyle she responded,

> Less stress, more quality and enjoyment. Yeah, the fast pace of everything that we try to cram into our lives I find quite stressful.

Although a range of benefits were important for this attribute respondents mostly believed they enjoyed a richer cultural experience because their friends and family had local knowledge of destinations and revealed the values of *achievement, learning* and *pleasure,* all stimulation value types. They also expressed enjoyment at their close relationships with family and friends, revealing the importance of *connecting with family, friendship and love, belonging* and also *connecting with people* all of which are associated with the value types benevolence and security, and concerned with a sense of belonging, a belief that others care for them and the desire for true friendship.

6.3.12 Travelled alone

Although several more respondents had travelled as individuals, this particular attribute addresses only those who had travelled completely alone rather than those who had travelled with a tour group or on an organised trip. All of these three respondents travelled alone because they believed it enabled them to avoid the tourist bubble and gave them a greater chance of meeting and talking with local people, resulting in a deeper, more satisfying experience. One respondent explained,

It can be quite lonely at times but I think it can open you up to a richer experience. You are more likely to talk to people. I remember when we backpacked, we backpacked four of us together and we didn't really speak to people because we spoke to each other all the time. I think it's far more rewarding to sit on a train and try and stumble through a conversation with a family, or share your food with them or whatever, than to sit in a minibus with a tourist who has the same experience of life as you.

Another respondent relished being able to meet local people because it often led to him being invited to their homes. He explained how such meetings afforded him a fresh perspective on the world and often stimulated changes in his own life, indicating an appreciation of, or desire for *spiritual renewal*.

Figure 6.14: HVM for 'Travelled alone'
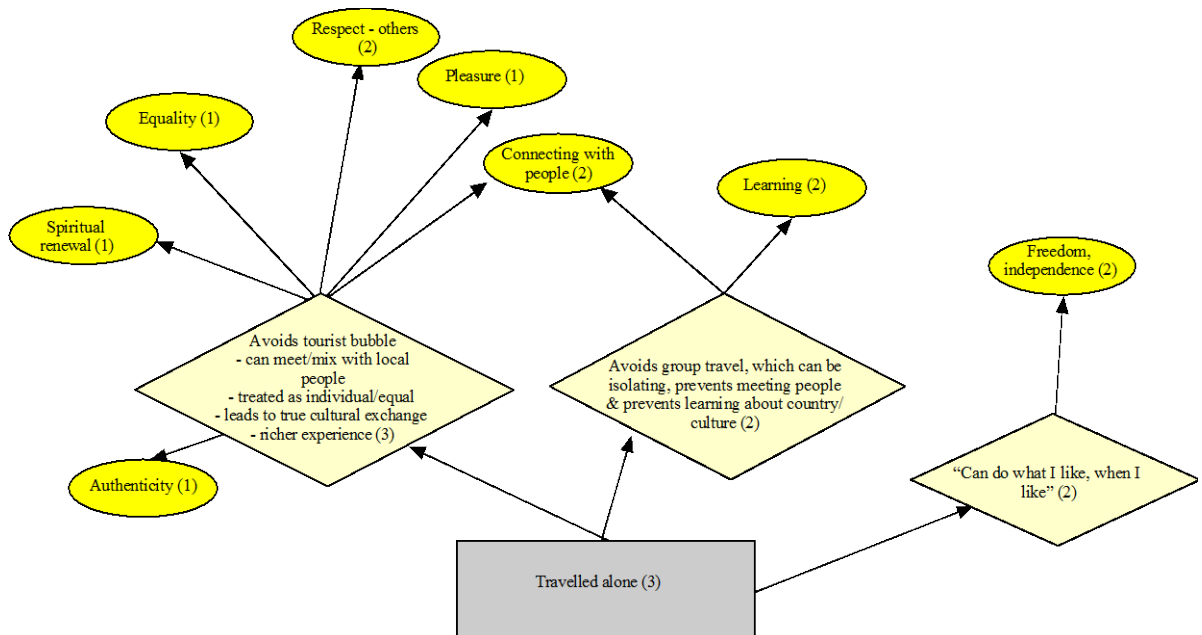
This value shares elements of both universalism and security value types, with the former being concerned with appreciation, understanding and tolerance, whilst the latter prioritises the safety, harmony and stability of society, relationships and self. Petra also preferred to travel alone, not only to meet local people but also because being alone enabled her to meet them on an equal footing, revealing the values of *respect* and *equality*. This quote encapsulates her emotions,

It makes me feel strange sometimes being in a group, because you attract so much attention when you go as a group and people see you as one big group of foreigners that come to see whatever there is to see. It makes me feel

exploitative I guess…it makes me feel as if I am exploiting them. It makes me feel I am taking their culture, I am taking in the scenery, and I am taking in their culture because I can pay for it.

Other benefits of travelling alone included *freedom* and *independence* and having a greater opportunity for *learning* because they believed that travelling with others prevented them from meeting local people and therefore learning about the country and culture. Overall, the values associated with this attribute are varied as shown in Figure 6.3.12 above but focus specifically on the opportunity to *connect with people* and thus develop a mutual *respect,* the ability to learn more about the country and its people and noted as *achievement and learning*, and the *freedom, independence* and *pleasure* they associated with being able to do what they pleased on holiday. These values indicate a range of value types but mostly indicate the presence of self-direction, stimulation and hedonism.

6.3.13 Bought holiday from tour operator in country of destination

Rather than travel completely independently or buy a holiday from a UK-based tour operator, two respondents chose to travel with a local operator once they had arrived at their destination. For both of them this was because they were already in the country, one enjoying an extended stay in Ecuador, volunteering for a children's charity, whilst the other had family in Egypt, and had travelled independently to the country to visit them before taking an extra week's holiday in Sharm el Sheikh. Whilst they were both on low incomes and *thrift* was important, these respondents had additional concerns. Andy for example was clearly concerned with spending money in the local economy and when asked why he booked with an Egyptian company admitted,

> One it would be cheaper *(laughing)*. Secondly, if possible, we prefer not to, well, I prefer the money I spend on tourism to stay in the country where I'm going. Particularly if it's a poorer country.

He explained that because tourism was so important to Egypt, not only in terms of tourism receipts but also in terms of construction and agricultural standards that the impact of his holiday could be quite extensive.

Figure 6.15: HVM for 'Bought holiday from tour operator in country of destination'
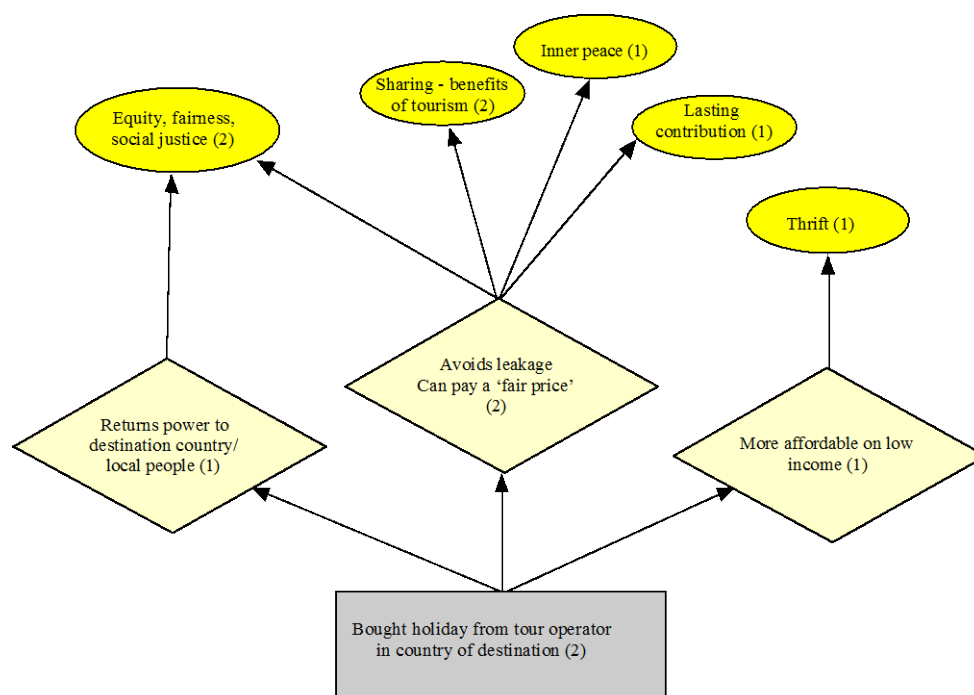
In addition, he was concerned that UK-based tour operators did not always pay a fair price for hotel rooms and he felt this was unfair, clearly demonstrating the values of *equity, social justice and fairness* as well as *sharing the benefits of tourism,* and associated with the value type of universalism and benevolence. His viewpoint is summarised by his response to the question of why it was important for Egypt to receive his holiday money directly,

> It allows a country that has been actively underdeveloped by clan rule, British occupation and unfair world economic rules; it actually allows them to kick-start their economy. It has big costs – you know, environmental costs, certainly social costs, definitely, I mean tourism does have very negative impacts, particularly somewhere like Egypt. But nonetheless, you know if I am going to go somewhere and I am going to spend some money on a holiday, whether it's France or Egypt (and it's a bit more difficult when it comes to going to Egypt for most people), yeah, I want the money that I spend to go into the local economy as much as possible really.

The other respondent in this category explained the criteria she had used to choose a tour operator for a short jungle trip taken during the time she was volunteering with a Church group in Quito,

> I tried to make sure that they were local and owned by Ecuadorians because there were so many American companies and European companies in the city that the money they were making was clearly going out of the country, so I thought to give to somebody who's actually in the country – that my money goes there.

When asked why this was so important she responded that it was because of the poverty she had witnessed during her time as a volunteer, that she felt it was a way of giving something back to the community, "like a charity thing almost", thus revealing again the connection between personal experience of poverty and the disequilibrium associated with Kohlberg (1969). In response to why it was important to give something back to the community she responded,

> Maybe its guilt. When you come from Europe, and you are travelling, especially when you go travelling in one of the poorest countries in the world, it makes you feel guilty because you come and see their country and you leave again and leave them behind. I guess it was a bit of guilt and trying to give back and say 'thank you' for letting me see their country.

Significantly, such an admission of guilt was not a feature of the laddering interviews in this study, but why this was so is not clear. It could be argued that perhaps respondents believed they were being as responsible as possible and that their proactivity negated any potential guilt. What is known however is that these two respondents worked hard to ensure the money they spent on holiday went directly to their destination country and demonstrates strong associations with both universalism and benevolence value types.

6.3.14 Travelled to ethical/ responsible destination/ resort

Two different respondents chose to travel to destinations they considered to be ethical or at least sustainable, with an additional respondent having done so on a previous trip. The benefit for Alastair of holidaying in Costa Rica was the destination's insistence on developing an ethical and responsible industry and this tied in with the importance he placed on managing the impact of tourism sensitively for both local people and the environment. An additional benefit for this respondent was the chance to enhance his children's formal education (as mentioned earlier) by showing them a developing country - thus revealing the importance of *achievement, learning and sharing knowledge,* all values

associated with the characteristics of challenge and independent thought that are associated with the self-direction and stimulation value types.

The second respondent however appeared to place equal importance on the remoteness of the destination for his family holiday, enjoying not only the peace and quiet but the opportunity to continue their sustainable lifestyle on holiday. His delight at staying in an eco-cabin has already been described in a previous attribute and it is sufficient at this point to reiterate that he enjoyed sustainable living both at home and on holiday, thus prioritising the universal values of *stewardship, sharing resources* and *sustainable lifestyle.*

Figure 6.16: HVM for 'Travelled to ethical/ responsible destination/ resort
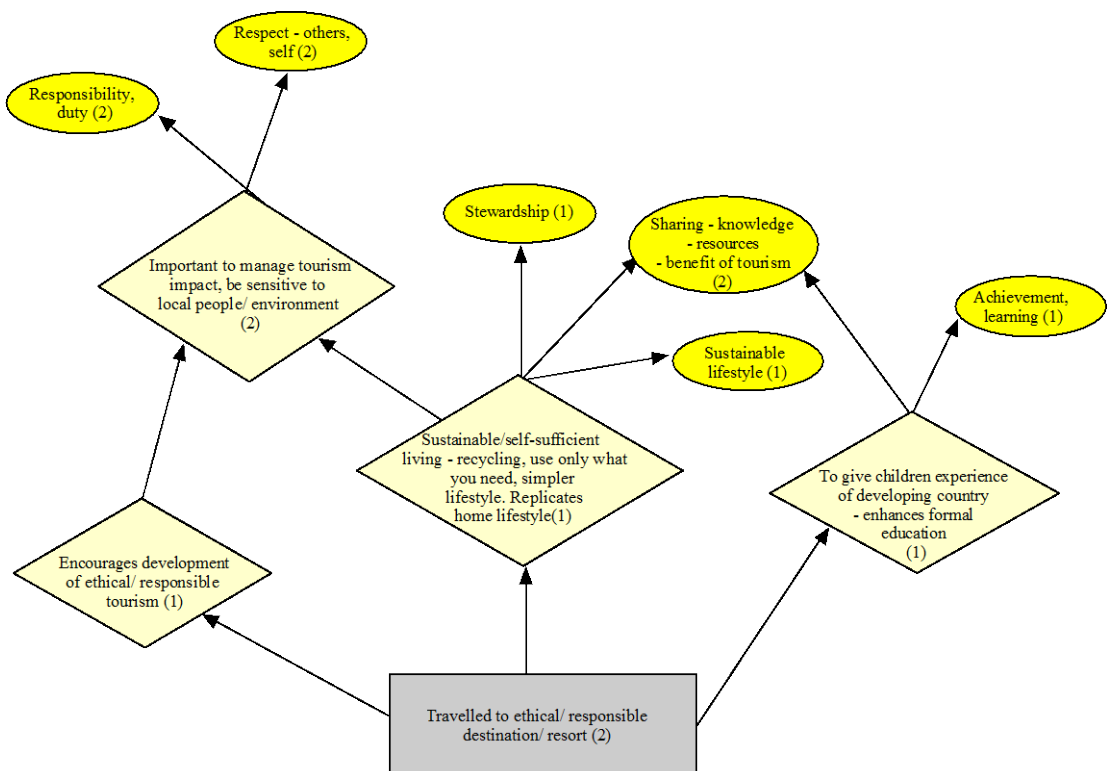
Although not included in the figures shown for this attribute, a third respondent had made a trip to Costa Rica on a previous holiday, and described her reasons for doing so,

> One of the main reasons I chose Costa Rica as a place where I could go and see tropical forest was the fact that it's a very interesting country. Whereas all the rest of those countries in Central America were basically being run by dictators of various sorts, Costa Rica has always been a much more egalitarian country. I mean, they have compulsory education to fourteen, free health care to sixteen,

they have no army, no navy, no defence whatsoever, and they would also stand up to the USA as far as they could.

Clearly this respondent is espousing values associated with equity and social justice, thus indicating the universalism value type. In addition, her belief that Cost Rica would 'stand up' to the USA appears to indicate the importance of challenge – also a feature of her earlier comments about acting against not only the 'corporate grab' of large multinationals but also the homogenisation of UK towns.

6.3.15 Miscellaneous category

This category contains a selection of key attributes mentioned only once and although their perceived individual significance may be slight, some of them in fact deserve more attention because they emphasise key values in this study. Andy, for example, specifically avoided luxury 5-star hotels because he abhorred the waste associated with them. In an explanation of his feelings he noted,

> I know for a fact in Egypt (my brother-in-law used to work in the tourism industry there) that the really luxury hotels, they probably chuck out more food everyday than they actually serve. And this is in a country where there are millions of people that go hungry every day, you know, that live on a very basic diet of beans and bread.

He also described seeing waste food skips outside 5-star hotels in the UK, believing "the amount of waste is probably proportionate to the luxury of the hotel". Such opinions indicate the importance of values such as *stewardship* (universalism) as well as *lasting contribution* (achievement) – this latter being achieved through deliberately choosing to stay in 3-star hotels on holiday and thus contributing less in terms of wastage.

Another respondent, a Buddhist, demonstrated her priority for personal *responsibility* and *duty* by attending an annual Buddhist Retreat, an activity expected of all students of Buddhism, and one that used up the majority of her annual vacation time. For this respondent, being a Buddhist was about two things,

> It's about making myself a better person and also to benefit others, because one of the tenets of Buddhism is to be compassionate towards others. There's also a

personal payoff for me in that I feel a happier, more successful person because I'm a Buddhist and hopefully there's also a payoff for others in terms of the way I try and live. I mean, I try and live as ethically as I can.

A significant emphasis on the importance of *respect* comes from Nigel whose background as a climbing and mountaineering tour guide had resulted in acute awareness of the impacts of tourism. He related tales of tourist's insensitive photographic behaviour in support of his assertion that even though some tourists may travel with an ethical or responsible operator their personal behaviour may not always match those of the operator's responsible tourism policy. Indeed he admitted that observing what he termed the "terribly intrusive" behaviour of tourists in his charge had challenged his personal worldview,

> When you are working you can be quite stand-offish and you can be objective about the actions of your people. You know, ramming cameras in peoples' faces, finding a cute kid or an old guy with a wrinkly face and putting a black and white film in and shoving the camera lens in his face and then having an awful trophy-photograph on their living room wall. You know, like people used to shoot deer and stuff their heads and put them on the wall, the tourists do that now with people. And they don't see that as being…. they think they've gone and had a low impact holiday. I mean imagine sitting there and some guy walks up and rams this camera in your face to take your picture, it's terribly intrusive. It's not my place; I don't see it as my place to say to people 'don't do that'. I can kind of drop hints and say 'try and act with a little bit of respect and empathy to local people' but people don't think, for instance the camera-thing is being intrusive. It boggles my mind and yes, I find that hard to deal with.

Although this respondent focused on his experiences regarding the social impact of tourism the majority of the other respondents commented mainly on the environmental impact of their holidays, and acute understanding of the social impact of tourism was rare.

For the two respondents who enjoyed travelling overseas every time they holidayed, Paulette preferred to visit new destinations each time. Ann on the other hand didn't mind retracing her steps as long as she went outside the UK - not only because she was a linguist but also because she enjoyed the challenge, thus revealing the values of *achievement and learning*. Specifically she didn't want to become 'out of touch', and she explained why this was important,

> It would be very easy to live a very comfortable, smug life in Brighton and not know how what else is going on in the world and I like to be well-informed.

These values were also significant for Paulette who liked adventure trips (with Explore) as she felt that it expanded her interests and made her more tolerant of others and their differences. She explained,

> I can get to the stage where you see on television, you read in newspapers, you sort of listen to people and you are getting the same sort of insular attitude. When I go away I come back feeling much more accepting of life.

To summarise, although this category has included those attributes mentioned by one person, the reasons behind their choices are significant and reflective of the values found in the larger attribute categories. The value types revealed here also mirror those found in previous attributes but reveal a strong connection with universalism, self-direction, stimulation and achievement.

6.4 *Additional significant attributes*

This category includes additional choices revealed by the respondents during the course of their interviews and although not related to their holiday choices they are considered by the researcher to offer context and further insight into respondents' values.

6.4.1 Buy ethically produced goods (vegetarian, vegan, organic food, ethical clothing, second-hand clothing etc.)

Responses regarding these actions were not actively sought through the interview questions but were revealed as a result of conversation about other key attributes. Consequently, it should be noted that although only eight respondents specifically prioritised this attribute it does not mean that none of the other respondents were vegetarian, vegan, bought organic food or ethical food and clothing. Nevertheless, of these eight respondents five were vegetarians, one vegan, two bought only organic food and one revealed she bought only ethically produced clothing.

Looking at Figure 6.17 it is clear that the benefits of this attribute are two-fold – firstly, respondents believed it was important not to harm or eat animals, demonstrating *respect*

for animals and *responsibility*, and secondly it was important to create an inheritable world by reducing global consumption, indicating *stewardship* and *sustainable lifestyle*.

Figure 6.17 'Buy ethically produced goods (vegetarian, vegan, organic foods, ethical clothing, second-hand clothing etc.)'
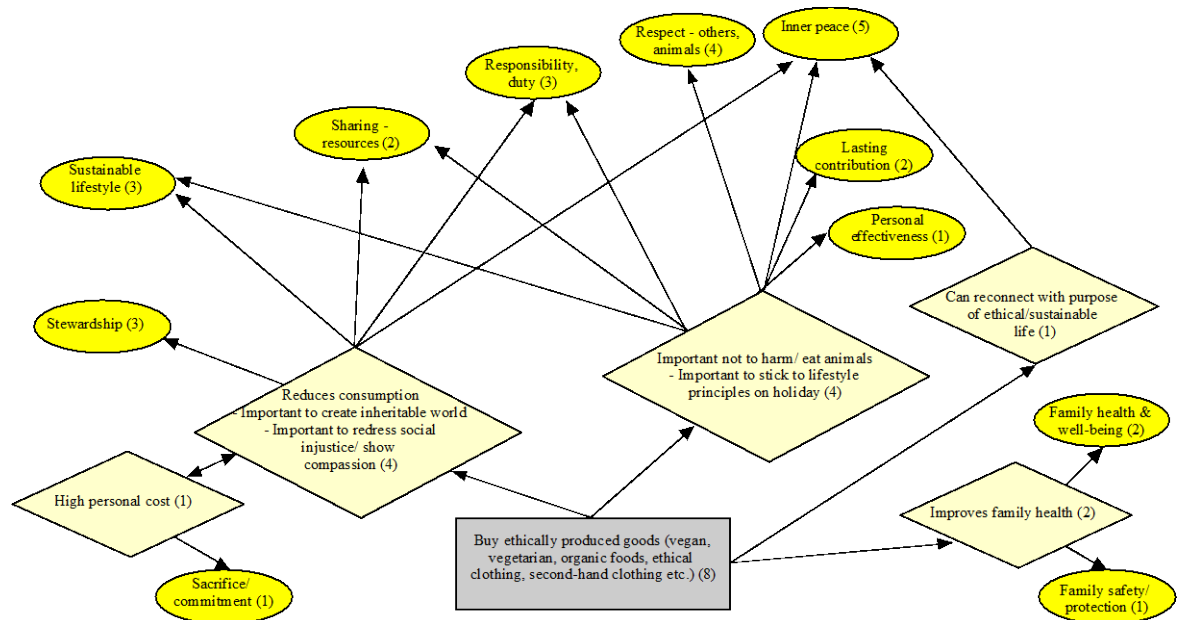
These sentiments indicate a strongly universal perspective as is illustrated by the following respondent's explanation of why she was a vegan,

> If you look at the inefficiency of food production through raising animals, the extra water it takes compared to vegetable crops, I just firmly believe that if we are going to feed the world's population then we have to cut right back, right back on meat consumption, and dairy and eggs as well.

This findings of this attribute demonstrate that a range of benefits and therefore values are at stake in all areas of purchasing behaviour and even though this group of people sometimes found it challenging, expensive and even lonely, what was often more important was pursuing their ethical principles, regardless of the personal costs involved. Overall, the value type of universalism was prioritised.

6.4.2 Avoid using car at home/ Don't own a car

This is the final attribute revealed by this study and as for the previous section it was revealed only in response to laddering questions about why the environment was important. In fact, of the five respondents who did not own a car or who actively avoided using them on a regular basis, three of them preferred to cycle whilst the others enjoyed the exercise of walking as much as demonstrating environmental concern. As shown in Figure 6.18 below the most popular benefit was of not using or owning a car was to reduce environmental impact through less carbon emissions. This decision clearly links to *stewardship,* but also *inner peace*.

Figure 6.18: HVM for 'Avoid using car at home/ Don't own a car'
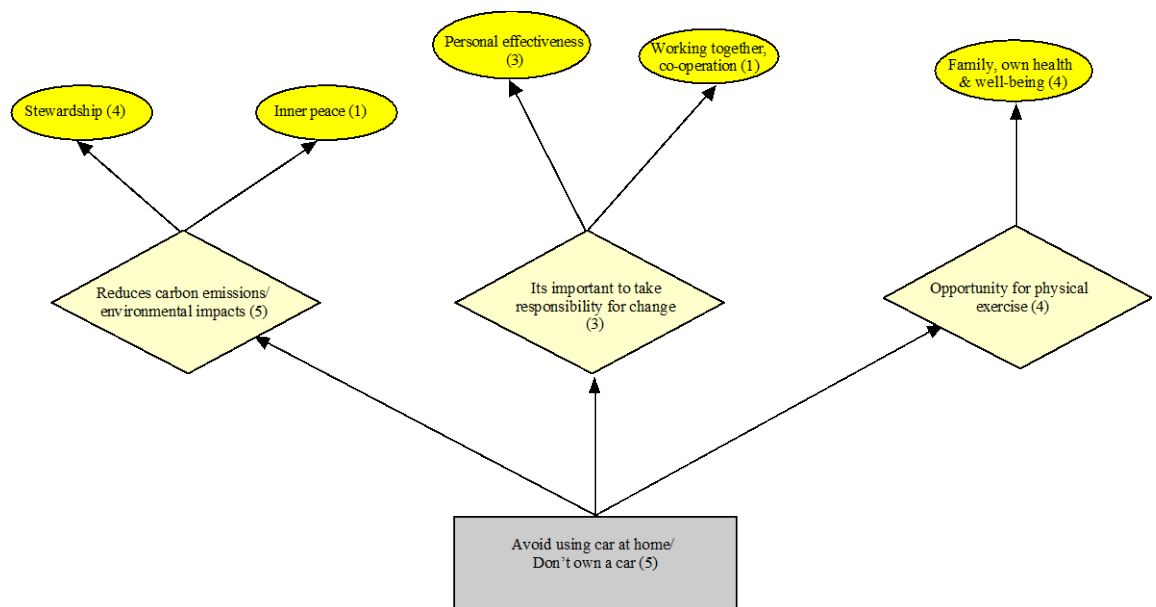
For three of the respondents, taking *responsibility* through not using a car was important, in terms of standing up for what they believed in - demonstrating behaviour to others enabled them to believe they were making a difference by their actions, thereby demonstrating a belief in their *personal effectiveness*. Almost all of the group also added that their chosen alternatives to owning or driving a car such as walking or cycling, was not only beneficial to the environment but gave them health benefits too, revealing the additional importance of *family and personal health and well-being*.

Also of significance for this attribute was that buying ethically sourced clothing (or second-hand clothing) enabled respondents' to redress what they saw as *social injustice* in

their manufacture. Although only two respondents mentioned this specific behaviour, guilt-free purchasing was a familiar theme with regard to this attribute and in this group of people. For example, one respondent explained that the high cost (to her) of buying ethical clothing was a sacrifice worth making even though it was financially costly,

> Because otherwise you are contributing to the misery more. There is enough of that without, you know – it's as if I buy something that I know has been made by somebody earning a really ridiculous amount of money per hour and possibly a child, somebody without any kind of rights or trade unions or anything that we are used to in this country and we benefit from, then it's just adding to the …it's not being compassionate, it's the opposite to that.

Clearly this respondent took personal *responsibility* for the impact of her purchasing behaviour, an attitude shared by many respondents in this study and illustrated by the following quote,

> I sometimes feel I'm pushing water uphill. Sometimes it feels a very lonely struggle to live by your principles. But that said, I want to sleep easily with a clear conscience. And hopefully, you know, a few people will see my example and go someway towards copying in some part my own lifestyle.

This desire for a clear conscience (interpreted as *inner peace)* was important for more than half of this group of respondents with five people specifically mentioning that it was a guiding principle in their lifestyle choices. However, although *stewardship* and concern for future generations was significant it was not always the prime motivation for certain activities. For example, with regard to eating only organic food one respondent explained it was important for her family do so purely because of the impact on their health from the chemicals associated with growing non-organic food and, as mentioned in a previous attribute, reveals an emphasis on *family health and wellbeing* and *family safety and protection*, and located in the security value type, rather than any wider prosocial concerns.

Significantly, a sense of compromise emerged in this attribute with at least two respondents' mentioning the convenience of having access to a car when they had small children with them on holiday. Robin for example chose to take the family car on holiday because of because of this, whereas before he had children he had always travelled by public transport – even overseas – and indeed had not owned a car for several years for environmental reasons. He explained,

> And this is the difference between me having children and me not with children. Had we not been with the children I would have been quite happy to jump on and off trains and buses and hang around at bus stops for two hours or whatever, but I have found that since having children the car is such a convenient way of getting out, especially on a holiday, that sort of thing.

Yet another respondent revealed she had sold the family car seven years ago because her children had grown older. These two examples suggest that compromise between the conflicting values of universalism and security might be a feature of some respondents' behaviour, depending upon their family's life stage. However, further insight is not possible on this point because the interview ladders were not actively pursued due to concern about the interview moving away from the main topic. Consequently, whilst the values derived from these last two attributes have been used to supplement the findings of this study no in-depth conclusions can be made regarding their significance.

6.5 *Additional insight – respondent contribution and impact*

Although all of the key attributes have now been addressed the following section will discuss supplementary responses to the question 'Do you think about your impact as a tourist? What about your contribution? Is that important?' These questions (number five in the list of interview questions) were used to prompt those respondents who did not actively mention it themselves to enable the researcher to gain further insight into their knowledge, understanding and choice behaviour.

When asked about their potential contribution as tourists, significantly the majority of participants interpreted this as a question regarding their economic contribution. For example, Linda explained that she and her husband went to great lengths to make sure they continued their ethical approach to life while on holiday, what she called her "acting-local-when-on-holiday", including avoiding the use of credit card companies to ensure their money went directly to the destination community. The same interpretation was applied to the question regarding their impact as tourists, with the majority of the respondents discussing their economic and environmental impact rather than any social impact. These findings suggest that consumer awareness of the economic and environmental impacts of

travel are greater and more frequently acknowledged than any potential social impact on resident communities.

Those respondents who did acknowledge the importance of being sensitive to local people were those who travelled with an ethical/responsible tour operator, those who had worked in the industry and observed other tourists (disrespectful) behaviour, those who were members of Tourism Concern, or those whose understanding of the issues surrounding the impact of tourism had come from personal experience, either working in developing countries or being tourists. One respondent, for example, reflected on a motorcycling holiday she had taken in Turkey twenty years ago when her arrival as a blonde, western woman in motorcycle leathers must have made a significant impact on the local women, and this realisation later caused her to feel guilty. She explained,

> So, there I was a blonde woman on a bike in leather trousers and I really sort of thought 'what impact am I having?' There were lots of young women there and I thought 'I wonder how I've impacted that village by being this woman who was sitting at a table with the men, not inside the café but outside the café – local, native women wouldn't do it'. Although I'd been made very welcome, it really worried me for ages afterwards because sometimes, you know, you can be a catalyst and I thought 'Is that a change for the good or a change for the worse?' Had I disturbed the village, could I possibly cause discontent amongst somebody?

Whilst it is unclear to what extent personal experience or education influenced or informed respondents' attitudes, the importance of knowledge and therefore understanding of such issues appeared to be a factor in their choices. For example, one respondent had lived for some time in a community of environmentalists in Germany during the 1990s, where she had been exposed to discussions about the causes of environmental damage and how to reverse it and she admitted that since living in this community she had found it increasingly difficult to ignore her knowledge of environmental issues,

> …there was no turning back from that knowledge because then whenever I drove in a car, or I flew or did anything other than walk or cycle, I was aware I was impacting the environment, potentially negatively, from what I had been told by environmentalists. I've actually reached a point now where I don't know quite where to go on holiday, where I could have an ethical and environmentally friendly holiday, if you see what I mean, without impacting on other communities.

This section has presented some of the key additional themes from the research and whilst the data has not been incorporated into the hierarchical value maps, the information has provided further insight into the nature and concerns of the respondents.

6.6 Discussion of findings

The final section of this chapter presents a summary of the key values mentioned by respondents in this study and a discussion of the findings with additional consideration being given to the wider literature.

Table 6.3: The total list of values identified from the study, presented in rank order

Rank no.	Values	Times cited	Schwartz's (1992) value type
1	Respecting - others, self, mutual, animals	40	Self-direction, Tradition, Conformity
2	Responsibility, duty, duty of care - individual and collective. Empathy	37	Universalism/ Benevolence
2	Sharing - knowledge, beliefs, experiences, resources - including economic & other benefits of tourism and planet's resources	37	Universalism/ Benevolence
4	Connecting with people/ reconnecting with people	36	Benevolence/ Security
5	Stewardship - protection of environment, of indigenous skills	31	Universalism
6	Equity, fairness, social justice, equal distribution of wealth	30	Universalism
7	Achievement, learning & knowledge (family, individual)	25	Self-direction/ Stimulation
8	Freedom, independence, autonomy, choice	24	Self-direction
9	Happiness, pleasure	23	Hedonism
10	Inner peace, spiritual renewal	22	Universalism/ Spirituality
11	Authenticity/ Truth	13	Stimulation
12	Lasting contribution	12	Achievement
13	Co-operation, working together	11	Achievement
14	Connecting with nature/ reconnecting with nature	10	Universalism
14	Thrift	10	Conformity
16	Equality, equality between tourist and resident	9	Universalism
16	Simplicity, voluntary simplicity, sustainable lifestyle	9	Universalism
16	Belonging	9	Security
19	Family and own good health and well-being	8	Security
19	Personal effectiveness	8	Achievement/ Self-direction
21	Nostalgia, family memories	7	Security/ Hedonism
22	Appreciating difference/ celebrating diversity	6	Universalism
22	Family and own safety/ security, trust	6	Security
25	Escape from everyday life, novelty	4	Hedonism
26	Stimulation, challenge, exploration, excitement	3	Stimulation
26	Connecting with family, friendship, love	3	Benevolence
28	Commitment, sacrifice	2	Universalism/ Achievement

Table 6.3 above lists the values in rank order, according to the number of times they were interpreted from the data by the researcher, and indicates to which Schwartz (1992) value type the values correspond. Taking the ten most often interpreted or invoked values it is clear that the respondents of this study were keen to make holiday choices which allowed them to demonstrate respect for others (including animals), this being an important factor in achieving and maintaining self-respect.

The data also indicates respondents took an active and personal responsibility for the impact of their holidays, whether this was on destination communities or the natural environment. Respondents also revealed the importance of sharing, whether this was making sure the money they spent on holiday went directly to local communities, sharing the planet's natural resources by taking public transport or by parents sharing their knowledge about the world with their children.

This study has also revealed that respondents enjoyed connecting with people, whether this was by going on holiday with family and friends or by building relationships with local people on holiday. The findings also reveal that respondents took care to protect the environment and indigenous skills for the future and were very concerned that their holidays did not result in inequity, unfairness and a lack of social justice for others, achieved through locally and directly sharing the benefits of tourism and showing respect for other cultures, religions and local people. Still within the top ten values, the study also revealed that these respondents prioritised learning through travelling and the importance of freedom, independence and autonomy. Unsurprisingly for a study concerned with holiday choices, the values of happiness and pleasure were highlighted, with holidays being viewed as opportunities for inner peace and spiritual renewal.

Looking at Table 6.3, it is apparent that the most relevant value types defining the respondents of this study are universalism, benevolence, self-direction, hedonism, achievement and stimulation with additional but less relevant value types being conformity, tradition and security. There is no evidence of respondents being motivated by the power value type, as defined by Schwartz (1992). In addition, and although spirituality was shown to be an important aspect in many respondents' choices, it has not been allocated a separate value type – instead (and in line with Schwartz's [1992] research and

Grunert and Juhl's [1995] observation) it is located within universalism. This is because respondents achieved inner peace / spirituality from a variety of actions but most notably by taking responsibility for the impact of their holidays and sharing the benefits of tourism, both of which are key features of universalism.

The most significant value type for the respondents of this study is universalism, whose motivational goals are understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature. The presence of this value type is perhaps not entirely unexpected in a study of ethical and responsible tourists, whose major concerns appear to centre on respect for others, taking personal responsibility for the impact of their holidays and the desire to share the benefits of tourism. In his discussion of the origins of such universal values, Schwartz (1992) contends that these are likely to be triggered when people first go beyond their primary group experience (for example, their home surroundings) and become aware of the scarcity of resources. He further suggests that those who display universal values are more likely to recognise that failure to accept difference in others, treating people unjustly and not protecting the environment can lead to life-threatening conflict and, ultimately, destruction for all. This study appears to indicate that respondents share this perspective, recalling Schwartz's (1992) contention that those from largely individualist societies (such as the UK and Europe) demonstrate equal concern for all others rather than just those within their in-group.

The additional presence and emphasis on benevolence, self-direction, achievement, stimulation and hedonism indicate that, with regard to their holiday choices, respondents' prioritise the protection and welfare of others and the environment, demonstrate a high degree of independent thought and action, want their universal values to have an impact on others, enjoy learning whilst on holiday and, finally, derive pleasure and happiness from the pursuit of these values. In addition, the fact that respondents place less emphasis on conformity, tradition and security indicate that whilst these people are likely to show respect for their own and family health, wellbeing and security as well as for cultural norms and traditions on holiday, they are also not afraid to challenge those social norms if and whenever they conflict with their universal perspective.

Returning to the point made earlier regarding the power value type, this value type focuses on the attainment of social status and prestige, involves a dominance/submission dimension to relationships with others and regards people holding these values most likely to be interested in social esteem and preserving (or attaining) a dominant position in society (Schwartz, 1992). Clearly, the findings of this study indicate that respondents' emphasis on benevolence and universalism would produce a conflict with the power value type, again, not unexpected in a study involving those concerned with sharing and protecting.

In addition, these results recall Shaw *et al.* (2005) who in their study of ethical consumers (which also used Schwartz's [1992] list of values for analysis) identified the existence of three additional values - *capitalism* (or control and dominance of multinationals) and *consumer power* (the impact of purchase decisions), both of which they located within the power value type, and *animal welfare* (protection for the welfare of all animals), located within the universalism value type. As regards locating the two former values within the power value type, Shaw *et al.* (2005) interpreted capitalism to be an important 'negative' value for those ethical consumers who created 'positive' consumer power either by boycotting those organisations they saw as unethical or by supporting ethical companies through the purchase of fair trade (for example). In other words, although consumer power might be located within the power value type a desire for dominance and control can also be regarded as an opportunity to "benefit others and for the protection of resources through the consumption of more ethical products" (Shaw *et al.*, 2005:197). It must be pointed out however, that this current study has placed a different interpretation on what are quite obviously similar activities. For example, several respondents were keen to say they never shopped with multinationals and many were eager to buy locally, both on holiday and at home.

The researcher has not located these motives within the power value type, but placed them within the universalism value type, not only because of respondents' avowed desire to consider the issues of equity, fairness, social justice and equal distribution of wealth whilst on holiday but also because overall, their desire to demonstrate fairness was stronger than their desire to avoid multinationals or punish unethical companies. In other words, whilst up to six respondents were adamant about not using multinationals the remaining eighteen

in fact did not reveal this to be an overriding factor and instead focused their energies on choices that enabled local people to benefit from their holidays, both in the UK or overseas. Whether it is more difficult for consumers to identify multinationals or potentially unethical companies within the tourism industry is unknown, but it is clear that anti-capitalist campaigners have not yet turned their attention to the tourism industry and, potentially, the complexity of the industry and its many components may in the long-term prevent this from fully happening.

Looking at Figure 6.19 below, a model first introduced in Chapter four and now revised in the light of the findings, the key value types found in this study (universalism, benevolence, self-direction, hedonism, achievement and stimulation) indicate respondents mainly have a self-transcendent attitude to life and are open to change. Conversely, the value types less often invoked in this study (tradition, conformity and security) indicate respondents place less priority on activities and behaviour that seek to maintain the status quo.

Figure 6.19: Revised theoretical model of relations among motivational types of values, higher order value types and bipolar value dimensions
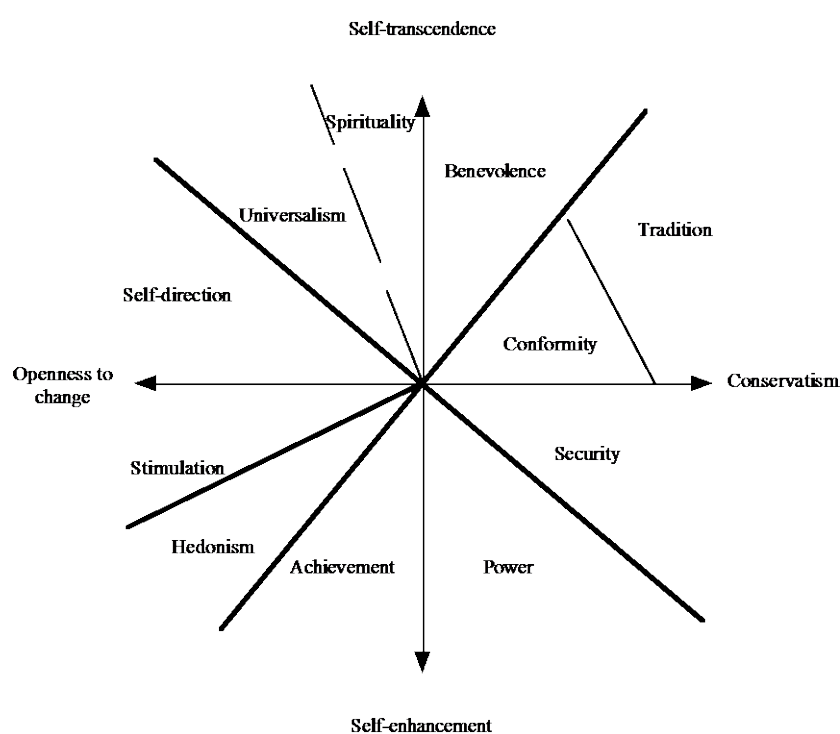
Source: Adapted from Schwartz, 1992:45

The achievement value type, whilst located by Schwartz (1992) in the self-enhancement section of the model has been interpreted in this study as a desire to be influential in facilitating a positive change in others' behaviour, most notably with regard to not flying, and incorporates activities that promote stewardship of the environment. Looking at Appendix E, the full interpretation of the achievement values for this study includes the importance of learning and knowledge for their families and themselves. The full description of elements included in this value and how they were interpreted in the study, is set out below,

> "Used to illustrate family as well as individual learning. Included families showing children a different way of living, other cultures, countryside, wanting to enhance formal education. Included importance of speaking local language, giving rise to deeper experience of culture, people, country, being well-informed, reducing meaningless stereotypes of each other's culture. Important for some to learn about country in order to offer practical help. Others valued two-way learning - tourist/ resident. Achievement also included those who expressed pleasure at acting sustainably on holiday/ in everyday life. Included those who expressed need to go beyond tourist bubble, meeting new challenges." (Source: Author, interpreted from respondents' A-B chain. For full list of values, their interpretation and full descriptions see Appendix E)

This clearly indicates that Schwartz's interpretation of achievement differs in emphasis from the interpretation derived from the respondents in this study, a point particularly apparent by looking again at his description of achievement,

> This is about personal success through demonstrating competence, and necessary for survival, both individually and socially. Results in a need for social approval, rather than internal standards of excellence (Schwartz, 1992:5)

In other words, because the ethical and responsible tourist is not just looking for social approval (and therefore self-enhancement), Schwartz's model does not satisfactorily address the motivational values of ethical and responsible tourists. An additional and perhaps more significant finding however, is that there is no indication of the presence of the power value type in the values of ethical and responsible tourists. Again, this highlights the failure of Schwartz's model to fully encompass the values of ethical and responsible tourists. This latter finding concurs with the work of Shaw et al., (2005) who also criticised Schwartz's (1992) list for not being fully satisfactory for ethical consumer

research, suggesting that additional value measures (capitalism, consumer power and animal welfare) would strengthen such research in the future.

In addition, looking more closely at the presence of hedonism, it appears from the findings that the ethical and responsible tourist is not just concerned with hedonic, self-interested consumption. Indeed, although hedonism is present, the respondents appear to hold a stronger connection to universal values (associated with a concern for the welfare of others and the protection of nature), and other values which point toward a sense of moral obligation. In fact, all three of the Schwartz's value types (power, achievement and hedonism) located in the self-enhancement section of his model do not fully explain the ethical and responsible tourist. From these findings, it is clear that ethical and responsible tourists place much less emphasis on self-enhancement and more importance on self-transcendence values. To conclude, whilst much of Schwartz's theory is useful in a general consumer context, it offers insufficient insight into the ethical and responsible tourist's motivational values. There is tremendous scope here for future research to address this by modifying Schwartz's (1992) theory to more exactly encompass the values of consumers in ethical contexts and extending the limited understanding of the ethical and responsible tourist and their motivating values.

Moving on to the presence of moral obligation, this is explained as "a sense of obligation to others and identification with ethical issues" (Shaw *et al.*, 2000:889) and can make any consumer decision more complicated by an additional layer of concern. Such additional complexity recalls Shaw and Shiu's (2003) contention that ethical consumers are demonstrably different from traditional consumers precisely because of this extra complication and suggest that traditional decision-making models are ill-equipped to deal with such situations and therefore unlikely to contribute towards further understanding of ethical consumers. Connected to moral obligation and its emphasis on the welfare of others, is the concept of social interest (Crandall, 1980), which indicates an ability to identify with the needs and concerns of others. The respondents of this study clearly demonstrate such ability, not least because of their emphasis on the values of cooperation, sharing and contribution, all noted by Crandall (1980) as important indicators of the presence of social interest. Crandall (1980) also noted that social interest was complementary to rather than contradictory to self-interest, indicating the importance of

both elements, and this study reveals that respondents displayed both elements, as seen in the presence of the universalism, hedonism and security value types.

Crandall (1980) also proposed that those with a high level of social interest strive to reduce levels of conflict and feelings of threat and hostility in order to attain happiness and a sense of belonging. These elements can again be seen in this study, as evidenced in the value types of security and conformity, but although they are not overly present in this study their appearance indicates respondents' happiness to be partly based upon a desire to see society flourishing well together or a desire for safety, harmony and the stability of relationships.

In addition to moral obligation and social interest, the findings also indicate the presence of helping behaviour, with several respondents revealing a desire to make a lasting contribution beyond the period of the holiday, whether this was by improving understanding between cultures, not adding to global emissions or by reducing their overall consumption. Lasting contribution was interpreted by the researcher to be an achievement value type, whose characteristics are being capable and influential. As noted earlier in this chapter, Schwartz (1992) considered these values important for those seeking social approval but in this study it has been shown that respondents were not so much keen for personal gain as keen to consider the impact of their purchases on others as well as the environment. To date, such helping behaviour has mostly been explored in the context of giving to charity and considered to contain both altruistic and egoistic motives (Hibbert *et al.*, 2005), a finding that appears to be supported by this study, with several respondents acknowledging the importance of making a lasting contribution to others in order to attain inner peace or to reduce potential feelings of guilt.

Significantly however, only two respondents emphasised the importance of charity in this respect by revealing that it was important to make life better for those in poorer countries (than the UK) because they were not able to help themselves. This minority view was in stark contrast to other respondents' who, although they demonstrated universal values, did not emphasise the importance of charity. Indeed, their priorities lay with helping communities to help themselves and rather than adopt an attitude of charity they wanted to help communities take practical action, most notably by spending money locally on

holiday or by sharing knowledge with local people about how to benefit further from tourism. The following quote illustrates one respondent's attitude and demonstrates not only a practical approach to sharing the benefits of tourism but also an acknowledgement of personal as well as social responsibility,

> My view is to actually sort of try and turn it round and say 'well, OK, these people have skills, what they lack is an opportunity to sell their products for a reasonable price so that their quality of life and the quality of life for their children in the future is better'. So, you know, I think that's a responsibility for all of us really.

Another key finding of this study is the importance of perceived consumer effectiveness (PCE), identified in this study as personal consumer effectiveness and located within the achievement and self-direction value types. This value was allocated to those who believed strongly in their personal ability to effect change and who believed that to some extent their behaviour could make a difference in facilitating positive change in others' behaviour and mostly uncovered in laddering the attributes of buying locally and taking public transport/ avoiding flying. As noted earlier, the prominent feature of the achievement value type is a desire to be influential, and those respondents who indicated a belief in their personal effectiveness wanted to demonstrate to others that it was possible to live (and travel) without compromising any pro-environmental principles.

The achievement value type also has a connection with the self-direction value type with its emphasis on independent thought and action. This connection was apparent because throughout the interviews, respondents indicated a desire to challenge social norms and certainly did not appear to look to others for social approval. In fact, this desire to challenge was apparent in many aspects of the research and not just in regard to protecting the environment, and is significant because it recalls Feather (1994), whose work on moral judgement indicated that moral behaviour involved an increased emphasis on the universal values of tolerance and appreciation and a reduced commitment to the conservative values of conformity, security and tradition, which are characterised by deference to authority and self-restraint. It must be noted at this point however that although conformity, security and tradition were revealed to be less important to the majority of respondents in this study, they were in fact central to the issue of showing respect to other cultures and other

religions, and of equal significance to those concerned with family (and own) good health, wellbeing and security.

Respondents' desire to challenge deserves further investigation and in fact invokes Kohlberg's (1969) theory of moral development, which suggests that individuals pass through three stages of development according to their level of moral reasoning. For Kohlberg (1969) it is precisely the reasoning behind behaviour, rather than merely behaviour, or statements about right or wrong, that characterises moral development, and he suggests studies that only examine people's behaviour reveal little about an individual's moral outlook. Significantly, using the MEC theory and the laddering technique, this study has been able to explore Kohlberg's viewpoint, and revealed the reasoning behind respondents' holiday choices and whilst Kohlberg's theory of moral development has not been the main focus of this study it can still offer some insight to the findings.

For example, and as noted in Chapter two, the three levels of moral reasoning are pre-conventional, conventional and post-conventional with each level being an indicator of a different stage of moral development. Many of the respondents of this study appear to have reached the post-conventional stages of development, most notably stage six, which suggests that rather than merely living up to society's expectations or fulfilling the duties and obligations of society, they have developed an individual sense of moral judgement that goes beyond their personal needs and to which they have a deep sense of personal commitment, as evidenced by several of them spending more money and time on their choice of holiday transportation.

Fennell (2006) suggests that people who have reached stage six are characterised by a universal perspective, where what is just is just for all of humanity and the environment. Gibb (1977) however, goes further and specifies that these people have deliberately detached themselves from the accepted worldview and adopted a "detached and questioning posture" (Gibb, 1977:56) correlating with an existentialist striving for meaning in their life. Such a questioning posture has clearly been revealed in this study with many respondents gaining great satisfaction from adopting a challenging or questioning posture, whether explicitly and implicitly and this point alone would indicate many of them to have reached stage six. Indeed, this study also supports the work of Ostini and Ellerman (1997)

who concluded that stage six or mature moral reasoning was characterised by principle rather than conformity to authority, tolerance rather than tradition, benevolence rather than security and a general orientation to others rather than self.

In addition, and recalling Fukukawa (2003), reaching stage six indicates that the individual has moved beyond external influences and instead relies heavily on their own internal drives with regard to developing ethical principles. This internal drive is significant because those with a high degree of internal control believe they have the power to directly or indirectly affect outcomes in their lives and this factor has been the central feature in many studies examining the role of perceived consumer effectiveness (PCE) in prosocial and pro-environmental behaviour (see Kinnear *et al.*, 1974; Roberts, 1995; Cleveland *et al.,* 2005). These studies suggest that for pro-environmental behaviour to occur, not only do consumers need to be aware that a problem exists but they must also believe their actions contribute to a solution.

6.7 *Summary*

This chapter has described and analysed the findings of a study into the values of ethical and responsible tourists. It has revealed that the key attribute for these respondents was travelling independently not only because they valued freedom and autonomy but also because they wanted to share the economic benefits of their holidays with local people. Additional significant attributes included the desire to shop locally, the use of public transport and /or avoiding flying, spending time outdoors, making an effort to talk to local people in their own language and observing local traditions and customs. Of further significance was being able to stay off the beaten track and staying in locally owned accommodation. Additional attributes in their everyday lives included buying ethically produced goods (vegetarian, vegan or organic food and ethical clothing) and avoiding the use or ownership of a car.

A wide range of values has been revealed through the preferencing of these attributes with the most often revealed being the values of respect, responsibility, sharing, connecting with people, stewardship of the environment and indigenous skills, equity and fairness, achievement and learning, freedom, happiness and inner peace and spiritual renewal.

These values tell us that the responsible and ethical tourist is one who is likely to show respect for local people and their customs, take personal responsibility for the impact of their holiday, and want to share the economic benefits of their holidays with local communities as well as share their knowledge about the world with their families. In addition, respondents demonstrated a desire to build relationships with others, whether family, friends or local people, they want to retain freedom both for themselves and the local community on holiday as well as enjoy their holidays and view them as opportunities for spiritual renewal. Such values indicate the presence of a variety of value types, but most significantly universalism, benevolence, self-direction, hedonism, stimulation and spirituality.

This chapter has also discussed the contribution of Schwartz's (1992) value theory to an extended understanding of the ethical and responsible tourist. Whilst the findings of the study indicate this theory to be mostly appropriate for interpreting the values of consumers, there are limitations in its application to the ethical and responsible tourist. Most notably, there is no evidence of the presence of the power value type and only a limited connection with the achievement value type as defined by Schwartz. Indeed, this chapter recommends that future research continue to explore this theory within ethical contexts, in order to more fully understand the meaning behind the power and achievement values for the ethical and responsible tourist.

Additional analysis of the findings reveals that these respondents have a high degree of personal effectiveness, they exhibit a sense of moral obligation and are likely to be knowledgeable about the political and economic responsibilities associated with consumption, although this is sometimes difficult for them to achieve on holiday, due to a lack of information and knowledge. As individuals, they are likely to have affiliations across a large number of campaigning and other organisations that cover the spectrum of religious, social, political and environmental concerns. In an earlier study, Anderson and Cunningham (1972) found that socially responsible consumers were more likely to be active members of community or church groups and show an active interest in and knowledge about local and national politics.

This is particularly significant because, whilst the respondents of this study did not show much affiliation with religious organisations (possibly due to a reduced role for religion in UK society), they did however subscribe to a number of different organisations representing a range of political, social, religious and/or environmental groups, at local, national and international level. (See Appendix F, for a complete list of respondents' affiliations and subscriptions). Many of these organisations are campaigning or direct action organisations (such as Stop the War Coalition, Amnesty, Tourism Concern or Viva) and it is perhaps not altogether unexpected for these respondents to be actively engaged in consumer groups or campaigns given their high level of personal effectiveness and expressed belief in the power of consumers to facilitate positive change.

Further on this point, the literature review conducted for this study indicated that the name 'ethical consumer' is sometimes used as an umbrella term to encompass a wide range of ethical and moral issues. This is a contention borne out in the findings and clearly displayed in the number of diverse affiliations claimed by respondents, as already noted. However, these findings are perhaps unsurprising given the wide range of consumers deliberately recruited to this study and it must also be acknowledged that whilst the majority had a number of affiliations showing a diverse range of interests, several of them had none at all. What is indisputable however, and regardless of the number of their affiliations, many respondents demonstrated knowledge of market mechanisms and a sophisticated understanding of the political importance of their consumption both at home and on holiday.

To conclude, if calls for an ethical approach to tourism represent a different type of moral challenge then these respondents have indicated their willingness to take personal responsibility in support of these calls. In addition, if Wearing (2002) is correct in contending that tourism perpetuates inequality, with multinationals having economic control, then the respondents of this study are clearly unhappy about this and appear to take active responsibility, not only to make sure their actions do not perpetuate this inequality but also to act as teachers and to help others understand how to adopt fairer practices whilst at the same time not sacrificing the enjoyment associated with holiday choice.

7.0   CHAPTER SEVEN

**CONCLUSION, IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY, FUTURE RESEARCH
CONSIDERATIONS**

7.1 Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to gain insight into ethical and responsible tourists, to understand their motivational values and to reveal the importance of these values in their holiday choice behaviour. This study has more than achieved this aim and makes unique contributions in several areas – not only has it extended what is known and understood about ethical and responsible tourist's motivation but it has also underlined the utility of the values concept to understand their holiday choice behaviour. Further contribution derives from the application of the conceptual framework of the means-end chain theory, which has enabled this study to explore the linkages between ethical and responsible tourists' holiday choices, the perceived benefits of these choices and their underpinning values. As a result, this study has significantly advanced the tourist research agenda, not only by revealing the meaningful associations between ethical and responsible tourists' values and their holiday choice behaviour, but also by providing crucial information on the specific values that prompt these holiday choices.

The conclusions of this study demonstrate that ethical and responsible tourists prefer to travel independently, perceive tourism to have the capacity to be inequitable and have knowledge of how the tourism industry operates. In addition to their perception and knowledge, they demonstrate an ability to empathise with others both on an economic and a social level and mostly have a sophisticated level of self-awareness and understanding of their impact as tourists. They demonstrate sympathy for the principles of fair trade, with its emphasis on cooperation and working collaboratively, and not only do they take active responsibility for sharing the economic benefits of their holidays but also they want to make a lasting contribution to the visited community.   Additionally, they demonstrate a good knowledge of economic market mechanisms, have concerns about the impact of a global tourism industry and strive to incorporate their lifestyle values into their holiday choices. The research also shows that several of the respondents are distrustful of large, multinational companies, not only because of their capacity to undermine the social fabric

of communities but also because they believe it is important to support and retain diversity, difference and choice in all areas of society.

This study concludes that ethical and responsible tourists have a strong belief in their personal ability to facilitate change, not only by sharing their knowledge and experiences with family and friends but also by believing they can demonstrate to others how to be an ethical or responsible consumer, even during their holidays. Such strong indications of their personal effectiveness are also found in the wide range of affiliations and groups to which the respondents' belong and which encompass a variety of concerns, including political, religious, environmental, health and animal welfare. Many of these groups support direct action campaigns and this active approach to responsibility is entirely consistent with the behaviour demonstrated by the majority of respondents in this study.

This study has indicated the presence of media influence and although this has not been explored in any great depth the findings clearly demonstrate that ethical and responsible tourists are keenly aware of the environmental and economic consequences of their holidays, but are not always equally aware of any potential social impact on resident communities. Whether this indicates escalating media attention on the contribution of flights and holidays to global warming is unclear, but it appears that stewardship, caring for the environment and understanding the consequences of their consumption behaviour is a major part of these people's lives. Understanding the social impact of tourism was confined to those who had lived or grown up in developing countries, those who had travelled with an ethical/responsible tour operator and those who had personally experienced conflict between tourists' needs and residents' wishes. Education and knowledge was an important factor in this understanding.

This study concludes that ethical and responsible tourists' place great emphasis on personal responsibility for the impact of their holidays, and that they hold a range of deeply held values. These values include respect, responsibility and a duty of care towards both the planet and other people, the importance of sharing the economic benefits of tourism and a preoccupation with making sure their holiday choices are consistent with the values of equity, fairness and social justice. Whilst all the above indicate a universal and benevolent perspective to life, other values are of equal significance and these include

viewing their holidays as opportunities to connect with people, the importance of learning on holiday and the significance of freedom and autonomy. Overall, this study has found ethical and responsible tourists derive happiness and pleasure from the pursuit and achievement of these values and whilst the decision-making processes associated with consumer purchasing are notably complex, the results of this study reveal that respect and responsibility are at the heart of decision-making for those tourists who worry about the impact of their holidays on both the local community and the natural environment.

This study also concludes that the value types most relevant to ethical and responsible tourists are universalism, benevolence, self-direction, hedonism, achievement and stimulation. The least relevant value types are conformity, tradition and security. Such findings indicate a priority for the protection and welfare of others and the environment, a high degree of independent thought and action, the need to practice what they preach and a desire to challenge rather than maintain the status quo. As such, this study fully supports the work of Feather (1994) and Ostini and Ellerman (1997) who found such characteristics important for mature moral reasoning, whilst the importance of challenging social norms supports Gibb's (1977) contention that adopting a questioning posture in life is a clear indication of Kohlberg's (1969) sixth and final stage of moral development.

From this it is clear that ethical and responsible tourists demonstrate a sophisticated level of moral reasoning, take a long term view of their and society's consumption needs and use their power as consumers to bring about positive social change, thus exhibiting the characteristics of socially responsible consumers and recalling the work of Kinnear *et al.,* (1974), Webster (1975), Brooker (1976), Antil (1984) and Follows and Jobber (2000). However, whilst it is true that this study has revealed ethical and responsible tourists have a sense of moral obligation to others and demonstrate social interest and helping behaviour, the study has revealed that some respondents are also sometimes motivated by egoistic needs.

The strong presence of the personal effectiveness value in this study indicates that many respondents have a high degree of internal control. This concurs with Madrigal's (1995) study, which indicated that internally oriented people are self-motivated; they value self-fulfilment, accomplishment, fun and warm relations with others and are most likely to be

independent travellers. He also noted that those with a low degree of internal control value security, belonging and being well respected – all these findings are borne out in this study where not only did the majority of respondents travel independently, but they also displayed less affinity with such conservative values.

Because personal effectiveness is located within both the achievement and self-direction value types, this study emphasises respondents' ability to think for themselves, rather than follow a pre-determined or externally imposed list of rules or regulations. To conclude on this point therefore, it appears that to be called ethical and responsible, tourists must believe in their personal effectiveness, demonstrate a sense of moral obligation and be able to develop their own moral code, beyond both external influences and social expectations.

As to whether this study reveals respondents to be 'ethical' tourists is not conclusive. Harrison *et al.* (2005) state that only those with concerns for the impact of their purchases on the wider community are truly ethically motivated. In other words, those who express concern primarily for their personal health and welfare (through organic purchasing for example) are not. Although respondents prioritised universal and benevolent values, this study cannot conclude that all respondents were ethically motivated - at least one respondent for example, revealed that she bought organic food primarily to protect her children from the harmful chemicals she associated with non-organic food production.

In fact, the findings of this study reveal respondents to be located along a continuum of ethical activity and this finds a correlation with Newholm (2000, in Harrison *et al.,* 2005). Newholm's (2000, in Harrison *et al.,* 2005) study concluded that ethical consumers could be divided into three categories – Distancers, who avoided or boycotted products they considered to be unethical, Integrators, who integrated ethical purchasing into all areas of their lifestyle and Rationalisers who limited ethical purchases to extreme cases. There are examples of each of these categories in this study, with Distancers being the respondents who refused to fly for environmental reasons, Integrators being the respondents who, whilst still flying on their holidays, limited this activity and ensured they carried other aspects of their ethical lifestyle into their holidays and the Rationalisers who, whilst ethical in their everyday grocery purchasing had not yet adopted such behaviour on holiday.

Although the study cannot conclusively confirm that respondents can be called ethical, what cannot be disputed, however, is the responsibility felt by the majority of respondents in working towards reducing the negative impacts of their holidays, on both the local community and the environment, with this responsibility being expressed wherever they holidayed. Indeed, universalism and benevolence were the second most often invoked values, appearing joint second (with sharing) after the importance of showing respect. As they continue to pursue these values on holidays it is argued that these respondents are therefore 'responsible' tourists. However, as noted in the literature review of this study, because the term 'ethical' is used as an umbrella term to encompass a wide range of concerns and purchase behaviours so this study recommends the use of the term 'ethical and responsible' to describe these respondents.

Whilst it may be difficult to determine to what extent the respondents of this study can be termed purely 'ethical' tourists, this study concludes that they do however exhibit sympathy with the key principles of the fair trade movement. Fair trade emphasises cooperative, rather than competitive trading principles and demands a fair price for all elements of the supply chain, rather than for just the consumer. Indeed, this study reveals these principles to be of extreme importance as evidenced by respondents' keenness to pay a fair price for their holidays, whether this was achieved by using local tour operators in the country of their destination or by booking direct with their accommodation providers.

As noted by Strong (1997) of crucial importance to the adoption of fair trade principles to business and consumer behaviour is clear and accurate information about supply chain relationships and this was certainly indicated in this study. For example, the findings conclude that although most of the respondents were aware of the environmental impacts of flying, very few of them discussed the potential social impact of their holidays on local residents. In addition, whilst many of them were keen to share the economic benefits of their holidays very few were aware that their physical presence in destinations might also have an impact. Strong (1996:32) also suggested that the rise in the fair trade movement was due to the emergence of an "evolving caring consumer" and a shift in values towards concern for sustainable development. What this study reveals is not only a tourist who cares about the welfare of others and the environment but also one who is keen to share, whether through the economic benefits of their holiday or by making a contribution

towards improved cultural understanding. With regards to sustainable values, many of the respondents' demonstrated knowledge and understanding of sustainability as displayed in the importance of stewardship (for both the environment and indigenous skills) and an emphasis on making a lasting contribution.

This latter point moves the discussion back to the use of the values concept in prosocial research. For example, Axelrod (1994) researched the value orientations of those displaying environmental behaviour and found a range of motivations to exist, based on a range of social, economic and universal outcomes. His work concluded that economically–oriented people would only take part in protective behaviour if it saved them money (for example, buying cheaper unleaded fuel), those who were socially-oriented would adopt protective measures if they benefited society as a whole, whilst those who were universally-oriented would take part in protective measures purely to fulfil personal moral codes and regardless of their personal sacrifice. All three categories of behaviour are supported by this study and again echo Newholm's (2000, in Harrison *et al.*, 2005) work on the three categories of ethical consumer.

The conclusions of this study also support the work of Stern *et al.* (1993), whose research concluded that people who were aware of the consequences of their behaviour were more likely to adopt environmental behaviour. Although this study has not prioritised environmental behaviour, many respondents were very knowledgeable about the environmental impact their holidays may cause. However, it is clear that for some respondents full knowledge was not always present, for example, a very small number of them had only recently stopped flying to their holiday destinations (because of the emissions) yet lacked the necessary information about sustainable alternatives that would enable them to continue going overseas whilst preventing any potential negative environmental impact. Indeed, at least one respondent was concerned about how to reach friends in Greece now that he and his partner had decided to stop flying. Although the study did not examine the importance of information in making decisions about their holidays, the findings appear to indicate that knowledge and awareness of the impact of tourism in some form is necessary for people to act ethically and responsibly. Of course, awareness is only one factor – as noted earlier, people also need to display a high level of personal effectiveness and have a sense of moral obligation.

Additionally, this study bears out the findings of Follows and Jobber (2000), who, in their investigation into the role of the value-attitude-intention-behaviour hierarchy in environmental purchasing, found that those who hold strong universal and benevolence values were more likely to hold positive environmental attitudes. They also noted that the more conservative an individual, the less likely they are to hold positive environmental attitudes. The current study concurs with these findings, noting that respondents held strong universal and benevolence values at the same time as displaying less emphasis on the conservative values of conformity, security and tradition.

Moving away from studies that examined only pro-environmental behaviour, there have been several studies examining the relationship between values and social and political activism with Thomas (1986) and Mayton and Furnham (1994) both concluding that those likely to be involved in these activities are more likely to place emphasis on universalism and benevolence and that these values would be fundamental for anyone interested in social issues based on human rights and social justice. This study certainly supports these findings, not only with regard to the relative importance of these values but also regarding respondents' affiliations. Thomas (1986) goes further by indicating that activists place greater emphasis on equality and freedom, whereas non-activists would place greater importance on family security and hedonism. As mentioned earlier, both value types are present in this study but clearly a greater importance is placed on the values of universalism and benevolence than the conservative values of security and conformity.

Continuing this theme the study's conclusions also support Braithwaite's (1994) discussion of Inglehart's (1971) concept of materialism and postmaterialism. Braithwaite suggested that materialists prioritise values that place greater emphasis on security and stability whereas postmaterialists are more concerned with getting involved in decision-making at community and government level as well as with environmental protection. On this basis alone, the respondents in this study exhibit the features of postmaterialists. Mayton and Furnham's (1994) work finally concluded that the self-transcendent nature of the universalism value type would indicate that people with this orientation would display broad concern for the enhancement of others and comfort with the existence of diversity – again, such concerns have been prevalent in this study.

One of the most significant contributions of this study is that it has highlighted the appropriateness of Schwartz's (1992) modified list of values for interpreting the values of ethical and responsible tourists. Although the research found no indication of the presence of the power value type, and a limited connection with achievement, thereby rendering the theory less than useful, overall, the remaining value types were deemed meaningful and therefore appropriate for exploring the values of ethical and responsible tourists. However, further research is recommended to explore the full meaning of the power and achievement values, not just in ethical consumer contexts but also with ethical and responsible tourists. It is only through a comprehensive understanding of these tourists' values that a thorough insight can be gained into the meaningful connections between these individuals, their values and their subsequent holiday choices.

Further contribution must also be claimed for this study's interpretative approach to the means-end chain theory. As noted in the methods chapter, interpretivism focuses on interpretation and understanding, rather than on explanation and prediction and therefore offers immense insight into consumer choice behaviour. In fact, this study has documented at some length that although many studies have addressed the general (UK) public's concerns over mass tourism and so predictions have been made about the value and volume of the ethical tourism market, little is known about ethical and responsible tourists' true motivations, their values and the importance of these values in their holiday choices. Indeed, it is only because this study has adopted the means-end chain theory, in conjunction with laddering interviews and a detailed description of their experiences, that deep connections have been revealed between their motivating values and subsequent holiday choices. This study therefore offers a rich, experiential understanding of the ethical and responsible tourist and a unique contribution to what is known about these individuals.

With regard to the ethical philosophies underpinning ethical and responsible behaviour, this study concludes that the holiday choice behaviour of ethical and responsible tourists is not driven by one specific ethical perspective but by a range, and it is sometimes difficult to pinpoint whether (if, or indeed, when) one perspective takes priority over another. For example, those who prioritise independent thought and personal freedom, and strive for

authenticity and inner peace in order to make sense of their existence, reveal an existentialist approach to life. Deontologists on the other hand tend to prioritise the observing of universal rules, regulations and social norms, believe all decisions are either morally right or morally wrong and the ends never justify the means.

This study concludes that ethical and responsible tourists exhibit less sympathy with the deontological perspective because they place greater emphasis on self-direction and stimulation, and attach less importance to the value types of tradition and conformity. However, several respondents also demonstrated utilitarianism characteristics, arguing their holidays brought valuable income to low income areas and cancelling out the environmental impacts of their long-haul flights through volunteering at their destination or by buying locally made products on holiday. Other respondents' prioritised a respect for social justice and equality between nations and people, demonstrating a link with Rawls' (1973) theory of justice, where the greater good can never be prioritised over the rights and importance of individuals.

To conclude, different perspectives were often used by the same person to justify their choices at different times in the interviews, and so whilst it is almost impossible to determine whether ethical and responsible tourists follow one particular perspective, it could be argued that the majority of them exhibit empathy with Aristotle's virtue ethics and the 'golden mean', where a balance should be struck between an individual's interest and their responsibilities towards the community. Certainly, such traits have been exhibited by almost all of the respondents to this study, not least because of their emphasis on individual and personal responsibility.

To finally conclude, this study has delivered several unique contributions to tourism research that addresses the ethical and responsible tourist. Not only has the study revealed, and discussed, the significance of their motivating values but it has also provided an empirical understanding of how these specific values link to, and prompt, their holiday choice behaviour. As a result, this study has delivered extensive insight into the meaningful associations for ethical and responsible tourists between holiday choices and their underpinning values, all of which have been shown to have a direct and powerful influence. This study also concludes that although useful, Schwartz's value theory needs

further modification if used within an ethical consumer context. Most notably, limitations have been found in the value types of power, achievement and hedonism when applied to ethical and responsible tourists holiday choice behaviour. Further contribution is derived from the application and use of the means-end chain theory, which has never before been used to empirically research the ethical and responsible tourist. This conceptual framework has been successful in exploring the full linkages between ethical and responsible tourists, their individual values and their holiday choices. Overall, these unique contributions have significantly advanced the tourist research agenda, added to the ethical tourism literature and produced an extended understanding of the how human values contribute to further knowledge of ethical and responsible tourists' holiday choices.

7.2 Management implications

The conclusions of this study will be of immense significance to the tourism industry, especially with regard to product innovation, product development, and marketing and promotion activities. For example, an improved understanding of the links between ethical and responsible tourists' motivational values and their holiday choices will enable the industry to develop products that more exactly satisfy the needs of this market, and give operators' specific information on the values these tourists' are seeking to satisfy. For example, ethical and responsible tourists will want to know exactly how tour operators plan to spread the economic benefits of their products through the whole supply chain. They will also want to see codes of conduct, whether these are aimed at the tourist, the operator or other elements of the supply chain, that emphasise how different stakeholders can show inter-cultural respect and awareness of communities' needs. It is likely that ethical and responsible tourists will want to see an emphasis on collaboration and cooperative rather than competitive relationships between tour operators and the supply chain. They will also seek to ensure their holidays do not cause excessive externalities, whether environmental or social.

This study has highlighted the importance of learning for the ethical and responsible tourist, and so some element of learning or education should be incorporated into the products or services offered. In addition, the tourism industry needs to acknowledge to a greater extent the importance of stewardship to ethical and responsible tourists, and to

remember this does not just mean stewardship of the environment – these tourists are also concerned with traditional skills and do not want their holidays to be responsible for their future loss. As a result tour operators will need to be clear about their contribution to communities' wellbeing, whether this is on an economic, social or environmental platform and to perhaps make more of social stewardship rather than sole emphasis on environmental stewardship.

The study has also revealed that knowledge and awareness of the impact of tourism is a significant factor in ethical and responsible tourist being able to satisfy their values. Not only will the holiday products have to satisfy values such as respect, responsibility, sharing and stewardship but also the promotional and marketing activities will need to highlight how the holiday can achieve this. In other words, all marketing communications will need to emphasise these factors.   On this point, however, companies will have to guard against charges of 'ethical wash' and using knowledge of ethical and responsible tourists values as a PR opportunity. These tourists' search for authenticity and truth and their heightened need for self-direction and freedom, combined with their advanced understanding of market economies and distrust of multi-national travel organisations means that less than genuine attempts to be responsible will be dismissed as mere PR puff.

Related to the importance of knowledge and awareness is the issue of perceived consumer effectiveness. This study has revealed ethical and responsible tourists have a strong sense of consumer power to bring about positive social change in line with society's long-term needs. However, it is clear that a large number of tourists do not share this self-belief or even have an understanding of how powerful individual voices can be. These outer-directed individuals will need further support and also information about how to make positive changes and therefore marketing communications and information needs to be more explicit and informing to enable more tourists to adopt responsible choices in their future holiday purchasing.

7.3 Future research considerations

This study has taken an interpretivist and therefore individual perspective to the research question, with the aim being to develop an understanding of the values involved in holiday

choices of the ethical and responsible tourist. Because the emphasis of the study has been on theory building and meaning rather than theory testing and measurement it has attempted to provide an understanding of the complex and deeply-held beliefs of consumers who are concerned about the ethical dilemmas incurred by their holidays by exploring the meaningful connection between their values and their holiday choices. Whilst this study has fully achieved its aim, the conclusions of the thesis have necessarily raised certain questions to be addressed in future research. These will now be discussed in some detail.

Of course, this research has provided only a snapshot of ethical and responsible tourists' holiday choice behaviour with respondents being asked to nominate a holiday they had taken in the past two years to discuss in the interviews. This particular holiday may not have been representative of all their holidays and so the values revealed on this occasion may not apply to each of their holiday choices. Further research could take the form of a longitudinal study where the respondents of this study are returned to at regular intervals in future years, in order to determine whether their values change over time and if so, to what extent these changes impact upon their holiday choices. Connected to this issue is the contribution of age to moral development – the study revealed the values of a range of tourists and their ages from early twenties to late seventies and a consideration of whether increasing age is significant in the development of moral reasoning might be a fruitful line of enquiry in future research.

Several of the key findings of this study merit extensive further research and could prove to be truly significant in the furthering of knowledge about the ethical and responsible tourist. For example, the role of personal experience in the development of moral reasoning appears to be a significant issue, with several of the respondents mentioning that they were aware of the potentially negative impact of tourism because they had seen it for themselves. Respondents cited different examples including how tourism seemed to encourage local people to start begging for money, or persuaded them to move away from traditional jobs to lower skilled jobs offered by the local tourism industry. Some also described gaining knowledge from either working or growing up in developing countries, whilst others described the shock of seeing poverty for the first time on holiday or of

suddenly realising how wealthy tourists were in comparison to the communities they were visiting.

Overall, such experiences were mostly confined to holidays taken outside the UK and whilst many of the respondents discussed holidays in the UK for this project, their initial understanding of the negative impacts of tourism appeared to stem from holidays in developing countries. Regardless of their origins however, such experiences had caused them to completely reassess their subsequent holiday choices and further consideration of the role and importance of these experiences in the formation and development of moral reasoning could form the basis of a truly insightful piece of future research.

Connected to the development of moral reasoning is the question of whether tourists' religious or political beliefs might be significant, and to what extent family influence is important in the development of ethical values. During the course of the interviews, it became apparent that for some respondents their family background and their personal religious or political beliefs had been instrumental in the development of certain values. Whilst some respondents were adamant their values did not stem from religious belief, others were certain their religious beliefs had informed their lifestyle and personal consumption choices. For some, their political beliefs played a crucial role in forming their values, whilst others mentioned the influence of their family – either by sharing or adopting the values and lifestyles learnt from their families. This aspect of the research was not explored to any great extent because it was not the primary aim of the study but future consideration might be given to the role and importance of family influence and religious and political belief in the formation of ethical consumer values.

Another major feature of the research that could merit further consideration concerns the role of personal effectiveness. Highlighted in much of the literature concerning consumer behaviour, the role of the PCE is considered highly significant in whether consumers act on their intentions or not. Indeed, Cowe and Williams (2000) suggest that PCE could be responsible for the attitude-intention-behaviour gap and whilst the study indicates strong belief in their personal effectiveness to facilitate positive consumer change, future research could examine to a greater depth the role and importance of PCE to ethical and responsible tourists.

Another significant finding from this study that might yield fruitful future research is the contribution of authenticity to holiday motivation. The research indicated authenticity to be an important value for those tourists seeking to go beyond the tourist bubble to make a closer connection with local people, or what they considered to be the 'real' culture and this was related to destinations in the UK as well as overseas. Whilst the study has not examined to what extent this motivational value is important, it would appear that having an authentic experience may not be confined to ethical and responsible tourists and may form the motivation for a whole range of tourist experiences. As such, further consideration will be beneficial in order to further unpick the meaning and content of authenticity in relation to ethical and responsible tourists because of its complex and highly contested nature.

Finally, further consideration is recommended regarding the applicability of Schwartz's (1992) value theory to gain insight into the motivational values of ethical and responsible tourists. Whilst the model is seen as mostly useful, some modifications are necessary in order to explore more deeply the appropriateness of the model to explain the power and achievement values of ethical and responsible tourists.

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APPENDIX A

Example of advert used to recruit participants

ETHICAL TOURISM: YOU CAN HELP!

Most of us take holidays to have fun, to relax and to get as far away as possible from the pressurised routine of daily life. However, some of us are also concerned about the cost of our holidays whether its the impact of low-cost flights, the effect of our holidays on the traditional lifestyles of local people or making sure our money goes to the local community.

If you recognise yourself as one of these people or think you have experiences that might be useful and wouldn't mind taking part in a **short** interview please contact Clare via

chw3@brighton.ac.uk

or leave a message at
01323 647720.

Clare is a PhD researcher at the University of Brighton. Please get in touch - all information will be treated confidentially.

£5 BOOK TOKEN FOR ALL INTERVIEWS

APPENDIX B

Examples of interview transcript

Ann Noon
Andy Player

1st interview – Ann Noon 41 mins	**8 Nov 2005**
C	Ok, now recording. Ok, ok I think what we can do is speak normally and then it picks up.
C	Ok, let me just start by saying that I shall probably be concentrating more on what I am saying than on what you are saying.
C	Thanks very much for letting me come to you as my guinea pig, like I said in my email, I really appreciate that. Just to start with this, the purpose of my research is to understand how tourists make their holiday choices. Now, I am particularly interested in people who are aware of fair trade or ethical/responsible tourism and I am interested only in those people and how they make their choices.
C	And that's the reason I've come to talk to you to find out, or just to listen to how you go about making your choices for holidays and it's not about me checking up on how much you know about ethical tourism or what you know about responsible tourism, because it's such a complex topic I am not going to touch on that at all. I just want to find out about you and, the things that, decisions you've made in the past and what factors were important in those decisions.
C	Just to reassure you obviously this is confidential, I will use the recorded interview within my PhD and, and so my supervisor will read it, (researcher's mobile phone rings..) so my supervisor will read it and nobody else will. So, confidentiality the purpose of my research I did say thank you for being my first interviewee and I've reassured you about not testing you for your knowledge. OK. Now, the last bit of it is I'm particularly- the type of interview technique I am going to use is called 'laddering', which allows me to probe a little bit more deeply into people's reasons - that you might be unaware of - the reasons for making choices. But the process can sound rather repetitive; I might ask you several times 'why is that important to you' or 'can you make distinctions as to why you chose that one and not that one', so it might seem rather repetitive but it's actually the process that I have to go through. But it's ok to say 'I don't know', 'I haven't got any- I don't know'. It's fine to do that and then we can talk about something else. It's just that it seems a little bit artificial sometimes, but hopefully that will be all right.
C	Ah, in the email you said that the last time you took a holiday was three years ago.
A	Did I? I am trying to think. Well, I've been away for ten months. I've been in Peru and I did travel around a little bit in Peru but I was also there to do some voluntary work.
C	Ok.
A	Ummm, before that, probably, well I travel - I used to travel quite a lot so it's probably less than three years ago. The only thing is I do tend to travel independently; I don't usually use a tour operator, although I have done in the past.
C	Yeah, so what I need to talk to you about is well, if we could talk about Peru a bit later on, cos I am really interested because I think that to some people that **is** a holiday. It may not be the purpose of **your** trip but the decisions you make perhaps

	might be useful for my research as well but perhaps if you could just recall <u>a</u> particular holiday or the last particular holiday that you took, if you remember, we could talk about that, can you remember?
A	Before I went to Peru, I went to Mexico and Guatemala, three years ago but I must have been somewhere since then. I think I went to Egypt after that.
C	Which is the easiest for you to remember?
A	(*Hesitation*) Either really, do you know I don't plan that much, I'm in the habit of buying a flight and going, so…
C	All right then, so shall we talk about Egypt then?
A	Yeah, whatever ok, yeah.
C	So, ok you went to Egypt and can you remember when you went?
A	It would have been, (*thinking*) God, Peru gets in the way, I can't remember anything before Peru! It would have been, it was off-season, it was probably December, not last year the year before, November-December two years ago.
C	Alright. And how long did you go for?
A	Two weeks.
C	Two weeks holiday. OK.
C	And what made you choose that destination rather than another?
A	I'd been to Egypt before, on an Explore tour about three years earlier and I absolutely loved the country and wanted to go back.
C	Ok, all right. And what alternatives did you consider, can you remember?
A	I did think about going with a tour operator.
C	Ok, so you went independently, this time.
A	The reason I didn't go with a tour operator is because I'd been to Egypt with an operator before and while they were quite good in some ways, I felt that we were hurried around the country a little bit too much and I wanted to do it at my own pace.
C	Ok.
A	The first experience was useful because I hadn't been to Egypt before and was a little wary of going on my own so it was great to go with Explore, realised that actually I could go back on my own quite happily.

C	Yes. So, ok, it was, it gave you the opportunity to introduce you to the country. Em, in terms of not hurrying through the country, why was that important to you, why did you want to take more time?
A	Just because I wanted to get to know a place better, maybe get to know some of the people there; I just didn't want a whistle-stop tour, you know, where you visit three temples in two days just so you can tick them off your list.
C	All right, so why is it important to know a place better?
A	For **me**, because you know that's the whole point of going there. For **my** holiday, it's more about- I am not particularly into beaches or anything, I would much rather have a proper sense of a different experience, so something completely different from what I do here, that for me is a holiday. So, yeah, getting to know the people, part of the culture, a little bit of the language.
C	Ok, in terms of how you planned your holiday then, you planned it independently, so how did you - can you just take me through how you did that? What sort or process, did you look at brochures, did you just go on the internet, or?
A	Well, I think, I, I, well I already knew a little bit about Egypt, I knew I wanted to go back to Luxor, I think I asked the Egyptian tourist office for brochures. I booked a flight; I found a flight independently, just by booking with Egypt Air. I booked the first night's accommodation only because I was arriving late at night and wanted somewhere, and then after that I moved, I didn't really like where I was the first night so I didn't stay there, and…so yeah, and I didn't really know where I was going to- I knew I wanted to go to Luxor, and my flight flew into Luxor, so I knew I would probably spend about a week there but I didn't really know what I was going to do with the second week, so I bought a guide book and read that (xxx).
C	In terms of the flight, what were the important factors involved in who you flew with.
A	Well, I knew I wanted to go to Luxor and I wanted to go direct so I think that pretty much limited it to Egypt Air. I think I did look at charter flights but I couldn't get the dates that I wanted
C	Ok, can I take you to Luxor? You wanted to go to Luxor I understand that, why was it important to go to Luxor?
A	Because when I'd been on the Explore tour three years earlier that was the place that I absolutely **loved**, and we only really spent a day and a half there and then were moved on somewhere else. And I knew I wanted to go back and actually stay on the West bank rather than the East bank, I mean, it's that way round? Well, the bank that's less developed anyway and I knew I wanted to spend much more time in the valley of the Kings and I knew Luxor was also a good point to go down to Abu Simbel, which I hadn't been to before, and also Aswan.
C	Ok and in terms of staying, did you stay on the undeveloped side or the less

	developed side?
A	Yeah, I did both
C	Ok, all right then. And why did you want to stay, or experience the under- the less developed side?
A	Because the more developed side is very very touristy and you have some very very big hotels and I certainly didn't want to stay in any of those. The smaller hotels can be a little bit grotty on the more developed side for backpackers and I really liked the feel on the other side of the river, it's almost, erm…not quite biblical but it's a much slower pace of life, the people are incredibly genuine and because there **are** tourists but there are **less** tourists and it feels like a more authentic experience.
C	So, where did you stay in a guesthouse or?
A	Yeah, I went and stayed in a small sort of guesthouse hotel run by a family, um…
C	What were the factors that made you stay there? Can you remember?
A	I think it was in the guidebook. I think I picked out a couple from the guidebook and went to see them both and that was the one that I liked and they had a really good restaurant, it was like a really top restaurant, where I ate every night and was quite comfortable eating there on my own and they were just really lovely people when I went to see them. And I tried to go back there when I came back from Aswan and they were booked up but they sent me to their brother's round the corner or something, which was nice as well, but not quite the same feel.
C	And the fact that it was family-run was that important?
A	I think it just gave it a nice feel. I mean I was travelling on my own as a woman, um…you know, in a Muslim country, you have to be quite careful of etiquette and everything and I just, I felt that they were really lovely and welcoming and didn't mistake me for a sex tourist or anything (*laughing*).
C	No, right, and so you felt that that was important to your experience. Ok, in terms of your transport once you were in a destination, what did you do, how did you move around in the destination?
A	I took some - I took a couple of trains, and buses.
C	Ok, and what alternatives did you consider?
A	You could have flown to Abu Simbel, you know you could have done it in a day in a big expensive I don't know $200 trip, round trip but I didn't really want to do that. I mean, Aswan, I suppose you could have chartered a private taxi or something to get down there but I like local transport.
C	Why do you like it, why is that important?

A	Because again I think it brings you into more contact with the people of the country, you know, you are getting around in the same way that they do.
C	And can you tell me why that's quite important to your choice, in terms of being among people and having more contact with the locals?
A	I suppose that's one of the reasons I go to a country is to be more in contact with the people that live there and know more about their lives but also I don't like being herded around in a minibus you know with 20 other tourists, it feels almost like you're….well, the people are in a zoo and that you are looking out the windows…. I am not very comfortable with that as an experience. I mean I've done it but…
C	Ok, in terms of travelling independently you said that it's because you wanted to know the **place** better. Are there any other factors about why you travel independently or don't consider other options and ways you can travel?
A	I am not a huge fan of big groups of tourists and the Explore group was an interesting experience to me because I'd never really gone on an organized tour before and I thought they would probably be the lesser of two evils compared to a big mass tour operator but I still didn't - I felt that it was a cursory glance at the country and didn't really get under the surface particularly.
C	Yeah.
C	And why did you choose Explore, can you remember, as opposed to another alternative tour operator?
A	I knew someone who'd done that particular Egypt tour and because I work or did then work in the travel industry I knew they had a fairly good reputation. Also no single person supplement, which was quite a strong factor.
C	Ok. All right. So would you like to tell me a bit about the things that you did while you were on holiday in Egypt?
A	I hired a bicycle a couple of days and went cycling around the Valley of the Kings and had like whole tombs to myself, like the sort of more out of reach ones. I went walking as well, I did, I redid a walk– we'd done a donkey ride with Explore at dawn, and it's just such an amazing, it was like a bus to the Valley of the Kings along sort of a ridge, and I redid that on foot and sort of spent half a day walking at that and then I went to Aswan and spent a couple of days there, I did take a, what are they called one of the, one of the boats down the Nile? – did that one day.
C	In terms of what alternative activities you could have done why did you choose those?
A	Well I am fairly active, I mean I'm quite happy walking and I like the idea of cycling to the tombs rather than sort of rocking up in a …and again you can hire a taxi and it's not very expensive but I just liked the feel of sort of going through the

	countryside.
C	Again, is that import - why is that important to you?
A	Because of - I don't know really!
C	What don't you get when you are in a taxi then?
A	I think if you are on a bicycle you can stop when you want you know. I remember sort of going through the back streets through little villages and the kids all come rushing out still to wave at you and everything and it's just a really lovely feeling and you don't particularly get that if you are going through in a taxi. And you've just got much more freedom of choice about where you go
C	Ok, and if you are in a taxi what else don't you get in your opinion?
A	Well, less contact with people, I mean people would shout out things from the fields and stuff or just sort of smile and I have a tiny bit of Arabic so can sort of say hello back or whatever and it's just a more rewarding exchange.
C	OK. In terms of - what other factors are important to you when you are choosing a holiday, when you are deciding about where to go, how to go, what to do? What other factors are important? Do you have like a list, things that you have in mind, tick them off?
A	I think I want to get the most out of the country in a short space of time so I want to experience maybe a variety of its highlights so yes cultural but also historic and also gastronomy related or whatever. I want, I like a whole mix cause I think it gives you, a) that's my holiday and that's how I relax but also it gives you a greater insight into the country as a whole. I mean I couldn't do two whole weeks temple hopping I'd have to, you know, do other stuff as well.
C	So, why don't you do a beach holiday?
A	Cause I don't like beaches. I don't have the skin for it, I get bored, it doesn't give me an insight into – you know we've got a beach here, so it doesn't give me an insight to how people live or…
C	And why is that important to you?
A	Just because that's what **I like**, you know, my speciality is languages and I like to go somewhere where I can try and speak with people and… you know, for me I want to get out of Britain or go somewhere different and find out how other people live.
C	Do you know why that's important to you?
A	(*laughing*) Um…well, because its that stuff about challenging myself, you know, I don't want to just - it would be very easy to live a very comfortable, smug life in Brighton and not know what else is going on in the world and I like to be well informed and...

C	Ok, that's great. In terms of the economic factors, in terms of how much you pay for your holidays is that a large factor or …
A	It does have a **bearing** because it would depend on how much money I have at the time. I mean if I travel independently I'm usually on a sort of a budget but it can work out, you know Egypt I probably spent more money going independently than with a tour operator because it's a cheap destination for tour operators. So it's not the only factor, but it would have a bearing on, you know, if I don't have enough money to go to South America, then I'll go to North Africa or something.
C	Ok, so it affects your destination choice. So, why don't you choose to take a package holiday?
A	Because I don't think it's for me particularly. I don't like being herded around in a group of other tourists, I don't think it's, you know I've seen a lot of groups of tourists when they are travelling and I find a lot of them quite unrespectful of the place that they are in, I don't really like having a group leader, I don't really like being told I have to get up at 7am on my holiday, or that we are moving on the next day if you've particularly fallen in love with a place. I mean lots of reasons.
C	Ok. In terms of where your money goes, is that an important factor or not?
A	I think it's becoming more important to me the more I become aware of the issues. I mean I never liked the idea that a tour operator will cream off most of the profits especially when you see how hard people in a resort or in a community work for tourism and the long hours that they put in and if you know, well, you don't necessarily know, but if they are not getting the direct benefit of that. So it's becoming more important to me. But certainly I mean I spent a month backpacking when I graduated and none of those issues were really, you know, I didn't really recognise that kind of thing then.
C	No. So these are factors that ….well, your knowledge has changed over time.
A	Yes, exactly.
C	Can you pinpoint or talk about how your knowledge changed, how did you gather this information or how did you become aware of these factors?
A	I work in the industry so I am aware that it's become a topic that has become more talked about in say the last 5 years and certainly in the last 2 years it has been given a much more prominence in the media for example although I think still on a very lightweight kind of basis. And I think issues of fair trade, you know, the fact that you try now and buy your coffee and your bananas, it just, it all helps you to think further about what you are doing when you go on holiday to developing countries.
C	And is that important to you?
A	Yeah, because you don't want to go somewhere and have an amazing time at other

	people's expense. Especially that you are in a very privileged position to be able to go there in the first place.
C	Ok, in terms of the factors that are important to you when deciding where to go, what to do, and all the things that you have if you have the opportunity for a holiday, what's the most important factor? Can you pinpoint that?
A	About deciding where to go?
C	You know when you've got the time to go on holiday, what would be the first, the most overriding factor that's important?
A	It's usually somewhere I've got my heart set on going.
C	The destination.
A	Yeah.
C	Ok, and what other factors are important to you in that decision?
A	Price is important; in that it depends on how much money I've got at the time to go as far flung as I can. Safety for me, because I travel on my own quite a lot so I want to be reassured that I'm going to go to a destination where I feel secure.
C	Yeah, ok. So destination, prices… You've mentioned that if you could you would go as far away as possible but with the money……
A	I mean not necessarily far, I mean maybe more…. I like to go somewhere, I go where they speak different languages, even if I don't speak that language, America, Australia, Canada wouldn't feature very highly on my wish list but that's because I'm a linguist and I enjoy trying to learn a few words where I am, and I suppose I like it to be as different as possible so I would always choose Africa or South America or Asia over…
C	And in terms of the language why is being able to communicate with people important?
A	Ummm, because you want to get something back from, well, <u>I</u> want to get something back from my holiday, more than just sort of two weeks off from my job, I want to feel that I've gone away and actually interacted with people and had an experience that I'm going to remember for one reason or another.
C	Ok. Does the purpose of your holiday or the occasion of your holiday change how you plan things? For example, do you think about these things if you go for a weekend away or is it just your long holidays when you think about these things? Every time you go you have the same criteria?
A	No, I suppose if it was a weekend away it would be, it would be different, you know, that's probably more price orientated, I would be more likely to go with friends rather than on my own, it's more likely to be Europe because you are only going for two

	nights or something.
C	Ok. Why is it important for you to travel on your own?
A	Well, it's not so much that it's important, well, you know there are different reasons. I don't really like big groups of tourists and while I've got very lovely, very good friends, you know, I recognise that I can be quite difficult to travel with and probably, you know, don't want to jeopardise friendships or whatever **and** also I've actually done quite a lot of travelling on my own now and I really enjoy it; to some extent - it can be quite lonely at times but I think it can open you up to a richer experience. You are more likely to talk to people there. I remember when we backpacked, we backpacked four of us together and we didn't really speak to people because we spoke to each other all the time and I think it cut us off from quite a lot of…
C	And you are saying that you like to talk to people in their own language not just because it gives you back something but because you feel that you are learning to know about the country and the way of life more or?
A	Yeah, but I just think it's far more rewarding to sit on a train and try and stumble through a conversation with a family, or share your food with them or whatever, than to sit in a minibus with a tourist who has the same experience of life as you.
C	Yeah, yeah. Ok. Yeah, I think we've covered everything to be honest, because just looking at the way that you travel is that you choose to travel alone so you choose not to travel with your family, you choose not to travel with your friends on your holidays and that's important to you because you feel that you are opening up more to the country, that's what you said to me, I'm just summarising.
A	Mmm, yes.
C	Are there any other issues that you think about on your holiday that we haven't discussed that you think might be useful, cause I know we've only scratched the surface.
A	Yeah, sure. I'm trying to think.
C	I mean, are you aware of your impact as a tourist or do you think about that at all or…?
A	I think I do, yeah. Partly because I watch tourists when I'm away; tourism is my industry and so I'm always fascinated by how people behave when they go on holiday and I remember a particularly horrific Italian in Karnak dressed in the skimpiest hot pants you can absolutely ever imagine. I mean, she'd have raised eyebrows here let alone in a Muslim and you know and being absolutely horrified by that. And she was clutching her boyfriend for support, you know, so I am quite disapproving in that respect and again you know, you've got whole Nile cruises full of topless women floating down the Nile, you know, in the middle of Ramadan or whatever. So, I have issues with those kind of …

C	So, in terms of respecting why is that important to you, why do you feel it's important?
A	Because you are in someone else's country and I think you should show a basic knowledge of, you know, the customs and the religion and the culture and you would never see an Egyptian woman topless sunbathing on the deck of a boat, so I really feel strongly that it's **wrong** to go and do that in someone else's backyard, especially if it is offensive to the people who live there.
C	And that shapes your own behaviour on holiday.
A	Yeah, I mean, I wouldn't topless sunbathe anyway (*laughing*) but yeah I suppose I don't, you know I don't wear shorts particularly in destinations where it's unsuitable, I don't wear short T-shirts or vest tops if you are going into temples and that kind of thing, I usually carry something to cover my head. I at least try and be aware of what people's religion and philosophy is in the country so that you know if you are likely to cause offence.
C	Do you have any idea why that's important to you?
A	I don't know really. It's just a value system and…
C	And is that different when you are on holiday from when you are at home, with your normal everyday life?
A	I'm probably more considerate when I am away than I am here.
A & C	(*laughing*)
C	Cause you are a stranger?
A	Yeah
C	Or a guest or?
A	Yeah
C	What do you call yourself - a tourist?
A	Yeah, I do call myself a tourist and I don't like the distinction between tourist and traveller either. I think most travellers are pretty obnoxious actually and, not all of them, but pretty disrespectful and pretty inoffensive. And it's too easy for the media to classify, you know tourists and travellers but actually you can see some very respectful tourists who are travelling in a tour group and have paid a lot of money but they can have a better interaction with, even if it's only with their hotel staff. But I mean, travellers are often trying to spend just 50p a day in a country and no more and….

C	In terms of, going back to your hotel accommodation you said it was, you felt safer that you were having a better quality experience, so are there any other reasons apart from your experience that would guide your…
A	Yeah, price.
C	Price.
A	Price, price would always, yeah.
C	But you said, so you said that the ones across the river, which were the same price, were perhaps dirty and not very nice.
A	Well, they were more expensive cause they were the other side, they were back on the developed side, but they were in a funny part of town you know, I didn't particularly feel safe walking back there after dark and because it was winter you know, it was dark quite early which cut out a lot for me in the evenings. So, I mean I am prepared to pay a little bit more if it's the right place, if I like it, if I feel comfortable, you know I don't necessarily go for the rock bottom cheap…
C	No, no.
A	…but it would have a bearing you know, I wouldn't go top of, top of the market either.
C	Can you think of anything else that we haven't talked about that would be of interest – as a guinea pig, speaking as a guinea pig? *(Laughing)*
A	(Pause) Maybe something like how do you feel you contribute when you are travelling?
C	So, how do you feel you contribute when you are travelling (*laughing*)?
A	Issues like tipping for example. I feel quite strongly that you should tip for a good service, whether it's taxi drivers, restaurants or whatever, because that's, that's - they are usually paid quite a lowly wage, it depends where you are but - and I think the tipping can make the difference, you know 20p or 30p to you is absolutely nothing but actually if everyone were to do that every time they had a meal or whatever. So I try to be quite good about tipping which I am in this country as well I think, so that's not necessarily different. What else? I mean I don't travel with a camera just because I don't like cameras particularly but there are ways that people could take photos sort of in a better – I see too many people taking photos without asking people and again in certain cultures they really don't like that. Or people asking for money and you have to decide about how you feel about that, I think, as an issue. Whether you would give money, you know, to take a photo.
C	What would you do, what would you do in that situation?

A	I would prefer not to, I have done it once. But I don't know, I can understand them trying to make a living but it almost 'exotifies' them too much, almost, I'd feel slightly uncomfortable with it.
C	Ok. Can we think about Peru now, put Egypt away and think about Peru now? I mean, I am not sure what - you'll have to tell me what that trip was for and why you went and so on and just briefly, ok?
A	Yeah. Peru was - I went to do some voluntary work, which was due for a year and ended up as nine months in the end and I went because I wanted to get an experience of working in a developing country with a charity and I'm trying to go more in that direction. It's a very small charity called the Inca Porter project, which is affiliated or was affiliated to Tourism Concern in the UK and it basically campaigns against exploitation of porters and animal drivers in the Andes with particular reference to the Inca trail. And I went as their press and marketing person.
C	And why is it important to you to move into the charity sector?
A	Because, I think, I've worked as a press officer in the tourism industry for ten years and on the one hand I love it and it's very exciting, you know, it's an amazing industry to work in but it's also, I think that after all this time I find it a little bit frustrating. It's a very fluffy side of life and I got a bit fed up with travel journalists phoning up trying to blag free holidays for their families, you know, I just, I personally would like to tackle something a bit meatier. And I'm particularly interested in developing countries and development issues but needed experience otherwise nobody would sort of touch me really. They'd look at my CV and say oh no you need more experience in development issues, say.
C	But that's not your primary motivation, is it? Was that your primary motivation?
A	Oh, it's lot of different things. I've been commuting for nine years to London and couldn't bear it any longer, I wanted to live in another country at some stage, I wanted to improve my Spanish, cause I had fairly good Spanish and I thought it would be, you know, another string to my bow, I wanted experience of development issues, there was a whole variety of reasons. I was a volunteer position but I did not actually have to pay them money to take it up whereas you do with a lot of things, like Eye to Eye or… It was still in tourism so it was not complete career suicide, you know lots of different things.
C	Ok. Would you consider that to be a holiday?
A	Well, I worked pretty hard when I was out there but it was completely not stressful compared to what I had done in London and everything. No, actually going there was not particularly a holiday but I took a holiday, you know, a friend came up stayed for three weeks and we then went off and travelled round southern Peru together and I did other bits of travelling when I was there as well.
C	And did you travel independently?

A	We- when my friend came we travelled independently but we did book with local operators like for a jungle trip or for a trekking trip in the canyon there because it was difficult to do it, well, the jungle you can't do it on your own anyway.
C	And did you choose to book with the local operators because that's the only way to do it and there was no alternative apart from, cause if it's not safe you can't do it on your own. So, why did you book with a local operator for these trips?
A	Well, the jungle you couldn't really do it any other way. We were already in country so we weren't going to do it with an international operator and in Cuzco there were hundreds of operators that featured many jungle trips. And the canyon, people <u>do</u> do it on their own but it can be dangerous and again that was a safety element really.
C	Right. I think that's it actually Ann. I think we've covered most things haven't we really without going too much into them. I have to ask you some demographic information, is that all right, because I feel a bit intrusive here?
A	Yes, sure!
C	Do you always book your holidays as a single person or do you book with family, friends, a partner?
A	It has been single in the past, but I have been with friends too, not family.
C	In terms of your age bracket, are you in your twenties, thirties, forties, fifties?
A	Thirties.
C	Are you waged or unwaged?
A	Virtually unwaged at the moment. No waged.
C	Waged
A	Well, if you can call Waterstone's a wage.
C	Waged. Is that full time or part-time?
A	It's unfortunately full-time. That was career suicide I think in retrospect…
C	Oh, right (*laughing*).
C	And your last education?
A	I've got a degree.

11th interview – Andy Player	**4 March 2006 35 mins**
C	Did you think about one particular holiday that you wanted to talk about to start off with?
A	I'm weighing up two (laughing). One is a trip to Egypt and one is a more normal holiday to – well, actually the trip to Egypt was partly holiday, partly visiting family I don't know if that counts as a holiday -
C	Ok, so you are toying up between Egypt -
A	Yes, Egypt which was mainly going to see family holiday or just a trip to France which is probably what we normally do.
C	It doesn't really matter, I think -
A	Whatever is going to be more interesting (laughing).
C	Well, I think the conversation about the holiday is the sort of lead-in and then reveals things that I can then ask you about. So we could probably talk about both actually …
A	Yes, ok.
C	Do you want to start with the one that you took most recently?
A	Yeah, that was the trip to Egypt.
C	Ok, then. So how long did you go for?
A	We went for three and a half weeks.
C	Right, OK and how did you travel there?
A	We went by plane.
C	Ok.
A	Because it is the only way to get there, unfortunately.
C	You've got a smile on your face, why have you got a smile on your face?
A	We try and avoid flying.
C	Ok.
A	Although it's difficult because I've got family in Egypt, my partner's got family in America so we are try and limit ourselves to one long-haul flight but avoid all unnecessary flights.
C	What is it about flying that makes you feel uncomfortable?
A	Well its….obviously it's damaging environmentally, both in terms of carbon emissions but also in terms of all the land that's being consumed for new airports, new runways and so on and so forth. So, yeah, we try and avoid, we <u>do</u> avoid any unnecessary air travel.
C	What is it about the environment that's particularly important to you?
A	It's the issue of global warming. Well, not just I but a lot of scientists feel that we are approaching the cusp, you know, the point of no return. I think it's partly – it's not the fact you know that we try to do things just as individuals, that obviously isn't enough at the moment but I think it's actually being able to say to our friends and family 'look, we don't fly or we don't choose to go on holidays that involve a short flight because we think about the impact of that'. And um…yeah, I think to be honest over the last few years we've probably got a good response from a lot of friends, you know, in terms of them changing their **behaviour** as well as their attitude towards flying.
C	Obviously you feel you have a **personal** impact by choosing to be like that.
A	Yeah.
C	Is that important to you? Do you feel you can make a difference like that?
A	It is, cause I think, you know, as an individual I am not going to increase

	taxation on air travel, I am not going to as an individual stop airports expanding but equally I think the campaigns for reduced carbon emissions and to stop airport expansions I think has to have a degree of moral weight or a **lack of hypocrisy** behind that sort of campaigning really. So, yeah it is important, I think in the wider context of campaigning against climate change and CO2 emissions. Yes, it's to show that frequent air travel isn't a necessity it's a luxury really, I mean that's how I see it.
C	And what is it about the environment that's so important to you? I mean you talked about climate change, why is it important to **you**?
A	As I don't have any children, so, no and I don't think things are going to get hideously bad in my lifetime in terms of global warming in **this** country but you know I tend to see the world and how I impact on the world beyond sort of me and my genes in the future. I mean it's about responsibility to the planet and future generations.
C	Do you know where that social responsibility has come from? Is it something that's been a gradual thing, something from childhood or particular events that have occurred?
A	Yeah, I think it's something that was encouraged by family members. I mean it certainly wasn't the view of all my family members. So, yeah…I think I grew up with some good role models who looked at, you know, social responsibility, not necessarily so much you know environmental aspects but just encouraging me to look beyond my immediate needs and desires and environment really. Yeah, I mean, I did a biology degree and so academically in terms of climate change and the environment, that's something I looked at, academically. And I suppose a fusion of the two things was probably what's led me to where I am today really. But I think also it's just so much an issue now.
C	What?
A	Climate change, global warming. It's time to make a stand really.
C	Yeah, it's quite interesting that you talk to your family and friends about it.
A	Mhmhm.
C	Why do you do that?
A	Cause I am not happy - I feel quite uncomfortable just changing my behaviour so I can feel smug and superior, cause I think it's totally pointless really. As I said before it's about – umm..it's not about believing that by changing maybe a few dozen people's behaviour that we can change the way the world or the aviation industry is structured. It's about I think being able to say 'this isn't necessary' and 'there's a growing number of people who are making different choices'. I mean I think that can have an impact sort of commercially on demand but I think more so it has an impact politically.
C	So in a sense you are not educating them in a smug sense but you are trying to tell people, to explain how you feel.
A	Yeah.
C	Ok, so to go back to the holiday to Egypt. You flew, which made you uncomfortable.
A	HmmHmm
C	And did you stay with family while you stayed there?
A	We did apart from seven days.
C	Ok.
A	So, yeah my sister and her husband they have a flat in Cairo so we stayed with

C	them for two and a half weeks.
C	Ok.
A	And then we got a coach to the Red Sea.
C	Oh, right! Ok.
A	And spent seven nights in a hotel in Sharm El Sheikh which is one of the Red Sea resorts.
C	Aha.
A	But that was booked in Cairo with an Egyptian travel agency.
C	And why did you book with an Egyptian company?
A	One, it would be cheaper (laughing). Secondly, if possible, we prefer not to, well I prefer the money I spend on tourism to stay in the country where I'm going. Particularly if it's a poorer country.
C	Why is that important to you?
A	Ummm…I mean tourism is very important for Egypt in terms of, well, it's becoming an increasingly important factor in their economic development. And I mean it has quite a cascading effect really. Obviously in the here and now it provides tens if not hundreds – well, probably tens of thousands of direct jobs in terms of people working in the hotels, working in the resorts. But also there's a knock on in terms of construction – it inevitably has raised construction standards in Egypt but also in terms of agriculture and catering and things like that as well. As well transport. So it does have a big impact on the economy. But, I mean I don't know the exact figures but you know, from most tour companies that buy hotels at a ridiculously cheap rate you know its a tiny fraction of what people pay – in terms of their….you know they pay for their package holiday that actually goes into the economy in Egypt. So its…I find that quite frustrating really.
C	Why is it important for your money to go to the country? Is it the people who need it, do you think they need it more?
A	It allows – in my eyes, it allows a country that has been actively underdeveloped by clan rule, British occupation and unfair world economic rules, it actually allows them to kick-start their economy. It has big costs - You know, environmental costs, certainly social costs, definitely. I mean tourism does have very negative impacts. Particularly somewhere like Egypt. But nonetheless, you know if I am going to go somewhere and I am going to spend some money on a holiday you know, whether it's France, which is a more normal destination, or Egypt – and its a bit more difficult when it comes to going to Egypt for most people – yeah I want the money that I spend to go into that local economy, as much as possible really.
C	Ok, and in terms of hotel ownership then was that an Egyptian hotel company?
A	It was, yeah, and most of the holidaymakers there were Egyptians, which is a choice that we made.
C	Yes, so why did you do that? What's the reason behind it?
A	To cut down on the culture shock really! Cause we'd spent two weeks, nearly two weeks in Cairo, well in a part of Cairo which doesn't have any sort of expat community where my sister, myself and my partner were probably the only three westerners in, I don't know, a few square kilometres definitely of Cairo. And the coach journey as well, we were the only westerners in the coach cause you know Westerners fly into Sharm El Sheikh
C	Oh, I see! Oh, right!

A	So it was a fun journey. And when we got into Sharm, well into Narm Bay the resort itself, we did really,… we were blown away (laughing). You know, the bright lights, all these white people, the wealth, the glitziness of it. I mean, compared with some resorts it's fairly low key and mature but even so we were quite blown away so it was quite nice to get to the entrance of the hotel and be back with Egyptian people really (laughing). It also meant the food was – well the hotel catered for Egyptian tourists so it was the sort of food that we wanted to eat.
C	So, that culturally is important to you on holiday.
A	Oh yeah, absolutely. I mean we are travelling to another country so we want to get as much of that experience as possible really.
C	And a silly question, but why is that important to you?
A	Otherwise I could stay at home. There would be no point travelling. In my opinion there would be no point travelling.
C	Ok, and in terms of being immersed in the culture like that do you try to speak a bit of the language on your holiday? [Yeah] Why do you do that?
A	For a number of reasons. On one level I think it's just common courtesy really. I think if you go to another country, it's just polite really to know at least a few words even if its just hello, goodbye, and thank you. I know a bit more than that in Arabic but I think it's more than that as well. I think you actually get a better experience of the culture. I think, again specially in a country like Egypt that has a language which, I was going to say, isn't taught in Britain, but that's not true, it isn't commonly taught in Britain or in western Europe generally is not – there is an expectation which is I think confirmed by experience that western holidaymakers can't be bothered to learn any Arabic or at least to speak any Arabic. So, if you turn up to the reception desk as we did when we checked in and spoke in Arabic, they are just..you know the guy on reception was just so gob smacked and excited and then wants to know why you speak Arabic and that allows you to say 'Well, my brother in law is Egyptian and my sister lives in Cairo' it gives you a connection really. I think even without that personal thing it would still give you a connection.
C	And why is that connection important?
A	Cause I see that I am a guest in someone else's country. I think it makes that relationship between me and the hotel staff or the shopkeeper a human connection, one that is based on the reality of who we are as human beings rather than of, you know, stereotypes. Which I think is something that often does happen. In all holidays in the holiday resorts and stuff like that.
C	You mentioned about being polite. Do you know why it's important to you to be polite?
A	I'm sure that comes from my upbringing (laughing). But no also it's something – I mean I live in, I live in a tourist resort and in the summer there is a lot of people who come here from other countries – non-English speaking countries - and all of them speak some English. It makes life quite a lot easier for me if I am asked directions and stuff like that. But it is you know, I think – I am trying to think if there ever has been an occasion that somebody hasn't spoken in English at all. Probably not in Brighton, probably when I used to live in London. And, no, I am a very considerate person, I like to think, but I remember situations where on one hand I've really wanted to help them out because they didn't speak any English, on the other hand I felt 'you've come to

	London, my God, why couldn't you just learn, you should have learned a few words in English'. And it's quite rude. Also I am addicted to TV programmes about people moving abroad. It's quite an odd relationship I have to these programmes cause I generally end up hating the people that go but in fact, always the first thing is people have been planning for years to go and live in another country and they haven't bothered to learn the language. And I don't know, I just think it's just very very stupid. It's obviously stupid when you are thinking of starting a life somewhere else. But I just think it's really rude and it's that, I think for us, well, for me, being British and having a British background I think it does go back to that sort of colonial attitude that everybody should speak English. Which unfortunately is all part of reality.
C	And would you like to distance yourself from that because you obviously spent time in, you know when you were in Egypt you didn't want to be seen as British or be in the glitzy…. – why is that quite nice for you then? Why do you want to distance yourself?
<u>A</u>	Actually in Egypt I am very happy to be English because it quite often brings up some very interesting subjects. I think it's nice – do I like to distance myself? I'll give you one example. We were there during the African Nations Football Tournament and we were in Sharm El Sheikh for one of the quarter-finals and Egypt were playing. We really wanted to go and see it cause we'd seen the other games when we'd been in Cairo and we discovered that there's a big square in this sort of a mock souk
<u>C</u>	(laughing).
A	Actually it's really nice, it's really nicely done, but yeah exactly and there's a big square in the middle and the coffee shop that usually serves tea and coffee in that square brought in a big screen TV. So we went along there. And again….I mean there were a couple of hundred people there and they were all either Egyptian tourists or people that worked mainly in the shops in the souk, and I think we were, as far as I could see the only westerners there, although a few people sort of bumbled through and 'what's going on here?' and scampered off very quickly. And it was just a fantastic experience, it really was good fun. And for the rest of the holiday – I mean in a resort like that there's not a lot of hassle compared with say in the big markets in Cairo, where you know, westerners are seen as being walking ATM machines really. But you know, there is an attempt to get people to spend money quite rightly and after that evening I think pretty much everyone in the square recognized us after that and you saw a few people just about to start their pattern 'ah the football, it was fantastic' you know and we just got into lots of football conversations after that. Whereas that following night all the bars were packed out because it was the Wales-England (I mean I'm not a great fan of rugby), but rugby international. And all the Egyptians were wondering what the hell was going on. Because there was lots of English and presumably Welsh people drinking huge amounts of beer and getting very very rowdy and that seemed to be the huge separation that was existing in that resort at the time. And I just felt it was such a shame, cause it wasn't as if – I mean clearly there were a lot of English or British sports fans in that resort because they were out watching the rugby on the – wherever it was night – so they would have known the African Nations Cup would have been on because there's loads of African players in Britain who were playing in the African Nations Cup. So they would have known about that but clearly there was no interest 'I'm going to Egypt for

	sun and sand and scuba diving ...' but no one prepared to really engage, I mean, if you like sports then, I don't know, this perhaps my own...no, I don't think it is. I know lots of people who don't feel the same way about me about anything else but they love sport and they'll watch sport whatever it is and they particularly love watching sport in a crowd. So, yeah I thought that was a little bit disrespectful and I think that's one of the reasons I do feel quite separate from most British holidaymakers – going back to your original question.
C	Yes, yes.
A	You know, why I do feel separate and maybe why – ? I don't think **I** separate myself from other English tourists, I just choose a different experience really.
C	I mean you mentioned earlier that you are aware that tourism has a negative impact which in terms of your impact, apart from the flying, do you think about it in other ways as a tourist, it can be in Egypt it can be anywhere where you've been on holiday.
A	Yeah...(hesitation) I think, to begin with, we have..are more of a danger to the environment when we are on holiday than when we are here. On the basis that we recycle, we try and save water, we have an environmental electricity tariff and stuff like that. So a lot of those things are out of our control. I mean our choice of hotel was to go to, I think it was a three star hotel, and generally speaking that's the sort of level of hotel that we'd stay in whether it was in Egypt or whether it was in Europe. On the basis that I mean I live in Brighton, I see what gets chucked out in skips and, you know, it's directly proportionate to the luxury of the hotel basically.
C	Yeah, that's a good point.
A	I mean I know for a fact in Egypt that - I mean my brother in law used to work in the tourism industry - that the really luxury hotels they probably chuck out more food everyday than they actually serve. And this is in a country where you know, there are millions of people that go hungry everyday, you know that live on very basic diets of you know beans and bread. That's the social sort of juxtaposition I suppose, so whether I have any impact or not I don't know but that's a choice that I make. I mean, I don't know if they do it in Egypt but there's certainly a European North-African move towards encouraging people to indicate whether they want their towels washed and there is little initiatives around that to save water. I don't know if they actually do that in Egypt. But certainly if that was there we would certainly participate in that. And it's very difficult to hire a car whereas it's a bad choice to try and drive in Egypt it's dangerous because Egyptian people just drive very differently to how we do in Britain so it's quite hazardous so we would never drive. We don't have a car so when we go to France we use public transport as well. So yeah, I think we are aware of our behaviour when we go on holiday and we try and limit our impact but we just accept the fact that when we are away a lot of the things that, you know a lot of the behaviour that we choose here is out of our control really. I mean yes we can find out...if we wanted to we could find out if a hotel has an environmental, a green energy tariff, we could do these sort of things, we generally don't. In my experience, it's something I might like to do something about in the future but, sort of green travel agencies, green websites. There's a bit of an ethical travel industry growing up and they tend to look at the top end of the market, which is not a possibility for us. You know, we live

	on not a lot of money. We have to be very careful with what we spend. How I see it is that it's possible to travel independently and put money into the local economy. Behave responsibly you know without actually having to line the pockets of our green travel agent and think you are actually doing a good thing. You know, that's the dichotomy that I sort of see.
C	Presumably when you are on holiday you eat in the local places because of all the reasons that you just stated.
A	Absolutely, yeah, absolutely!
C	And that's spending the money round, social equity and so on. Do you ever think about the contribution you make, I know we talked about the financial contribution as a tourist, but is there any other way that you've been aware of making a contribution?
A	Yeah, I mean, I suppose on an individual level we do present a different face of the West and a different face of Britain to some extent, which is a good thing.
C	Yeah, it's a good thing, why is it a good thing?
A	It's a good thing. I think…(hesitation) I've been to Egypt a few times, four times since 2001, since September 11, and in a small way – you know impacting on a relatively small number of people – you know, my brother in law's family, extended family, people we've met in hotels, people we've just met. It's again being able to go beyond the stereotypes. I think we have been quite lucky in Britain in terms of how British people are perceived in the Arab world – because they've seen all the huge demonstrations on the television so in no way did they go about equating British people with, you know, Tony Blair in the same way that I think a lot of people in the Arab world do equate Americans with George Bush, Jewish people with the state of Israel and so on and so forth. It's interesting, because my partner is both American and Jewish –
C	All right! (laughing).
A	Which is quite interesting (laughing) and I think more than that she's had an impact on quite a lot of people and I think, people that we've met – you know, I think that's a very beneficial thing about travelling – full stop. What else? Practically I mean, as I said before, we've made that connection beyond being a walking ATM machine, people have asked our advice, but that's about study, whether it's about study in the UK whether it's about all sorts of things, whether, you know, for people who work in the tourism industry there, getting married to a westerner would be a good idea. You know, all those sorts of things that you know, it's a small contribution and it's on a personal level. And I suppose because we've made a bit of an effort our advice might have been valued slightly more than, I don't know, from 'ordinary' tourists.
C	So clearly you are saying, although it's out of your control quite a bit, you are saying that your everyday consumption beliefs fit clearly into your holiday choices as well.
A	Yes. Yes, as far as is possible.
C	I mean the fact that you do live on little money is that a choice to live simply?
A	No.
C	No.
A	No, it's ok.
C	It's just a factor, all right ok.

A	If circumstances were different I don't think we'd choose to live on quite so little money.
C	When you are on holiday, do you buy souvenirs?
A	Not often.
C	Why?
A	I have a slight aversion to buying things that are useless.
C	Ok.
A	(laughing).
C	Why? Why do you?
A	I don't know. I think a lot of souvenirs are rubbish, I have to say. My memories, I mean, I don't always need, I don't often need souvenirs to remind me of a place although we have bought bits and pieces and we've bought presents for people. We didn't the last one. Actually what we brought back this time was two trays of baklava pastries; one for us to eat and for people to come round and look at our photographs and help themselves and one for the guy that looks after our cat while we are away. And we bought a box of chocolate at the same bakery for my partner's parents. So, that's all we brought back. We have, the first time we went to Egypt we did bring back you know the usual sort – **Tape ends suddenly.**

APPENDIX C

Summary ladders, hierarchical value map and summary content codes for one interview
(Alastair)

Summary Ladder (1) Alastair

Trust

Equity, fairness

Responsibility, duty

Sharing - knowledge

Contribution

Family learning

Sharing - resources, benefit of tourism

Important to minimise damage from holiday

Respect - others

Increases benefit to local people

Reduces negative social impact

Achievement

Important to show children different cultures

Environmental impact managed

Stewardship

Genuine distribution of income

Sensitive to local people's needs

Enhances formal education

Encourages development of ethical tourism

Hugely significant ecological destination

Personal recommendation from family/ friends

Wanted children to experience developing country

Went to Costa Rica for family holiday

Summary Ladder (2) Alastair
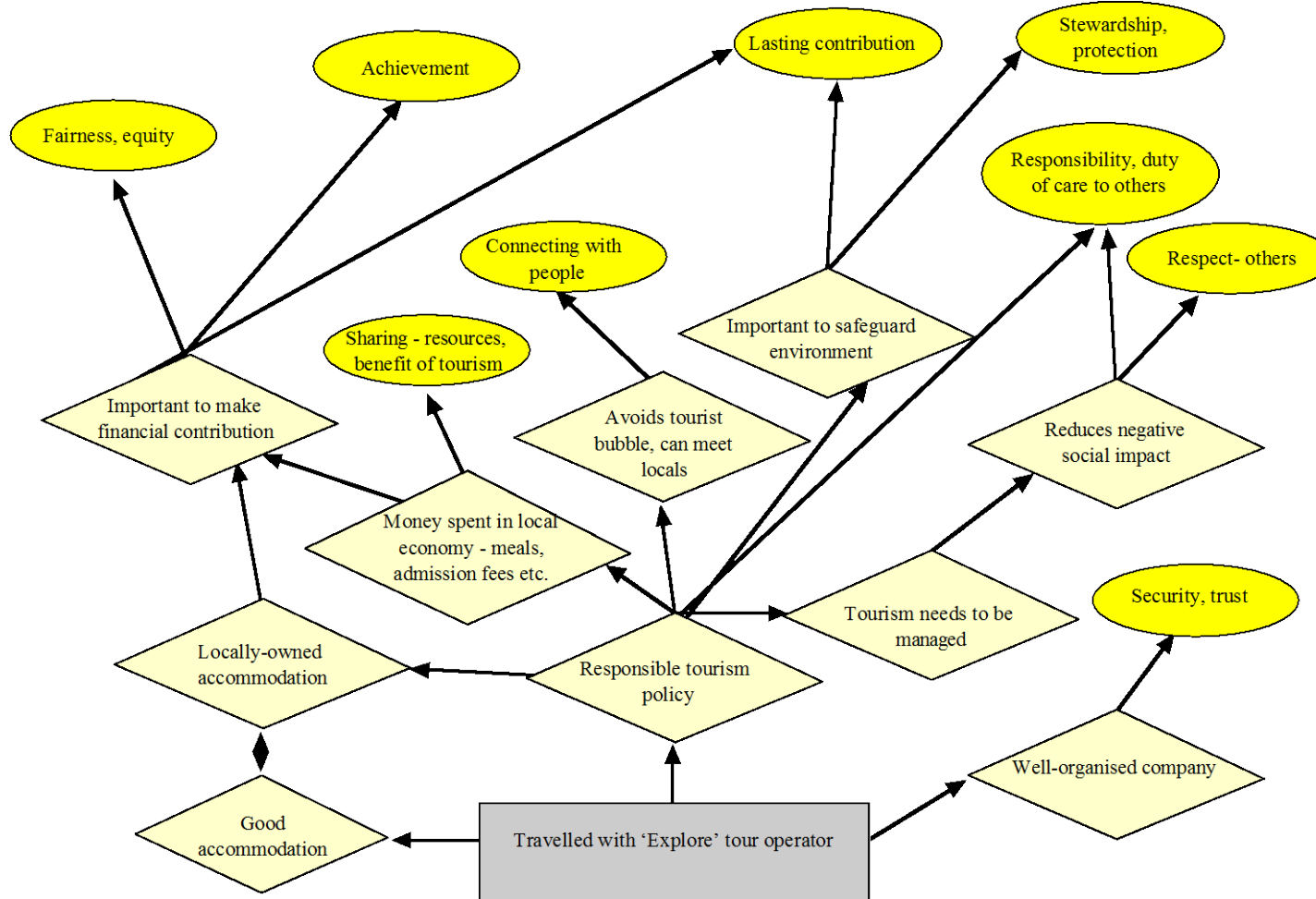
Summary Ladder (3) Alastair

Learning

Truth, honesty

Respect - others
- self

Gives locals different
perspective of
English

Important to act
courteously

Important to know local
customs before arrive

Tourists are
representatives of their
own country

Important to be
sensitive to local norms

Important to make
an effort

Try to communicate with locals
on holiday
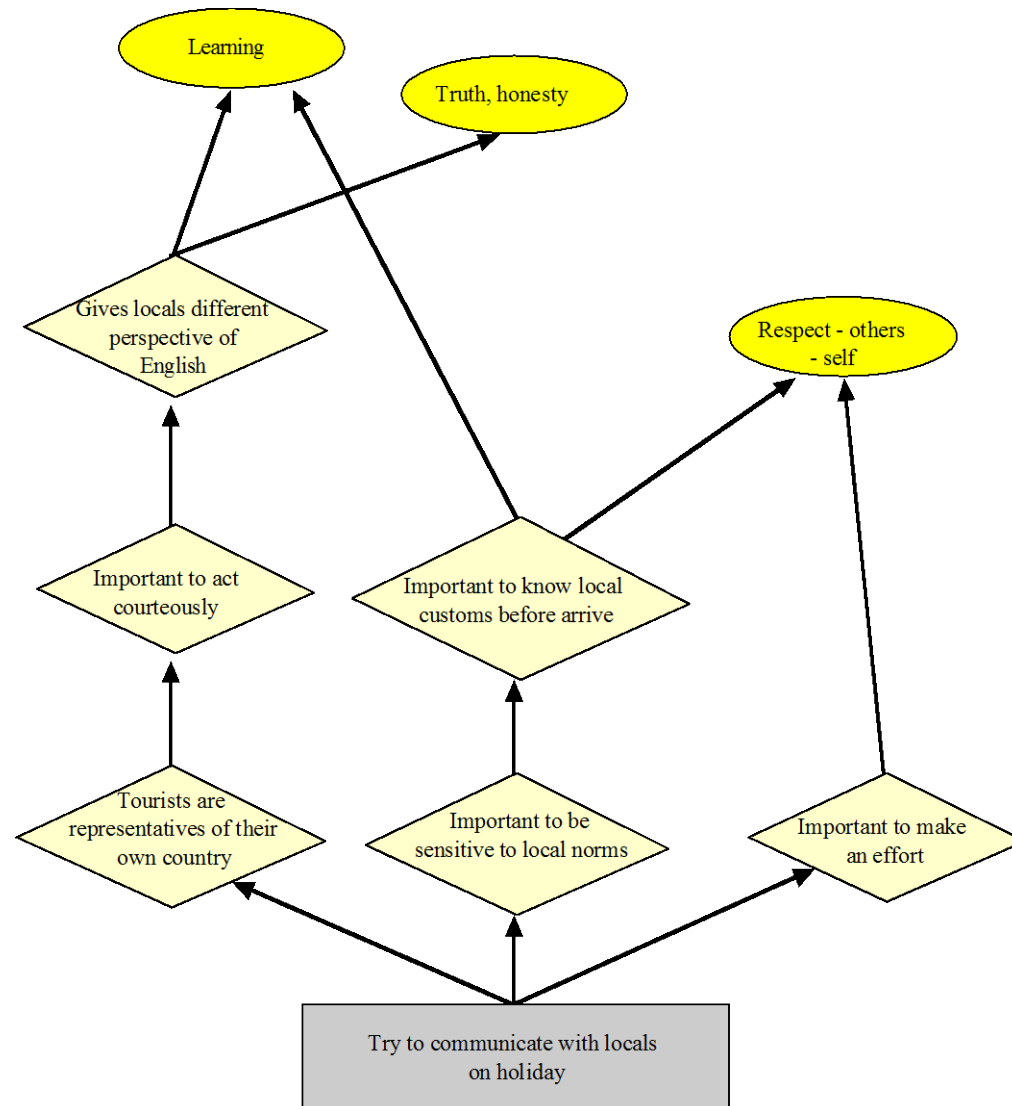
Summary Ladder (4) Alastair

Authenticity

Learning

Appreciate differences

Stewardship

Sharing - knowledge

Stimulation

Learn how world works -how humans inter-react in the environment

Important to experience nature first hand, not through window/screen

Important not to be spectator in life

Connecting with nature

Respect - self

Can feel closer to nature

Antidote to usual everyday life

Took part in (planned) outdoor activities

Summary Ladder (5) Alastair
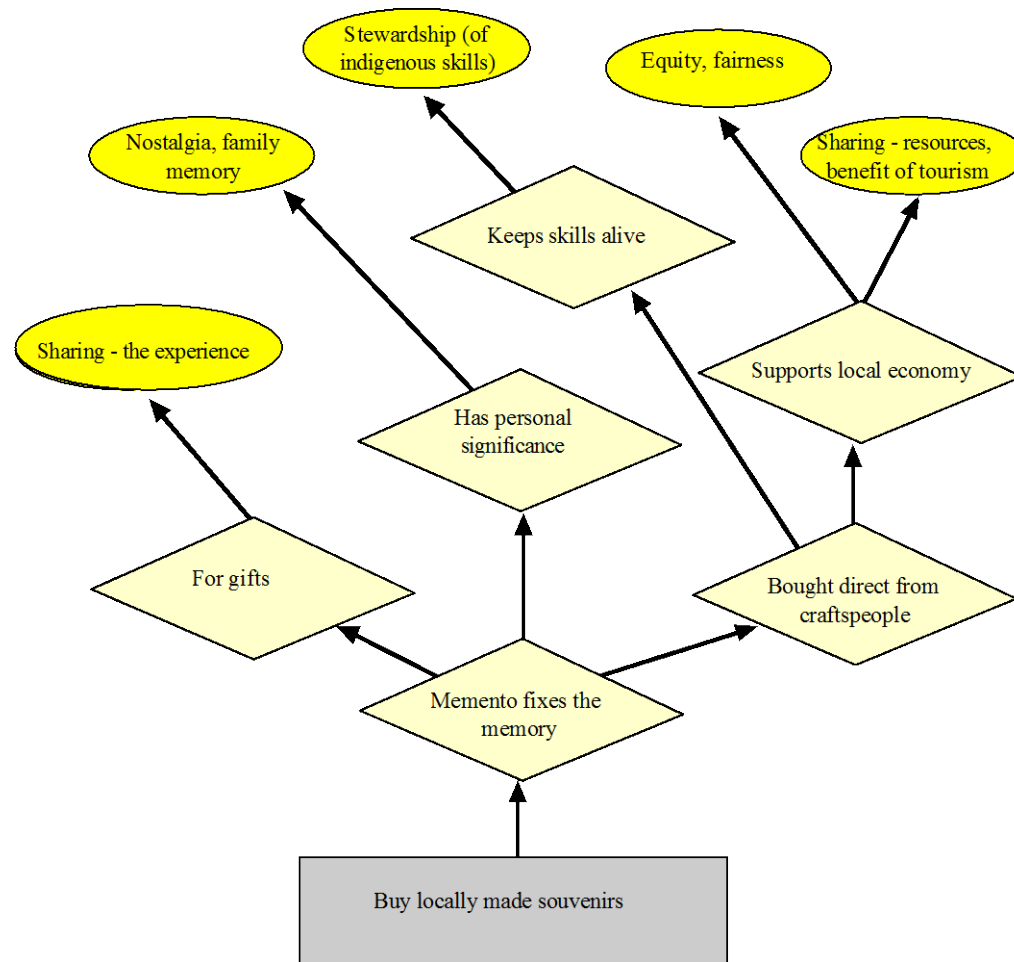
Hierarchical Value Map (Alastair)

Sharing - knowledge

Responsibility, duty of care

Appreciate difference

Sharing - resources, benefit of tourism

Family learning

Respect - others, self

Stewardship, protection

Nostalgia, family memories

Achievement

Truth, honesty

Enhances formal education

Supports local economy, local skills

Important to manage tourism impacts, be sensitive to local people/ environment

Equity, fairness

Can learn how world works, human's place in world

To give children experience of developing country

Connecting with people

Sharing - experiences

Connecting with nature

Important to make effort, act as ambassador, be sensitive to local norms, 2-way benefit

Has responsible tourism policy

Closer to nature, different from home life, important not to be spectator

Personal memory/significance, can give as gifts

Encourages development of ethical tourism, personal recommendation

Avoids tourist bubble, can meet local people

Can buy direct from craftspeople

Stimulation, authenticity

Went to Costa Rica for family holiday

Travelled with 'Explore' tour operator

Try to communicate with locals on holiday

Took part in (planned) outdoor activities

Buy locally-made souvenirs

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Summary Content Codes (Alastair)

Values
(16) Sharing – knowledge, experiences, resources, benefit of tourism
(17) Family learning
(18) Achievement
(19) Responsibility duty of care
(20) Stewardship, protection of environment and of indigenous skills
(21) Respect – others, self
(22) Connecting with – nature, people
(23) Equity, fairness
(24) Appreciating difference
(25) Nostalgia, family memories
(26) Stimulation, authenticity
(27) Truth, honesty

Benefits
(6) Costa Rica encourages the development of ethical tourism
- Important to minimise damage from holiday
- Reduces negative social impact, sensitive to local people's needs
- Brings genuine distribution of income;/ wealth, increases benefit to local people
(7) Hugely significant and important ecological destination
- Wanted children to experience developing country, enhances their formal education, important to show children different cultures
(8) Personal recommendation from family and friends
(9) 'Explore' have responsible tourism policy
- Money spent directly in local economy through meals, admission fees, locally owned accommodation etc.
- Reduces negative social and environmental impact of tourism
(10) Important to safeguard environment and reduce social impact
(11) Well-organised company, good experience
(12) Important to make an effort to communicate
- Tourists are ambassadors of own country, locals get true view of English tourists, important to be sensitive to local norms, act courteously
(13) Important to experience nature at first-hand, not through window or computer screen, not to be a spectator in life, antidote to normal life
- Can learn how world works, how humans inter-react with environment and how different economies/ cultures live
- Can feel closer to nature
(14) Has personal significance/ memory
- Can be used for gifts
(15) Buying directly from local craftspeople keeps skills alive and supports local economy

Attributes
(1) Went to Costa Rica for family holiday
(2) Travelled with 'Explore' tour operator
(3) Try to communicate with locals on holiday
(4) Took part in (planned) outdoor activities
(5) Buy locally-made souvenirs

APPENDIX D

Hierarchical value maps for all remaining interviewees, in alphabetical order

Hierarchical Value Map (Andy)

Hierarchical Value Map (Ann)

Achievement

Authenticity

Freedom

Pleasure

Respect
- others
- self

Connecting with
- nature
- people

Security

Belonging

New challenge
Learn more
Stay well-informed

Deeper experience of
people/ culture/ country
Slower pace

More authentic
experience

Can communicate/
Meet local people
Experience local way
of life

Avoid package tours
No tourist bubble
Avoid disrespectful
tourists

Independence
Closer experience of nature/
countryside
Choice

Feel more welcome
People more genuine
Relaxing

Leaving UK
for holiday

Talk to locals
in their own
language

Use public
transport in/
at destination

Travel
independently

Stay off beaten
track/ in less
developed areas

Sightseeing by
bicycle

Use locally-
owned,
family-run
guest house

Hierarchical Value Map (George)

Hierarchical Value Map (Helen)

Top level (yellow ovals):
- Belonging
- Equality, social justice
- Stewardship
- Connecting with people
- Responsibility, duty
- Sustainable lifestyle
- Thrift
- Love, friendship
- Helping, charity
- Cooperation
- Inner peace
- Sharing - resources, experiences
- Pleasure
- Achievement

Middle level (diamonds):
- Important to make things better for others, to do the right thing
- Always eat on site, using fair trade food, reinforces community involvement
- Been going for 17 years - everybody knows me, always someone to talk to, part of my roots, who I am
- The UK has so much, many people at Camp have seen lots of poverty in Africa
- Teams are more effective than individuals - Reinforces community involvement - Fun
- Important to take responsible attitude to life

Bottom level (grey boxes):
- Attend annual (Church) camping holiday with family and friends
- Camp had 'Make poverty history' theme this year
- Camp always organised utilising teamwork
- Have responsible approach to food and waste disposal at Camp

Hierarchical Value Map (Howard)

Responsibility

Working together/ co-operation

Learning

Social justice

Sharing knowledge

Belonging

Equity

Fairness

Buy local products in local markets
- Increases income/ empowers local people

Get to meet/ talk to local people, experience local way of life
Deeper sense of people/ country/ culture

Avoids package holidays
- ensures money goes to country, avoids lining pockets of rich local elite

Can see how the country 'works', to offer practical help
To reduce gap between rich/poor

Travel independently, book hotels direct, stay outside expected tourist areas etc.

Hierarchical Value Map (Ian)

Hierarchical Value Map (Judy)

Hierarchical Value Map (Kath)

Hierarchical Value Map (Kristina)

Pleasure

Lasting contribution

Achievement

Stewardship

Connecting with people

Spiritual renewal

Sharing
- knowledge, earth's resources

Authenticity

Learning

Sustainable lifestyle

To avoid flying
- Reduces air travel, pollution
- Need to protect planet for all

Better experience of people/ culture/ country
- get to know best places to eat etc.

Reduces consumption, waste, economic strain

Responsibility, duty

More personal
- Get to know locals
- Can build relationships

Searching for truth, crusader

Important to show others that alternatives are possible
- Incurs high personal cost (£)

Experience unspoilt landscape
- Reconnect with nature
- Get away from people

Avoids cities
- represent soul-less consumption
- Important to challenge

Sacrifice

Connecting with nature

Went on holiday to Switzerland by train

Staying in B&B's on holiday

Went walking in Swiss countryside

Hierarchical Value Map (Linda)

Independence, freedom

Pleasure

Fairness, equity

Responsibility

Stewardship

Connecting with people

Sharing
- resources
- benefits of tourism

Satisfaction

Thrift

Less environmental
impact

Authenticity

Learning

Avoids tour operators
- distrust large co.'s
- better value for money
- more choice

Money goes directly
to local
economy

Avoids tourist bubble
- gain experience of local
way of life
- more time, more money
spent locally

Avoids use of taxis

Travel independently

Use local public
transport at destination

Hierarchical Value Map (Lindsey)

Hierarchical Value Map (Lynn)

- Sharing - love
- Inner peace
- Pleasure
- Freedom, independence
- Voluntary simplicity
- Stewardship
- Social justice
- Connecting with nature
- Sharing - resources
- Health, wellbeing

- Sharing interests as a couple
- Peace, beauty
- More natural living, retain control over own life
- Avoids power in too few hands, retains individual choice
  - Important not to be dependent
- Support local traders at home and on holiday
- Can explore
- Avoids mass consumption
  - use only what we need, important to be self-sufficient
- Can live simply
  - clooser to earth, connecting with the earth
  - like being outdoors
- Enjoy being off beaten track
  - see countryside, nature, wildlife
- Higher quality food, fresher food
- If ate in restaurants, always locally-owned

- Drive to and at destination
- Went on camping holiday
- Meals mostly eaten on campsite

Hierarchical Value Map (Meriel)

Hierarchical Value Map (Muzammal)

Hierarchical Value Map (Nigel)

Connecting with people

Empathy

Learning

Respecting others, self

Spiritual renewal

Responsibility, duty

Authenticity

Freedom

Thrift

Stewardship

Slower pace, destinations less accessible
Richer appreciation of destinations

Avoids tourist bubble
- Spontaneous, saves money
- Richer experience of people/ culture/ country

Get to know people/ culture/ country better
Courtesy, politeness

Contact with local people
Experience local way of life
Authentic

Low environmental cost
Important to minimise impact of holiday

Talk to locals using their own language

Travel independently

Take local public transport at destination

Take sailing holidays

Hierarchical Value Map (Nina)

Honesty

Social justice, equal distribution wealth

Connecting with nature

Personal effectiveness

Stewardship

Responsibility, duty

Personal health & well-being

Inner peace

Important to protect environment

Achievement

Contribution

Important to demonstrate beliefs to others

Important to stick to principles - global co's. too powerful

Freedom

Supports needs of local community

Sustainable consumption

Never fly for pleasure, don't own car

Continues lifestyle - like to keep fit - love being outdoors

Reduces clutter at home

Avoids big global corporations

Important to avoid/ reduce consumption

Fresher food, saves food miles & environment

Always travel by public transport to/ within destination

Try to buy local products on holiday (incl. food)

Like to be active on holiday

Rarely buy souvenirs on holiday

Hierarchical Value Map (Paulette)

Sharing
- resources
- benefits of tourism

Achievement
- learning

Respect

Pleasure

Equality between
tourist/ resident

Connecting with people

Discovery

Brings benefits
- economic contribution
- employment
- language skills

Truth

Avoids tourist bubble
- avoid being 'voyeur'
- fun, meet local people,
learn what they think of
tourists

Responsibility
duty

Challenge

Brings learning alive, see
world as it really is

Authenticity

Small friendly company
- renew friendships,
never alone

Expands horizons
- tolerance, adventure, learning
Deeper experience of people/
culture/ country

Important to do the
right thing

Security

Have responsible tourism
policy

Convenience, safety,
no planning,
expertise, discount

Travel off the beaten
track/ less developed
areas

Go to new destinations
on each holiday

Travel with tour
operator
'Explore'

Hierarchical Value Map (Petra)

Responsibility

Equity

Connecting with people

Challenge

Respecting others

Inner peace

Truth, honesty

Equality

Sharing
- resources
- benefits of tourism

Authenticity

Lasting contribution

Can experience 'untouched place'
Adventure, excitement, authentic

Avoids tourist bubble
- can meet & mix with local people
- gives positive view of both parties
- meet as equals

Important to be aware of cultural norms
- redresses potential imbalance between tourist/local

Can meet & talk to indigenous people
Deeper understanding of people/ culture/ country

Important to support local community
- money stays in Ecuador
- 'thank you'

Travelling alone

Read about destination/ cultural norms before arrival

Chose local Ecuadorian tour operator

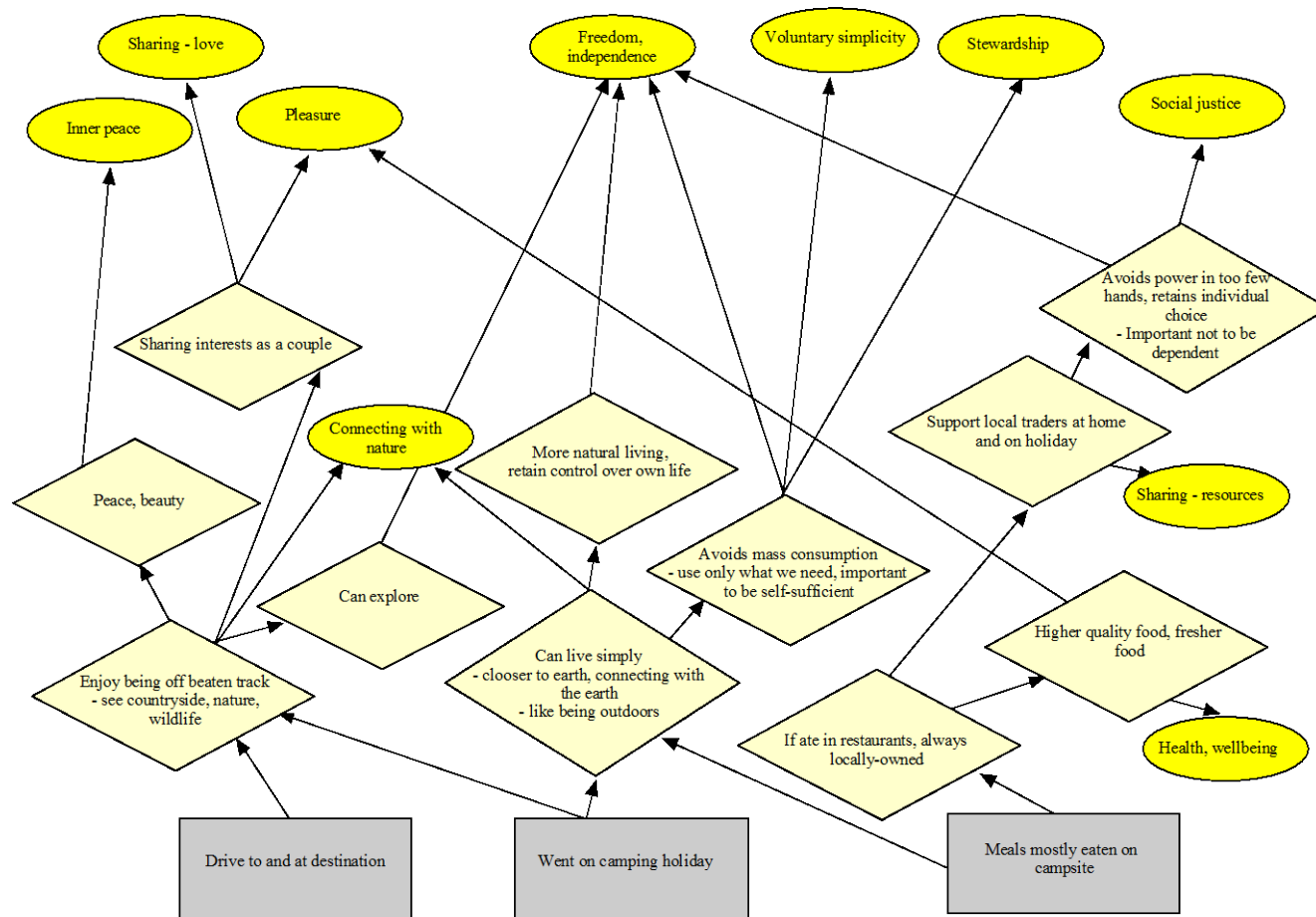Took a trip to remote jungle community & stayed in lodge staffed by indigenous people

Hierarchical Value Map (Rhoda)

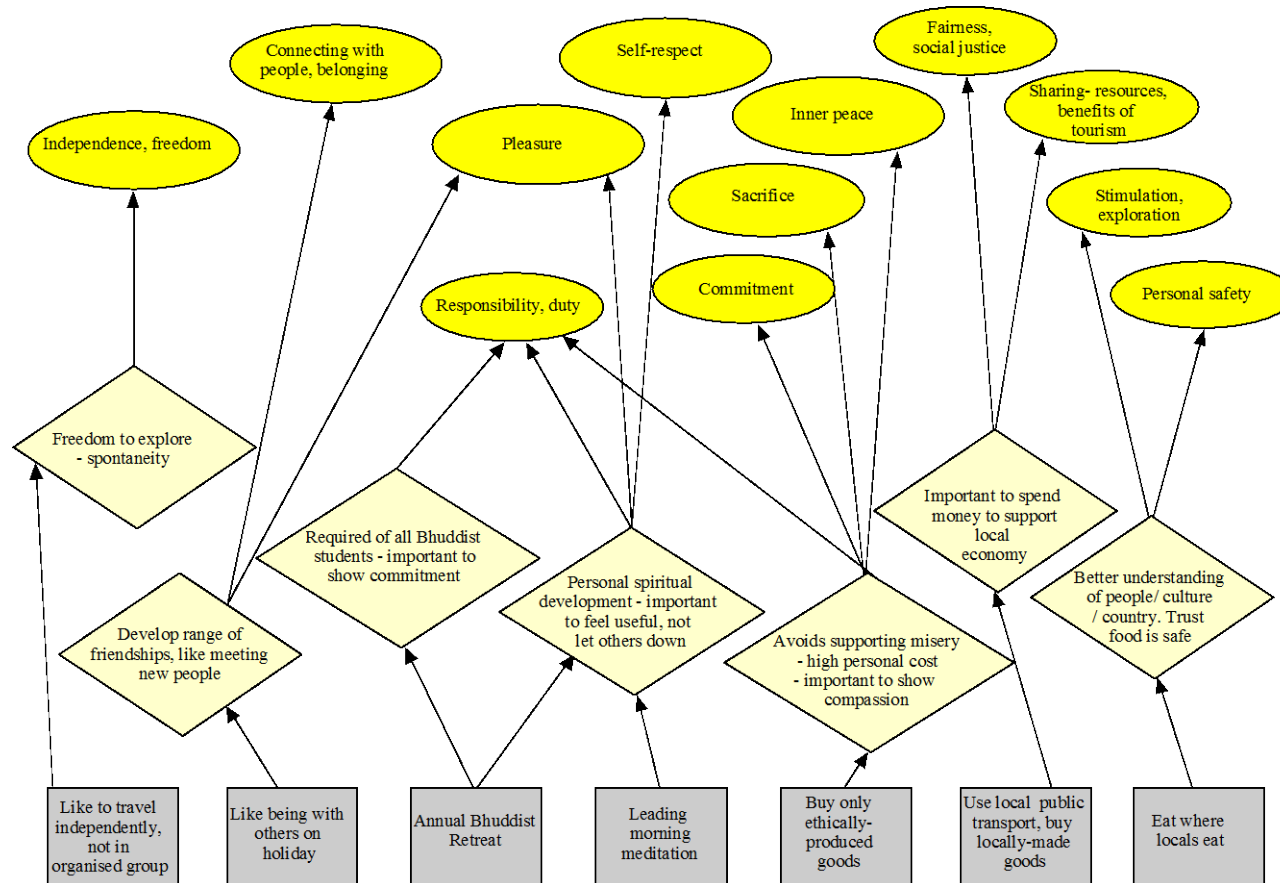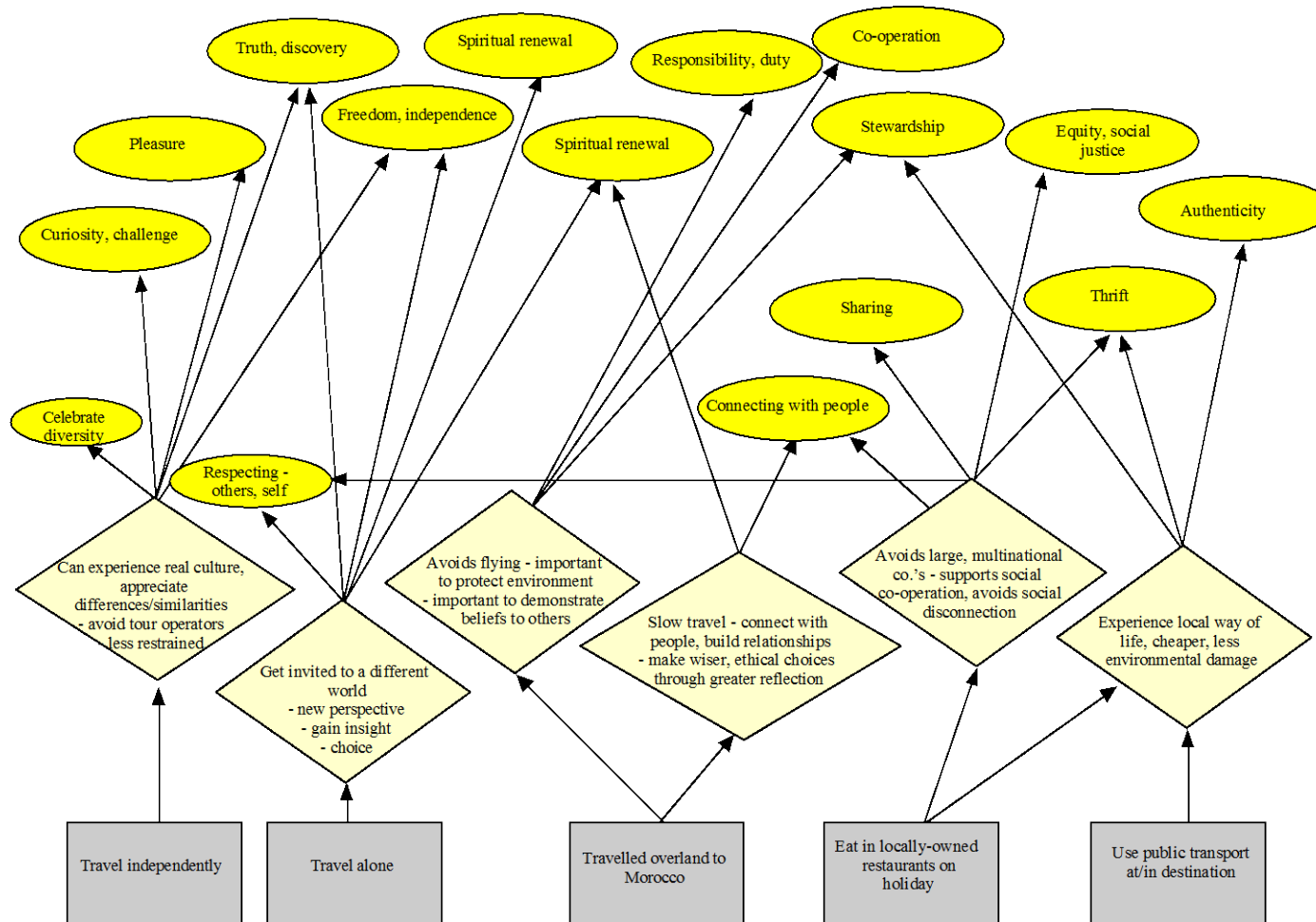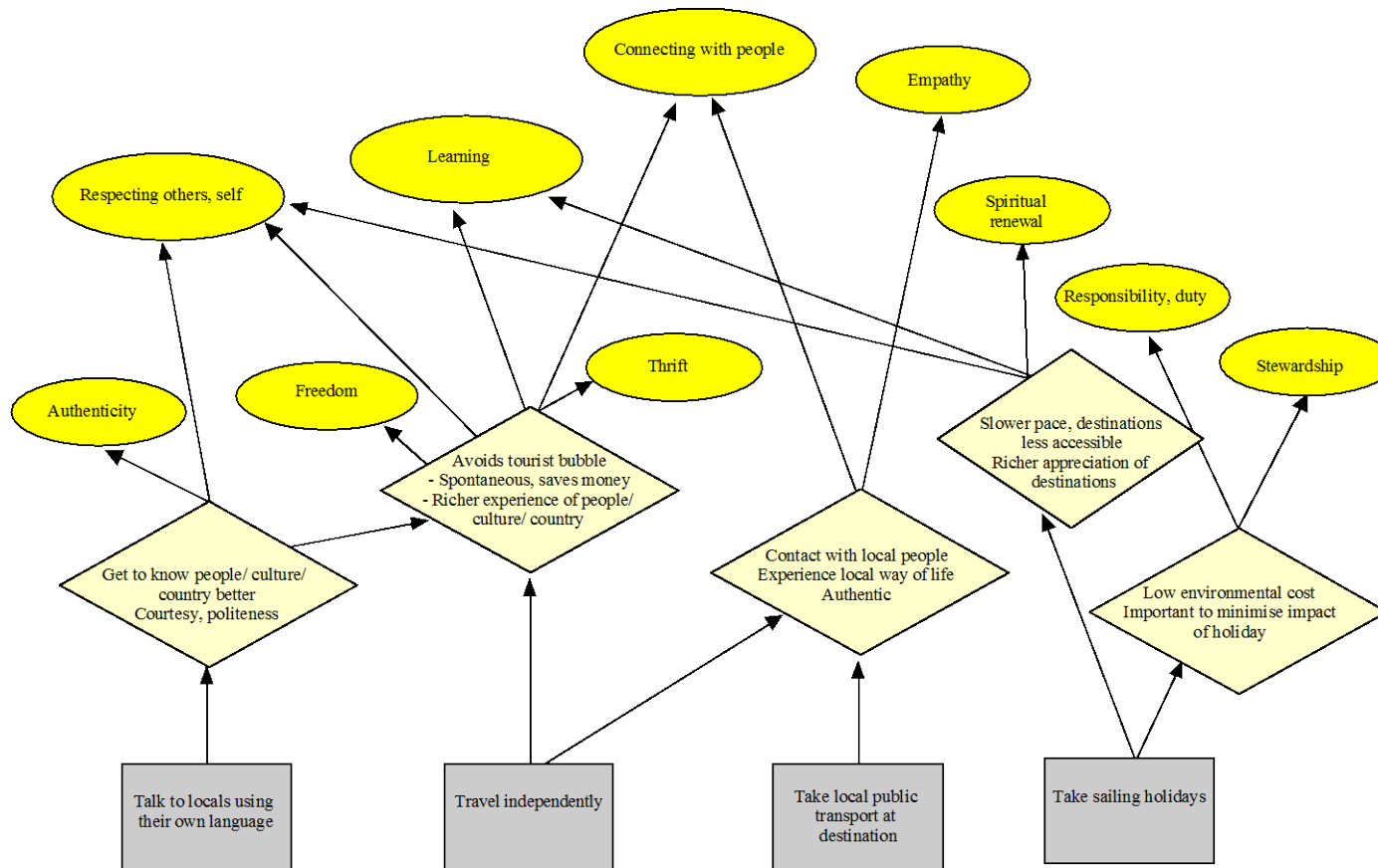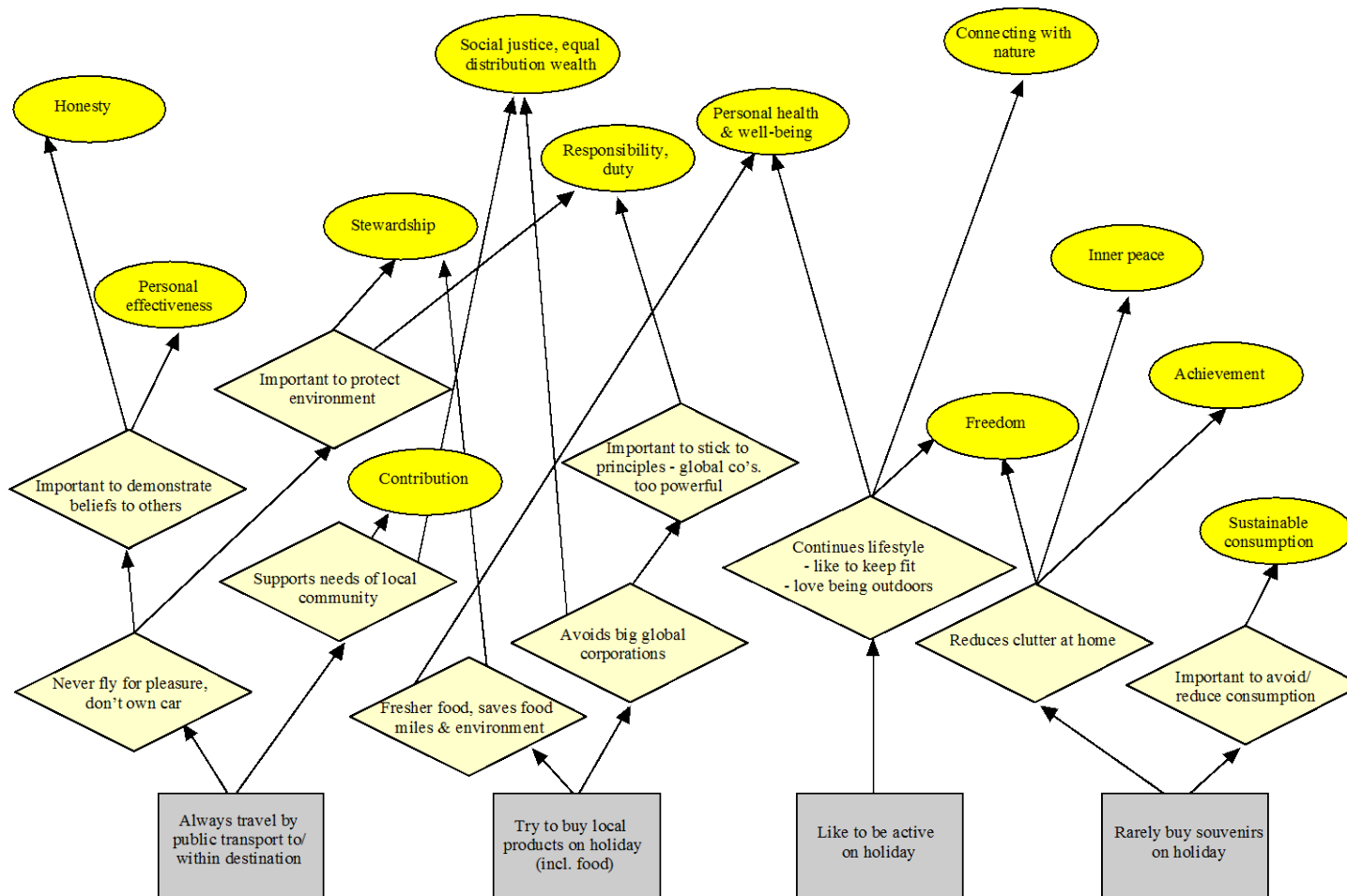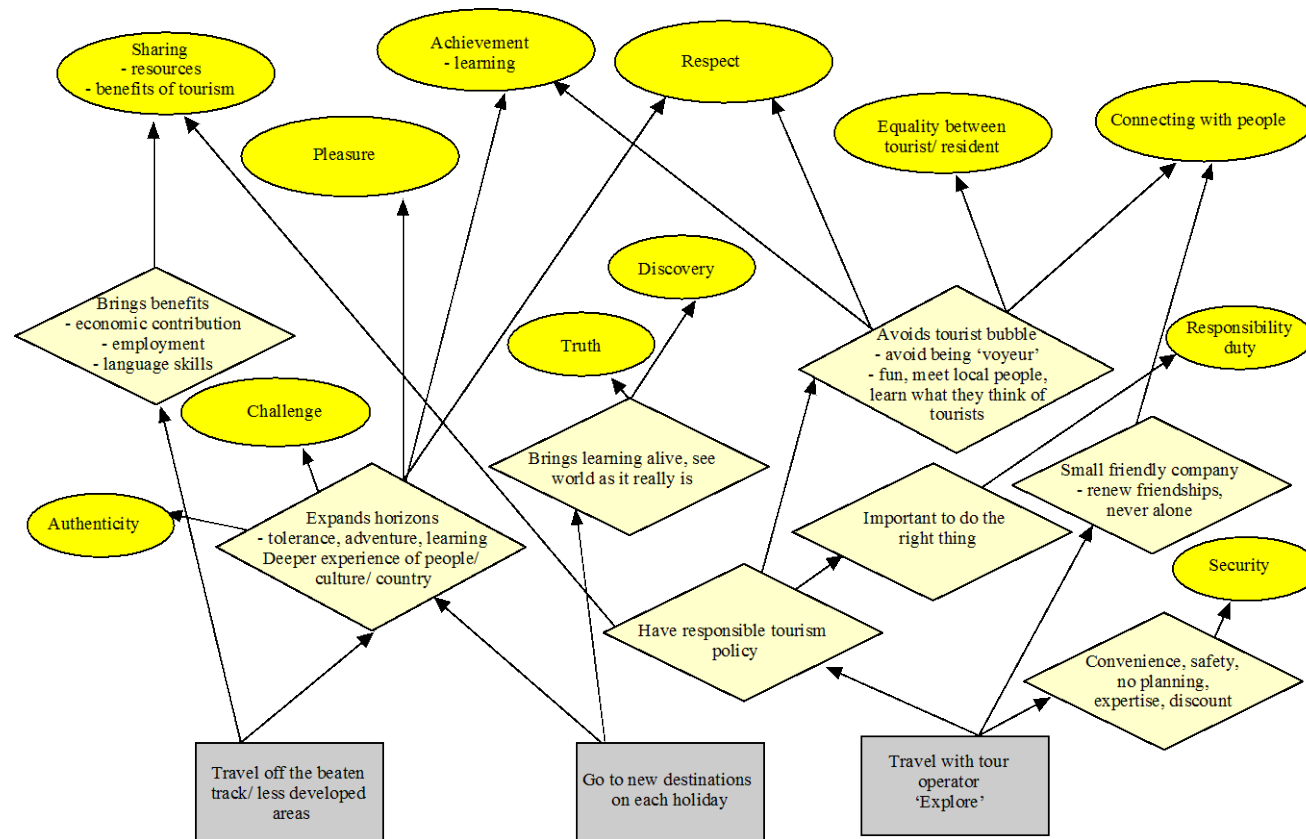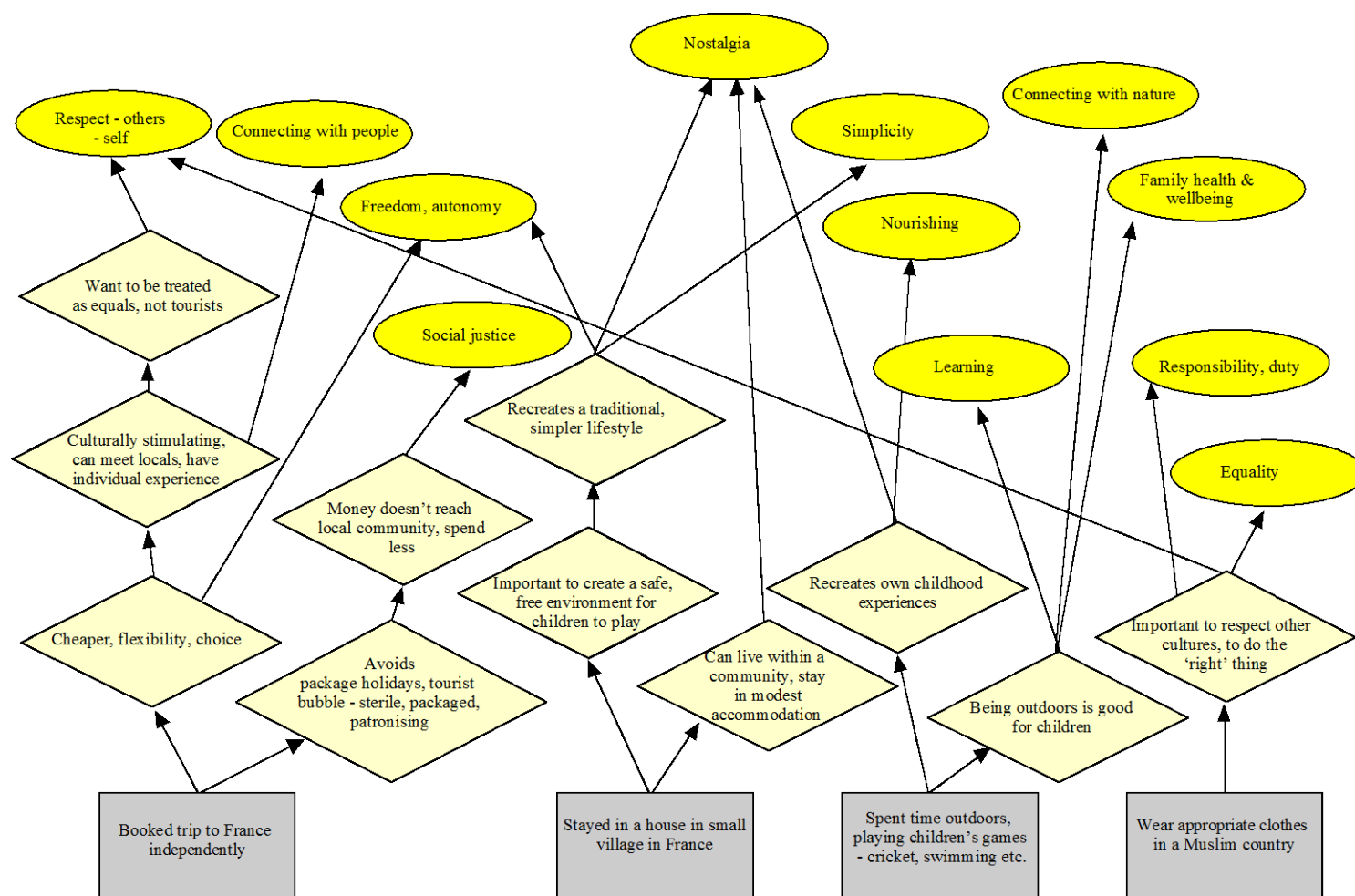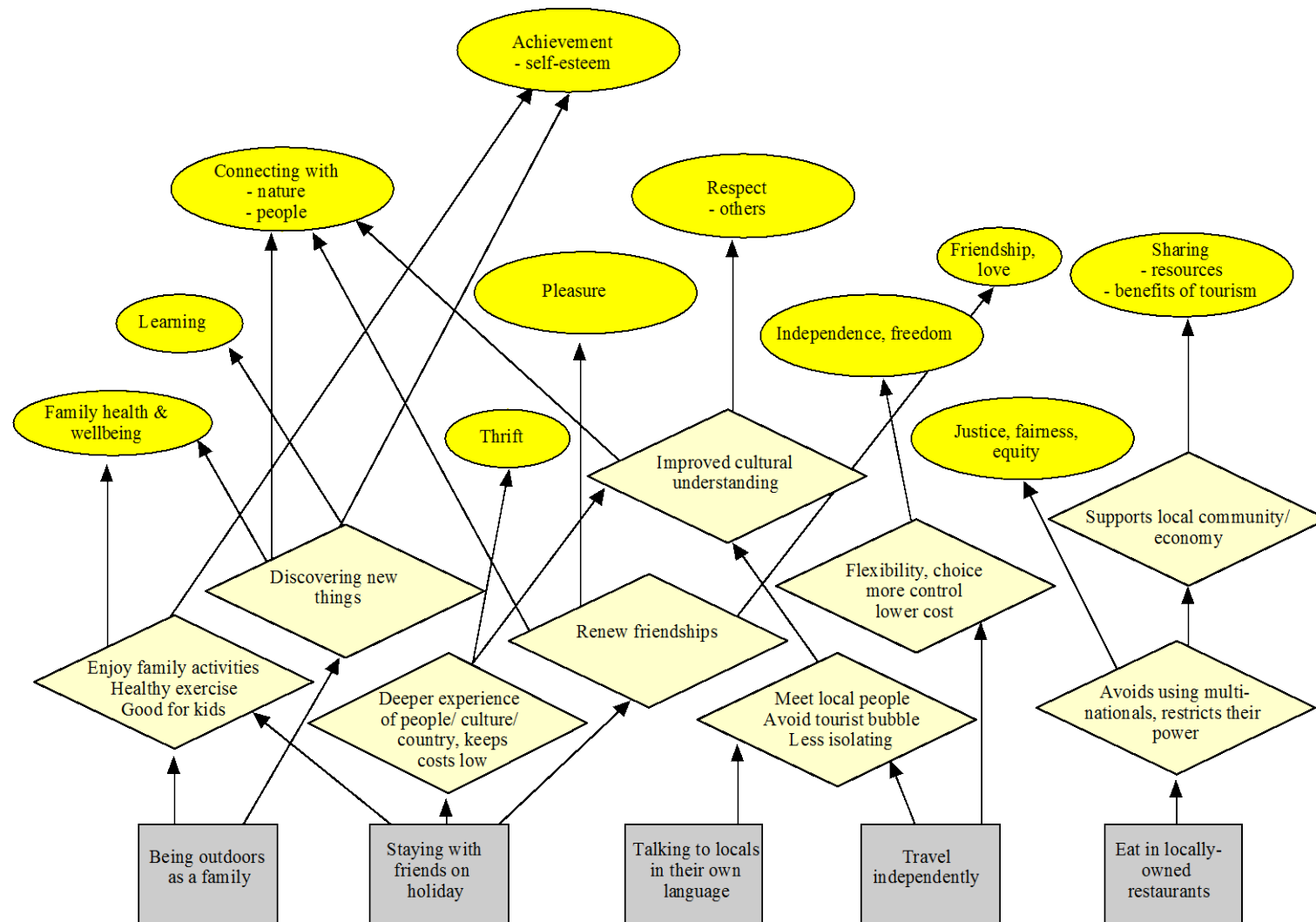# Hierarchical Value Map (Robin)

Hierarchical Value Map (Sarah)

- Family protection & future security,
- Pleasure
- Nostalgia
- Fear
- Discovery
- Responsibility
- Stewardship
- Connecting with family
- Respecting others
- Freedom
- Family health & well-being
- Its a beautiful world Important to take responsibility for its care
- Safe family activity
  - recreates childhood experience
  - modern world full of danger
  - can learn to look after themselves safely
- Celebrating diversity
  - meeting a range of different people
- Improves family health
  - avoids dangerous chemicals
  - better for environment
- Family-based activities
  - family learning together
  - rediscovering 'old' skills
- Celebrating diversity
- Taking care of the environment
- Family food always organic
- Family camping holiday
- Holiday at the Green Gathering, Somerset, UK

Hierarchical Value Map (Vania)

Hierarchical Value Map (Zelly)

Stewardship

Duty

Responsibility

Inner peace

Future generations will inherit what we leave behind

Its important to protect the planet, to protect nature

To avoid flying

Always holiday within the UK

APPENDIX E

Values descriptions tables

Values descriptions A-C   (Source: Author)

Values	Description
Achievement, learning and knowledge (family, individual)	Used to illustrate family as well as individual learning. Included families showing children a different way of living, other cultures, countryside, wanting to enhance formal education. Included importance of speaking local language, giving rise to deeper experience of culture, people, country, being well-informed, reducing meaningless stereotypes of each others' culture. Important for some to learn about country in order to offer practical help. Others valued two-way learning - tourist/ resident. Achievement also included those who expressed pleasure at acting sustainably on holiday/ in everyday life. Included those who expressed need to go beyond tourist bubble, meeting new challenges.
Appreciating difference/ celebrating diversity	Close to learning but used for those who expressly noted importance of understanding how world worked by seeing diverse cultures and economies. Also applied to those who noted political importance of supporting local traders to retain independence & choice. Included celebrating individuality of places and also people, respecting diverse local norms and how this informed their home life.
Authenticity/ truth	Used when interviewees noted the importance of seeing the 'real' or 'untouched' culture, avoiding superficial 'tourist bubble', particularly if expressed a need to be off the beaten track, in less developed areas. Included need to go beyond being spectator in life - to take part in living. Applied also to those who enjoyed being closer to simpler lifestyle, avoiding modern consumption. Related also to benefits of using local public transport to meet locals, experience local way of life, deeper understanding of country/culture. Often used protectively, as in appreciating need to safeguard diversity, uniqueness of communities, but also simpler lifestyle used for spiritual renewal.
Belonging	Used when interviewees expressed pleasure at being able to build relationship with locals, to feel welcomed not as tourists but as human beings, a more natural human connection. Included those who got involved in local activities (folk evenings). Related to equality of relations between tourist/ resident. For these people, making new friendships on holiday was particularly important.
Commitment, sacrifice	Used for those who specifically mentioned the high personal cost, either financially or in time and effort, of being ethical in their holiday transport choices or in their everyday consumption.
Connecting with family, friendship, love	This category was applied to those who expressed pleasure at renewing long-term friendships on their holidays - staying with friends for example - or who met up with extended family on holiday. Also for those who enjoyed family activities together on holiday.
Connecting with nature/ reconnecting with nature	Applied to those who enjoyed outdoor activities on holiday (walking, bird watching, camping, playing children's games etc.), to get closer to nature, away from people, away from the modern world and the pressure to consume. Also noted for those who used nature to remind them of the purpose of their ethical/sustainable lifestyle.
Connecting with people/ reconnecting with people	For those who talked to locals in their own language, stayed in locally-owned accommodation and who took public transport at their destinations. Their purpose was to get to know locals, experience their way of life and communicate with them. Also included those who liked to travel slowly in order to build relations as well as those who supported local traders in order to encourage social cohesion and prioritise humans before profit. Specifically they avoided supporting large, multinational companies. Close to belonging, related to learning, stimulation and discovery.
Co-operation, working together	These values were ascribed to those who prioritised the importance of working together to facilitate positive change and empower local people - either in teams or as political activists. For those who expressed importance of 'community' and independence, connected to supporting local shops/ restaurants/ accommodation and avoiding multinational or large chains organisations, etc. Specifically noted by those who recognised power is greater if work together as a group. Related to sharing knowledge, celebrating diversity.

Values descriptions E-H   (Source: Author)

Values	Description
Equality, equality between tourist and resident	Ascribed to those who expressed a desire to be seen as equals by residents and who were uncomfortable with the notion of the tourist being 'superior' because of wealth, or to avoid being accused of 'voyeurism'. Also for those who wanted to meet locals as equals, achieved by travelling alone and included those who travelled independently and mixed with locals on their own terms rather than in large, potentially threatening tourist groups. In addition, included those who bought locally made souvenirs ensuring money goes direct to local community and therefore avoiding exploitation of workers in other countries. Related to equity, fairness, social justice, equal distribution of wealth.
Equity, fairness, social justice, equal distribution of wealth	Ascribed to those who travelled with a tour operator with responsible tourism policy because this meant more money was going directly to local people through meals, admission fees, accommodation etc., and made an effort to reduce environmental and social impact of holiday. Also included those who believed strongly in ensuring equal distribution of wealth and reducing gap between rich and poor by avoiding UK package holidays and booking direct with hotels, shopping in local stores, buying locally-made souvenirs, using local public transport etc. These values were given to those who expressed a strong aversion to supporting large, multinational organisations as power was too concentrated, and could be abused, acting against the interests of local communities. These values were stressed through the importance of tourist money being spent locally. Related to sharing resources and the benefits of tourism.
Escape from everyday life, novelty	These values were ascribed to people who mentioned the importance of their holiday being an antidote to everyday life and an opportunity to escape from the usual routine of life. Sometimes meant an escape from the stress of consumption associated with everyday life.
Family and own safety/ security, trust	These values were allocated to the interviewees who expressed concern for their own safety because they were women travelling alone - and who travelled with a (responsible) tour operator for this reason. Also included were those who expressed concern for their family's safety through holidaying in perceived safe locations - they perceived modern world to be dangerous and children in need of protection.
Family and own good health and well-being	These values were ascribed to people who enjoyed an organic lifestyle/holiday and who either ate in local restaurants or bought local food to prepare their own meals because they believed the food to be both fresher and of higher quality. Also included those who avoided using a car at home for improved exercise and who liked to keep fit everyday. This category included those who enjoyed an outdoor approach to their holidays, especially noted by those with young children. Also included one interviewee whose prime reason for organic lifestyle was to protect children from harmful chemicals.
Freedom, independence, autonomy, choice	This category was for those who travelled independently, thus avoiding tour operators and package holidays. Their reasons/ benefits cited included a distrust of large multinational organisations, a desire for greater choice and flexibility and the freedom to explore and be spontaneous. Others travelled alone for these reasons. However, also included a respondent who travelled with a (responsible) tour operator as the security gave her the freedom to explore in destinations and others who spoke of the importance of supporting local communities in order to retain control over their own lives.
Happiness, pleasure	These values were allocated to a diverse range of expressed benefits/consequences although the majority of interviewees expressed pleasure from gaining a deeper experience of the country/culture/ people through travelling on local public transport, talking to locals in their own language and avoiding the tourist bubble. Also in this category were interviewees who enjoyed travelling at a slower pace to better enjoy the experience, sharing interests as a couple, travelling off the beaten track and the opportunity for spiritual renewal. Enjoying nature was also a strong feature.

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Values descriptions I-Sh (Source: Author)

Values	Description
Inner peace, spiritual renewal	Inner peace - this category included expressions of guilt, when interviewees felt guilty over their privileged life and this contrasted with what they saw, experienced on holiday, mostly in developing countries and often expressed through supporting local communities as well as protecting the planet. Spiritual renewal - expressed by the benefits of walking in the countryside, enjoying the peace & beauty of nature, sticking to lifestyle principles on holiday (vegetarian, ethical purchasing), travelling alone to reacquaint with life's purpose, slow travel.
Lasting contribution	This value was allocated to people who were concerned about the impact of wasteful consumption on future generations and who worked hard to reduce their consumption for an inheritable world. Related to sustainable lifestyle. Also given to those who desired improved cultural understanding through speaking to locals in their own language, and those who used local public transport to ensure future viable transport for locals.
Nostalgia, family memories	These values were given to people who recreated their own childhood experiences for their children, who expressed a desire for a simpler, more traditional way of life or who enjoyed rediscovering traditional skills on holiday.
Personal effectiveness	For those who believed strongly in their ability to facilitate change as individuals, those who wanted to practice what they preached (by not flying to their holiday destination for example) and to demonstrate their beliefs to others.
Respecting - others, self, mutual, animals	These values were identified by interviewees noting the importance of managing the impacts of tourism, speaking to locals in their own language and making the effort to communicate, avoiding disrespectful tourists on package holidays by travelling independently. Also, included those who made themselves aware of and conformed to local cultural norms (appropriate dress etc.), avoiding all-inclusive resorts and therefore ensuring staff receive fair wage, travelling with responsible tour operator. Also included vegetarians who respect animals and don't want to eat them. Related to equality, equity and fairness.
Responsibility, duty, duty of care - individual and collective. Empathy	These values were ascribed to those who strongly stipulated the importance of individuals taking responsibility for their actions by demonstrating their beliefs to others and by practising what they preached. Mostly concerned with environmental responsibility. This was achieved by using public transport to reach destinations and therefore reducing emissions. Especially important to those who wanted to help developing countries help themselves to better future and to those who travelled with responsible tour operator. High degree of showing others, through their own actions, that change was possible. Also included importance of respecting other cultures and these people believed it very important to 'do the right thing'. Strong emphasis on duty. Closely related to respecting others, stewardship and living a sustainable lifestyle.
Sharing - knowledge, beliefs, experiences, resources (economic, earth's), benefits of tourism	These values were ascribed to a range of benefits described by interviewees, from sharing knowledge and learning of other cultures/ countries with family, to supporting local traders, spending money locally in restaurants etc. in order to share the financial resources, benefits of tourism. Also includes those who share their beliefs with others by discussing their approach to ethical travel with family, friends. In addition, also given to those who enjoy exchange nature of tourism - tourists learn about residents and vice versa. Strongly related to equity, fairness, reduced consumption and stewardship, with emphasis on sharing the world' environmental resources wit future generations. Interviewees indicated without exception that sharing resources by supporting local traders was not just holiday but lifestyle priority.

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Values descriptions Si-T (Source: Author)

Values	Description
Simplicity, voluntary simplicity, sustainable lifestyle	These values were ascribed to those prioritising reduced consumption, whether by staying in eco-lodges or holiday or having green tariffs at home. Others believed strongly in only buying what they needed, living simply and not buying into the 'consumption as leisure activity' of mass consumption. These values were also allocated to those who were self-sufficient in their lifestyle. Related to stewardship and lasting contribution.
Stewardship - protection of environment, of indigenous skills	These values were given to those who talked of the importance of protecting the environment and indigenous skills for future generations. generated by travelling responsibility, buying locally-made souvenirs (to encourage local skills), avoiding flying on holiday, reducing air travel and pollution, using local public transport, buying fair trade food, and reducing the environmental impact of their holidays. Related to sustainable lifestyle.
Stimulation, challenge, exploration, excitement	These values were used to describe benefits such as learning about new and different regions/ cultures as well as those who described the challenge of speaking different languages, being taken out of their 'comfort zone' etc.
Thrift	A range of benefits come under this value, from booking direct with local tour operator in country of destination, avoiding large tour operators to get better value for money, travelling independently, using local public transport and eating locally to eating on campsite, all designed to save money for the interviewees.

APPENDIX F

List of attributes with names of respondents citing them, in rank order

List of attributes, with names of respondents citing them, in rank order

Rank no.	Attributes	Times cited	Names of interviewees
1	Travelled independently	20	Andy, Ann, George, Howard, Ian, Judy, Kath, Kristina, Linda,Lynn, Meriel, Muzammal, Nigel, Nina, Petra, Rhoda, Robin, Sarah, Vania, Zelly
2	Bought locally-made souvenirs/ Used locally-owned shops/ Eat locally, avoided restaurant chains	12	Alastair, Howard, Ian, Judy, Kath, Lindsey, Lynn, Meriel, Muzammal, Nina, Robin, Vania
3	Used public transport to/at destination/ Avoided flying to destination	11	Andy, Ann, George, Ian, Kristina, Linda, Meriel, Muzammal, Nigel, Nina, Zelly
4	Spent time outdoors/ walking on holiday/ took part in outdoor activities	9	Alastair, Judy, Kristina, Lindsey, Nina, Rhoda, Robin, Sarah, Vania,
5	Spoke to locals in their own language, tried to communicate with local people	8	Alastair, Andy, Ann, Kath, Lindsey, Nigel, Petra, Robin
6	Observed local customs, wore appropriate dress	6	Ann, Kath, Lindsey, Petra, Rhoda, Zelly
6	Stayed in locally-owned hotel accommodation/ family-run guest-house	6	Andy, Ann, Howard, Judy, Kath, Kristina,
8	Stayed off beaten track/ in less developed areas	5	Ann, George, Howard, Paulette, Petra
9	Stayed in eco-cabin/ on organic farm/ camping	4	George, Helen, Lynn, Sarah
10	Travelled with ethical/ responsible tour operator (Explore, Exodus)	3	Alastair, Lindsey, Paulette
10	Like spending time with others on holiday - family, friends, meeting new people	3	Helen, Meriel, Robin
10	Travelled alone	3	Ann, Muzammal, Petra
13	Bought holiday from tour operator in country of destination	2	Andy, Petra
13	Travelled to ethical/ responsible destination/resort	2	Alastair, George
15-24	Miscellaneous includes - Avoided 5 star hotels, stay in 3 star hotels, Attended Annual Bhuddist Retreat, Led morning meditation, Took sailing holiday, Go to new destination each holiday, Leave UK for holiday, Drove to and at destination, Meals mostly eaten on campsite, Rarely buy souvenirs on holiday, Share ideas on sustainability/ ethical living with friends.	1	Andy, Meriel (2), Nigel, Paulette, Ann, Lynn (2), Nina, Vania.
*	Buy ethically produced goods (vegetarian, vegan food/ ethical clothing, second-hand clothing etc.)	8	Helen, Lindsey, Meriel, Nina, Robin, Sarah, Vania, Zelly
*	Avoid using car at home/ don't own car	5	Ian, Judy, Nina, Robin, Zelly

APPENDIX G

Respondents' affiliations and subscriptions

Respondents' affiliations and subscriptions

Respondents	Affiliations/subscriptions
Alastair	Target Tuberculosis
Andy	Green Party, Palestine Solidarity Campaign, Stop the War Coalition, World Development Movement
Ann	Action Aid, Amnesty, Medicines Sans Frontieres, Tourism Concern, Unicef
George	Ethical Consumer, Labour Party
Helen	None, rely on Guardian for information
Howard	Dulwich Picture Gallery, Ethical Consumer mag, Friends of the Ashmolean, Royal Academy
Ian	Amnesty, Cyclists group, Ethical Consumer, Friends of the Earth, Guardian, New Internationalist, New Statesman, Red Pepper, Stop the War Coalition, Which. Support: Fair Trade movement and other small charities.
Judy	Subscribe: Wild Hastings (conservation), Hen-net (environment. Sec Bembroke Allotments Assoc. (Hastings), Chair Hastings & St Leonard's Allotment Federation. Member of FRiends of Alexandra Park, Hastings Alliance (campaigning against proposed Hastings-Bexhill Link Road), Botanical Soc. of British Isles, Sussex Botanical REcording Soc., hastings Botany Group, Australasian Plant Soc. (UK), RHS, British Assoc. for Nature Conservation, Women's Farm & garden Assoc., Tree Register of British Isles, University & Colleges Trades Union.
Kath	Greenpeace
Kristina	None, rely on Guardian for information
Linda	Ethical Consumer mag, Henry Doubleday Research Assoc., Labour Party, Woodland Trust
Lindsey	Viva
Lynn	Amnesty, Climate Change study group, Ethical Consumer, Friends of the Earth, Green Party, Oxfam, Wildlife Trust
Meriel	Free Tibet Campaign
Muzammal	Founder, London Islamic Network for the Environment, Islamic Foundation of Ecology & Social Science, Soil Assoc., World Development Movement
Nigel	Not known
Nina	Member Bracknell Forest Runners, Cyclists Touring Club (CTC), Friends of the Earth, Henry Doubleday Research Assoc., Sustrans, Vegetarian Soc., Viva. Subscribe: Ethical Consumer, What docs don't tell you, vegetarian Health.
Paulette	Not known
Petra	Kings Church
Rhoda	National Tryst, Resurgence mag (holistic, deep ecology, spiritual issues), V&A
Robin	Council for the Protection of Rural England, Friends of the Earth, Liberal Democrats
Sarah	Not known
Vania	Action Aid, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace
Zelly	Not known